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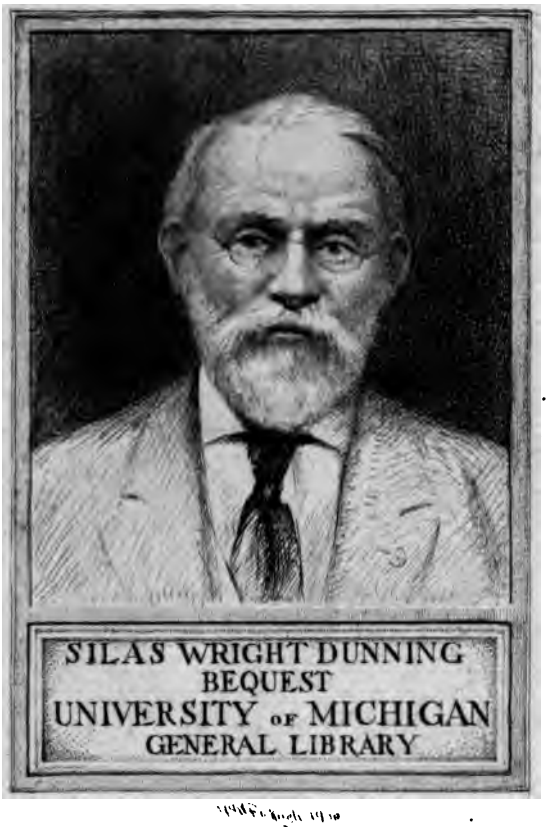
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Vol. XV

y Cymmrodor.

The Magazine

of the Honourable

Society of Cymmrodorion.

"YSTORYA DE CAROLO MAGNO,"

Translated, with Introduction,

BY THE

REV. ROBERT WILLIAMS, B.A. (Lond.)

LONDON:
ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY,
NEW STONE BUILDINGS, 64, CHANCERY LANE.

1907.

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Y Cymmrodor.

THE MAGAZINE

OF THE HONOURABLE

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VOL. XX.

PRODUCED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

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1907.

THE

History of Charlemagne.

A TRANSLATION OF

"YSTORYA DE CAROLO MAGNO,"

WITH A

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL INTRODUCTION.

BY

ROBERT WILLIAMS, B.A. (LOND.),

Rector of Llanbedr, Vale of Conway.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY THE HON. SOCIETY OF CYMMRODORION,
64, CHANCERY LANE.

1907.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

In the year 1883 this Society published, from the transcription of Mrs. (now Lady) Rhŷs, and under the editorship of Mr. Thomas Powel, M.A., the *Ystorya de Carolo Magno* from the *Red Book of Hergest*. It was intended to add to this publication a Translation, Notes, and Glossarial Index, but the intention, although kept in view, remained for many years unfulfilled. In 1904 the National Eisteddfod Association, at the Eisteddfod of that year, held at Rhyl, offered a substantial prize for the best translation into English of the *Ystorya de Carolo Magno*, with a critical introduction, and an account of the relation of the Welsh version to other Texts. The Professors of Welsh at the three constituent colleges of the University of Wales (Messrs. Thomas Powel, J. Morris Jones, and Edward Anwyl) were asked to adjudicate on the merits of the various compositions sent in for competition, and they awarded the prize to the work of the Rev. Robert Williams, B.A., Llandudno, now Rector of Llanbedr, Vale of Conway, and recommended its publication. By arrangement with the Committee of the National Eisteddfod Association, the Council of this Society undertook the

duty which had long rested upon them, and now publish the translation of the *Ystorya*, which was obtained in the manner already indicated. The Editorial Committee entrusted the entire responsibility of the production of the work to the Rev. Robert Williams, and are indebted to him for the care and attention with which, in the face of many difficulties, he carried out the work.

E. VINCENT EVANS.

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VOL. XX. "CARED DOETH YR ENCILION." 1907.

The History of Charlemagne.

A TRANSLATION OF "YSTORYA DE CAROLO MAGNO",[1] WITH A HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL INTRODUCTION.

BY THE REV. ROBERT WILLIAMS, B.A. (LOND.),
LLANBEDR, VALE OF CONWAY.

THE CHARLEMAGNE OF HISTORY AND OF ROMANCE.

To compress the history of Charlemagne into the narrow compass of an introduction is impossible. Such being the case, it will be necessary to omit as much as possible of the history, provided enough be retained to give the broad outlines of Charlemagne's character and achievements, and to throw some light on the events and episodes depicted in *Ystorya de Carolo Magno.*

The "History of Charlemagne" may mean the life of Charles the Great as found in the *Vita* and the *Annales*, *i.e.*, the true life-history of the King whose great achievements were the subjection of the Saxons and the consolidation of the Frankish kingdom; or it may mean the life of the great warrior-emperor, the son of Pepin, the defender of the Christian faith against the Saracens throughout Europe,[2] but more especially in Spain, as depicted in the songs of the French *épopée*.

[1] "Ystorya de Carolo Magno." From the *Red Book of Hergest*. Edited by Thomas Powell, M.A. Printed for the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1883.

[2] Vide *Welsh Text*, p. 28.

The *Ystorya de Carolo Magno* is concerned with the latter. It deals with the Charlemagne of Romance.

How far the romantic history reflects the true history of the great emperor is a matter of dispute.

Some maintain that the poetical history is based on real history, grows out of it, is conditioned by it, and is the glorification of it; that it reflects the impression left on the minds of the people by the character and exploits of Charlemagne. Others are of the opinion that the whole cycle of romance, both prose and metrical, though of matchless interest in the literature of the Middle Ages, adds nothing to our knowledge of the real Charlemagne.

How far this is the case may be better judged when a short sketch of the Charlemagne of history and the Charlemagne of romance is given.

I.—The Charlemagne of History.

"Et usque ad novissimum diem erit nomen tuum in laude."
Turpin's *Chronicle*, chap. i.

To the eye of the historian, the grandeur of Charlemagne is entirely confined to the position he maintains in the history of the world. In the slow transit and gradual transformation of the old world of classical antiquity into the world with which men of to-day deal, no man played a greater part than Charlemagne. He stands, as it were, at the meeting point of the ages where ancient history ends and modern history begins. The centuries of the Middle Ages before him record the decline and fall of many an old institution hoary with age and ready to vanish away; and the centuries after him, up to the Renaissance and the Reformation, record the preparation for, and the introduction of, those institutions which have been both factors and products of modern history. Charlemagne is the great

central figure of the Middle Ages, who, by arresting the drift of the corrupt and disintegrating forces then prevalent among nations rude in manners and undisciplined in mind, became the creator of Modern Europe.

When Charles ascended his father's throne, the Roman Empire had been, for more than three centuries, slowly dying. In A.D. 410, it received a death-blow when Rome was captured and sacked by the West Goths under their King Alaric. Before the long process of disintegration of the great world-empire was finished, the world was startled by the appearance of a great and warlike Semitic power which is associated with the name and faith of Mohammed. In 622, Mohammed escaped from the holy city of Mecca, where he was born in 569, and came to Medina, "the city of the prophet". In this retreat of his is seen the beginning of his career of spiritual conquest. From the first he taught that his faith was to be forced upon all men by the sword. So the Arabs, or Saracens as they are also called, as soon as they embraced the faith of Mohammed, held it to be their part and duty to spread their faith everywhere, which in fact meant to conquer the whole world.[1] Everywhere they went, they gave men the choice of three things, *Koran, tribute,* or *sword*; that is, they called upon all men either to believe in Mohammed and to accept the Koran, to submit to the rule of the Saracens and pay tribute, or to fight against them, and if conquered to be put to death by the sword. Before the death of Mohammed in 632, the career of Saracen conquest had begun. Before the end of the seventh century, Syria, Persia, Egypt, and North Africa had been conquered and made subject to the rule of the Caliph. In 711 the followers of the Prophet crossed over into Europe from Africa and conquered the whole of Spain with the excep-

[1] Freeman, p. 122.

tion of the mountain fastnesses of the North, where the Christians held their own. They crossed the Pyrenees and conquered a part of Gaul, *i.e.*, the province of Narbonne. They came as far as Autun, which is but one hundred and eighty miles from Paris. However, this was the extreme point of their conquests in Western Europe. In 732, they were defeated by Charles Martel, the grandfather of Charlemagne, in the battle of Tours. Nevertheless, Narbonne was still in their power and possession when Charlemagne was born. This Saracen occupation of a part of the soil of Frank-land continued till the foreign invaders were finally driven out of Gaul by Charlemagne's father, Pepin, in 739.

In the east of Europe, the Avars, a Turanian people, continually menaced the lands of Italy and Illyria. They occupied the region between the Danube where had been the seat of the old barbaric kingdom of Attila.

The lands between the lower Rhine and the Elbe were inhabited by the barbarous and heathen Saxons. These people represented the Teutonic spirit and temper in its fiercest and most stubborn and uncompromising mood, and thus they presented, possibly, the most formidable obstacle to that re-modelling of Europe according to Charlemagne's own liking.

Charlemagne was born in the year 742, and succeeded his father Pepin as king of the Franks in 768. He was crowned emperor of the Romans in 800 and died in 814, after an eventful reign of forty-six years. His father had divided the Frankish kingdom between him and his younger brother, Carloman. But the latter died in 771, and Charlemagne was proclaimed with one accord the sole king of the Franks.[1]

The kingdom Charlemagne thus inherited was a very

[1] *Vita*, cap. iii.

extensive one. For in addition to the Frankish territory extending from the Loire to the Rhine, other countries such as Burgundy and Alemania had been incorporated into it, while almost all around his empire were grouped many vassal states. Aquitaine, Brittany, Frisia, Thuringia, and Bavaria, were to a more or less degree under the sway of the king of the Franks. He was, further, the hereditary protector of the Pope against Greeks and Lombards, and the champion of the Christian faith against the Saracens on the south-west and the heathen Saxons on the north-west. In fact, when Charlemagne took up the sceptre, when it fell from his father's hand, the Franks had obtained a real supremacy over most of the Germanic people, and were rightly regarded as the bulwark of Christianity in the west.

Such, briefly, was the aspect of affairs when Charlemagne found himself the controller of the destinies of Western Europe.

The many-sided and lofty position of a king among the Franks then imposed a corresponding complexity of duty on the new king. This Charlemagne fulfilled with an energy and success almost unexampled in the history of the world. He maintained and extended on all hands the influence of Christian culture, and took the first steps towards converting the military monarchy of the Franks into an organized and highly civilized state.

The keynote of his reign is the alliance of the temporal power with the national church in Frankland and with the universal church as represented by the Roman See. He endeavoured to expand his power to the utmost bounds consistent with stability, and within those bounds to diffuse that form of faith and culture which had been long preparing within the bosom of the Frankish church. He had an idea of one universal State, of one prodigious political

unity. He wished to form one Christian Europe in the political and social unity of the Empire, and in the spiritual unity of the Church. Reverence for Rome was still strong in the minds of men. So the Papacy was definitely planted at the head of Christianity. He would remodel Europe after the likeness of the old Roman empire. "The resurrection of the Roman empire was the favourite contemplation and dream of Charlemagne."[1] He would resuscitate the form, but not the spirit, of the old. What would have realized his highest aspiration would be the establishment of one vast empire, after the model of the old Roman empire, but infused with the spirit of Christianity, with the emperor of Rome as the centre of the political unity, and the bishop of Rome as the centre of the spiritual unity. The march of Christianity would then both favour and follow the expansion of his empire. His father Pepin had an idea of this kind in his mind when he cultivated the friendship of the Pope and was made patrician of Rome and patron of the Holy See. But he lacked the fiery spirit and magnetic personality which gained for Charlemagne the enthusiastic devotion of his own countrymen and even of conquered nations.

Charlemagne's first task as supreme commander of the Frankish forces was to suppress a rising in Aquitaine in 769. This duchy, after Charles Martel had saved it from the Saracens, continued, as of old, to be one of the most troublesome of the Frankish dependencies.[2] This suppression was carried out by Charlemagne single-handed, as his brother Carloman, whose territories were unaffected by the result, refused to lend him his aid.

In 772 Charlemagne commenced the great mission of his life—the conquest and conversion of the Saxons, a

[1] *Guizot*, p. 163. [2] *Vita*, cap. v.

work which could only be effected after thirty-two years of the most fierce and most passionate warfare.[1] The Saxons were, with the doubtful exception of the Frisians, the last remnant of the old Germanic resistance to the military supremacy of the Franks, and the last Germanic champions of the religion of Odin against the onward progress of Christianity.

The encroachment of the Saxons on his eastern frontier was the occasion of his first expedition. Charlemagne invaded the land and destroyed all he met by fire and by sword. He stormed the castle of Eresburg and took it. He overthrew the idol which the Saxons called Irminsul, and destroyed the sanctuary of Odin, and compelled the Westphalian Saxons to submit.[2]

Pope Hadrian, oppressed by the Lombards and their king Desiderius, summoned Charlemagne to the other side of the Alps.[3] The Saxons, regarding the absence of the king as a most favourable occasion, renewed their old ravages. On his return, Charlemagne set out against them, and in two campaigns enforced the submission of the entire Saxon confederation.[4] In the great Champ-de-Mai, at Pederborn, the Frankish king, surrounded by his chiefs and by ambassadors from other nations, received the homage of the Saxon warriors (except that of Witikind), and many thousands of them were baptized on that occasion.

In 778 Charlemagne crossed the Pyrenees, and secured the submission of the country as far as the Ebro. On his return his rearguard was assailed and cut off by mountaineers in the pass of Roncesvalles, and this overthrow of the Franks became eventually one of the great themes of song and romance, of which more will be said in another

[1] *Vita*, cap. vii.
[2] *Annales*, A.D. 772.
[3] *Annales*, A.D. 773.
[4] *Ibid.*, A.D. 777.

chapter. His march home from Spain was hastened by the general revolt of the Saxons, assisted this time by the Danes. Charlemagne was again easily victorious. But no sooner had he left the country than the Saxons were again up in arms. Even the massacre of four thousand five hundred prisoners who fell into the king's hands, and who were beheaded at his command, at Werden, served only to intensify the spirit of resistance.[1] They were again completely defeated. Even Witikind, the hero of the whole war, was compelled to submit to Charlemagne, and received baptism at Attigny. Many followed his example. But it was not till 804 that the last spark of the resistance was quenched.

The result of this war was that Charles was left the sole master of the lands which, taken together, made up mediæval Germany. By imposing upon the inhabitants of these lands a common ecclesiastical and secular administration, by subjecting them to one allegiance and one faith, he imparted to this mighty mass of people a political unity which was never to be destroyed. In this sense he is to be regarded as the creator of the German nation.[2]

When Charlemagne had brought the war in Aquitaine to a successful end, at the request of Hadrian, the bishop of Rome, he entered into war against the Lombards.[3]

In 757 Desiderius, duke of Tuscany, became the king of the Lombards. In 770 Charlemagne put away his wife, a noble Frankish lady, and, at the request of his mother, married a daughter of Desiderius. The marriage tie was soon broken.[4] After a year's wedlock the daughter of Desiderius was back again in her father's court a divorced and rejected wife. Naturally this did not improve the relations between Desiderius and Charlemagne.

[1] *Annales*, A.D. 784.
[2] *Davis*, p. 93.
[3] *Vita*, cap. vi.
[4] *Ibid.*, cap. xviii.

In 772, Hadrian ascended the pontifical throne. The new Pope wished to follow the policy of his immediate predecessors in cultivating the friendship of the king of the Franks, and consequently he turned a deaf ear to the demands made by Desiderius that he should anoint the infant sons of Carloman as kings of the Franks. Desiderius resolved to march on Rome with all his army and compel the Pope at the point of the sword to carry out his wish. He seized some of the cities of Italy and approached the frontiers of the duchy of Rome. Hadrian still refused, and called upon Desiderius to restore the possessions which he had taken from the See of Rome. He also sent a legate to Charlemagne with an earnest request for help, reminding the king of the oath he had taken as a patrician to defend the See of Rome. Desiderius also sent ambassadors who told a different story. Charlemagne resolved to make inquiries into the case. As a result he offered to the king of the Lombards fourteen thousand golden solidi (£8,000) if he would restore the conquered cities, and so satisfy the demands made by Hadrian. This he refused to do.

Charlemagne summoned his army and set out for Italy. He renewed his offer of money payment. This offer was again refused. The time had come to appeal to the sword. The army crossed over to Lombardy, one half of them by Mont Cenis and the other half by the Great St. Bernard. Desiderius awaited their coming at Susa, which was regarded then as the key of Italy. The Lombards fled at the approach of the Franks. Soon Pavia and Verona were besieged. Charlemagne arrived in Rome on the eve of Easter Sunday. It was the first occasion on which he had seen the city of the Cæsars. To the Romans the Frankish patrician represented the old Imperial governors of Italy, whose title he had taken.[1] His entry

[1] *Davis*, p. 82.

was, therefore, celebrated with all the pomp and circumstance formerly reserved for the Cæsars. In June 774, the gates of Pavia, after having been besieged for ten months, were opened to Charlemagne, and the dominion of the Lombards in Italy came to a perpetual end.

The expedition into Spain is the theme of many a stirring song sung by the minstrels of old in all the countries of Europe. What is the true history of this episode? Why did Charlemagne enter Spain? What was his motive? Why should he interfere with and molest the Saracens since Frankland had so little to fear from them?

The biographer of Louis the Pious suggests that the king desired to help the Christians in Spain. Hadrian had impressed upon Charlemagne's mind that his peculiar mission was to fight the heathen. Legend confirms this suggestion. The romance of the pseudo Turpin tells us that Charlemagne entered Spain at the wish of St. James to deliver Galice from the power of the Saracens.[1] But is this historically true? In order to understand the part played by Charles at this juncture, it is necessary to glance for a moment at the condition of the Mohammedan world, and more particularly of the Moors in Spain.

For a hundred years the Ommayad Caliphs, in a long line, had governed the vast regions which owned the faith of Mohammed. The Caliph, as the successor of the Prophet, wielded a power religious as well as military. He was at once Pope and King of the Saracen world. It was in the name of the Ommayad Caliph and by his lieutenants that Spain was conquered; in his name Gaul was invaded by those swarming myriads whom Charles Martel with difficulty repulsed in the great battle of Tours. But in the year 750, eighteen years before the accession of Charle-

[1] Vide *Welsh Text*, p. 2.

magne, there had come a change. The unity of Islamism was broken, and the divisions that then crept in, even more than the sword of Charles Martel, saved Europe from Moslem domination. The Ommayad Caliphs, who reigned at Damascus had forgotten, in the delights and luxurious life of that city, some of the stern simplicity of their earlier predecessors. A new and more austere claimant to their religious throne presented himself in the person of Abul Abbas, who was descended from an uncle of the Prophet, and the old feud between the two tribes of the Koreish and Haschimites flared up into a fierce civil war, the reigning Ommayads belonging to the former, and the revolting Abbasides to the latter, class.

In the battle of Mosul (750) the Abbasides gained the upper hand; Merwan, the last Ommayad caliph, fled to Egypt, where he was slain, and a bloody massacre of the eighty Ommayads at a banquet, all but completed the ruin of the family. From the overthrow of a princely race, one only escaped. The young Abderrahman, son of Merwan, fled from Syria, and after many adventures and many narrow escapes, ever travelling westward, reached the tents of a tribe of Bedouins in Morocco, with whom he claimed kinship through his mother. Here he was gladly granted the asylum which he so much needed. While he was sharing their hospitality there came an embassy from some of the chief Mussulmans of Spain to offer him the supreme power in that country. The various Emirs who had been misgoverning that unhappy land for forty years since the Moorish conquest had given it neither prosperity nor peace; possibly also there was a feeling that they had failed as champions of Mohammedism against Christianity. At any rate, there was a strong desire to try what unity and concentration under a resident and independent sovereign would accomplish, and for this

purpose to take advantage of the presence of a high-spirited and courageous youth, the descendant of a long line of sovereigns. The invitation was gladly accepted. Abderrahman crossed into Spain in 755 and won victory after victory over the representatives of his Abbaside foe, the chief of whom was named Yussuf-el-Fekr, and though he himself did not assume the title of Caliph, virtually he *founded the Caliphate of Cordova*, which for nearly three hundred years, often with brilliant success, guided the fortune and destiny of Mohammedan Spain.

But Abderrahman, though deservedly one of the favourite heroes of Saracen literature, did not win supreme power in Spain without a hard struggle, and even after he had conquered, there was many a fresh outbreak of opposition to his rule. Though Yussuf-el-Fekr fell in battle (759), his sons filled the next twenty years with turmoil. And it was one of these sons and a son-in-law of Yussuf, who, together with Ibu-el-Arabi (possibly the Governor of Barcelona), sought the aid of Charlemagne in the year 777, while he was holding a meeting at Paderborn. They wished Charlemagne to proceed against Abderrahman, and they promised him that they would procure the surrender of several cities in Spain if he would appear before their gates. The offer was a tempting one, and harmonised with the king's general feeling. For Abderrahman, the Ommayad Caliph of Cordova, was the rival and enemy of the Abbaside Caliph of Bagdad, who was the friend and ally of Charlemagne, in support of whose claim to the headship of Islam a large number of Spanish Mahommedans were in arms.

It was, then, at the call of the Saracens that Charlemagne entered Spain. He was asked to intervene in support of one Islamic power against another. The

question of the rival faith does not seem to have been the determining motive for this expedition. So that there is no foundation in history for the suggestion of the *chansons* and the later chronicles, that Charlemagne was moved to this enterprise by pity for the Spanish Christians groaning under Saracen oppression. In fact the situation of the Christians under Abderrahman seems to have been fairly tolerable. The historians of Spain have not hesitated to compare Charlemagne unfavourably with Abderrahman. If we consider merely the relations of Abderrahman with his own countrymen, this opinion can hardly be maintained. For it was at the request of the subjects of this very Caliph of Cordova that Charlemagne was asked to intervene in the affairs of Spain.

In 778 the king set out for Spain with a vast army. One part of his army followed the sea coast by way of Gerunda and Barcelona, the other, under Charlemagne, took the direct road to Pampeluna. Saragossa was to be the meeting-place. Having crossed the Pyrenees, Charlemagne first of all attacked Pampeluna, which submitted to him. Other cities followed its example. But Saragossa, the city which commanded the passage of the Ebro, refused to surrender. After a desperate sortie, Charlemagne had to retire. Disappointed with the result, he resolved to return home. Returning to Pampeluna, he levelled the walls of the city with the ground, lest it should rebel against him. He then began his march across the Pyrenees, 5,000 feet high. The highest point of the road, the "Summa Pyrenees", looked down on the wild and narrow defile of Roncesvalles, the "glyn mieri" of the Welsh translation.

In passing through this narrow defile, Charlemagne had to form his army into a long line.[1] On the highest

[1] *Vita*, cap. ix.

point of the pass an ambush had been formed by the Gascons, whose operations were concealed by the dense wood growing there. When the baggage train and the rearguard came in sight, they dashed down the slopes upon them. The suddenness of the attack, and the possession of the higher ground, fully compensated for the mountaineers' inferiority in arms and discipline. According to Eginhard, the whole of the rearguard were cut to pieces. Among those who fell were many nobles of the king's court, notably, Eggihard, the seneschal of the royal court, Anselm, count of the palace, Hruoland, the prefect of the Breton march (the Roland of the *chansons*).[1] As night soon fell and the nimble invaders dispersed quickly to their homes and hiding-places, revenge was impossible. So Charlemagne returned home to Frankland with clouded brow, all his satisfaction at his successes in Spain being marred by this dishonour to his arms, and by the loss of so many friends. The date of this disaster is fixed by the epitaph of the seneschal Eggihard as the 18th of August 778.

Such is the bare record of his history concerning this episode, which is so famous in song. By the caprice of fortune it has become the root of a whole epic literature.

But *who were these Gascons*, and what was their quarrel with Charlemagne?

Certainly they were not Saracens or Mohammedans, as the *trouvères* of the later centuries supposed. They form a part of the mysterious Basque race, which has throughout the centuries of history occupied the high upland valleys on either side of the Western Pyrenees, and has given its name to Biscay in Spain, and Gascony in France. These mountaineers represent probably the oldest population of Europe of which any trace now

[1] *Vita*, cap. ix.

remains. Their language is to-day the puzzle, the unsolved enigma, of philology. As has been said, they are not Mussulmans, and they may have "professed and called themselves Christians". And there is no need to seek any deep political combination, Christian or Mohammedan, to account for the attack on the baggage train of the Frankish king.

The men whose ancestors had been driven, perhaps two thousand years before, into their mountains by the Celts, were determined, and have been determined ever since, to keep their last asylum free from the foot of the invader. Roman and Goth had vainly tried to subdue them. And now this Frankish interloper should have a lesson that should prevent his paying too frequent visits to their mountains. Theirs was a savage love, not merely of independence, but of absolute isolation. That and the attraction of the plunder possible to them, seem quite sufficient to account for their attack on the baggage train of the king.

Other wars were undertaken by Charlemagne, against the Avars, and against the Bretons, in all of which the Franks were victorious, and the countries became the spoils of the Christian armies. Every campaign increased the prestige of the Frankish armies. The empire of the great monarch was enlarged against Slavish and Scandinavian heathendom, his troops maintained the Spanish march against all his Saracen and Christian enemies. From the Eider to Sicily, and from the Ebro to Theis, the will of Charlemagne was supreme.

It is no wonder that men who associated the ideas of imperial order and constructive civilization with the name of Rome should have recognised in the monarchy of Charlemagne the restoration of the powers of the Cæsars. When, therefore, at Rome, on Christmas Eve of the

year 800, he was crowned emperor of the Romans, it seemed the natural consummation of his whole career. And when, in 801, an embassy arrived with curious presents from Harun-al-Rushed, the great Caliph, who held in the East the same position as Charlemagne did in the West, men recognised in it a becoming testimony to the world-wide reputation of the Frankish emperor.

When Charlemagne ascended the throne learning in Europe was at its lowest ebb. The old Roman civilization had passed away, partly from inward decay, partly by the attacks made on the seats of learning by uncivilized nations, and partly, and still more quickly, through the supplanting power of the new idea introduced into the world by Christianity. But after a time even Christian learning had disappeared from Western Europe, though traces of it were still left in some of the cities of Italy. With that exception learning had abandoned the continent. The darkness was profound and general. Only in distant Britain and Ireland was the lamp of learning kept burning.[1] It was Alcuin, a scion of a noble Northumbrian house, educated in the famous school of York by teachers who had sat at the feet of the Venerable Bede, who in 782 brought the light back to the continent. The plight of learning in Frankland at his coming was deplorable.

Prompted by Alcuin, Charlemagne attempted the great work of dispelling this darkness. He began at the fountain head. He established in his own court the famous school called the Palatine school, in which his own children and those of his nobles were instructed by masters of great reputation. The king invited to his court grammarians and learned men from all parts. By

[1] Mosheim's *Eccl. Hist.*, p. 266.

means of his own example he roused others to cultivate learning, both human and divine. He was himself the most eager of pupils, wanting to know everything, and everything at once.

The knowledge imparted in the school was rudimentary. The whole circle of knowledge was included in what were called the *Seven Liberal Arts*, viz., grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy.[1] This curriculum was an inheritance from classical antiquity. Isidore, Bishop of Seville (d. 636), published a small encyclopædia called *Etymologiæ*, containing extracts gathered from patristic and classical authors, and this served as a *thesaurus* of all knowledge for centuries. In this book the arts are expressly recognised as seven. "Disciplinæ, liberalium artium septem sunt."[2]

Nor was Charlemagne's plan restricted to the palace school. He did not intend to rule a barbaric kingdom. Therefore he applied himself earnestly to bring learning to his people. Acting under such impulses, Charlemagne issued, in 787, that famous capitulary or proclamation which is the first general charter of education. It is in the form of a letter to the abbots of the different monasteries, reproving them for their lack of learning, exhorting them not to neglect the study of letters, and calling upon them to find out men who were both able and willing to learn themselves and also willing to instruct others. The soldiers of the church should be (said he) "religious in heart, learned in discourse, pure in act, eloquent in speech".

By his authority schools were opened in connection with monasteries and cathedrals in all the provinces. Other capitularies followed, laying down more definite instructions. In 802 a proclamation was issued, calling upon

[1] *West*, p. 5. Vide *Welsh Text*, pp. 104, 105. [2] *West*, p. 26.

fathers to send their sons to study letters.[1] There was a genuine renaissance, though its area was not very extensive.

The movement, however, rendered a double service to learning. It restored Latin to the position of a literary language, and it brought out a number of editions and copyists of such texts in Greek and Latin as had survived the wreck of ancient learning. Every student of the history of the old Latin and Greek texts knows how many of the best MSS. date from the ninth century. This was the result of the impulse given by Charlemagne to classical studies.[2] In this respect the king of the Franks takes a foremost place among the benefactors of humanity.

Charlemagne spent the last weeks of the year 813 at Aix-la-Chapelle.[3] In January of the following year he was seized by a violent fever. Having no faith in doctors, he tried his usual remedy for fever, *i.e.*, abstaining from food. But this only made him weaker. Soon pleurisy intervened. On the seventh day, after he had received Holy Communion, he passed quietly away, in the seventy-second year of his age, the forty-seventh year of his reign, on the fifth day before the Calends of February, at nine in the morning. The same day he was buried in the church of the Virgin there amidst universal signs of grief and sorrow.

Eginhard has preserved the inscription which was placed above his tomb:[4]—"Sub hoc conditorio situm est corpus Karoli magni at que orthodoxi imperatoris, qui regnum Francorum nobiliter ampliavit, et per annos XLVII feliciter rexit. Decessit septuagenarius Anno Domini DCCCXIIII, Indicitione vii. v. Kal. Febr."[5]

[1] *West*, p. 108. [2] Hodgkin's *Charles the Great*, p. 235.
[3] *Vita*, caps. xxx, xxxi. [4] *Vita*, cap. xxxi.

[5] Note that in this inscription Charlemagne is called "the *great* and orthodox *emperor*", and not "*Charles* the *Great*". It was sometime after this that the "Magnus" became linked to the "Karolus".

Charlemagne, we are told, had a genius for civilization.[1] Anarchy, in any shape or form, distressed him, and his impulse was to direct his efforts to check the tendency, and to produce order. Europe, in its political, social, and spiritual aspect, was in a state of disorder when Charlemagne ascended the throne, and his first thought was how to civilize Frankland and the countries around it. This was at the root of all his warlike expeditions. This, and not a mere thirst for conquest, it was that moved him to undertake them. This spirit is also made manifest in his eagerness to establish schools, in his taste for learning, in his predilection for the Church, and in his adoption of everything which appeared to him capable of exercising beneficial influence on society as a whole, or on man in his individual capacity.

The contribution of Charlemagne to modern civilization is different from that of many who have a great name in history. It is not so solid and manifest. He was not a great builder of cities, nor a great road-maker, nor did he enrich the world of literature and of art.

Charlemagne was a great statesman with lofty ideals. He wished to establish a vast Christian empire on earth. He would make all nations subjects of one kingdom, and make the Church in deed what it is in word, "militant here on earth". This he undoubtedly failed to do. He could not resuscitate the old learning and civilization of Rome in a Christian state, nor graft the new Christian culture on the old stem of heathen Teutonic races. Neither could he gather in all the nations of Europe into one fold. A lifetime is far too short for the accomplishment of a scheme on so vast a scale. By his great genius he did indeed create a vast empire, but he could not give it stability. For soon after his death it gradually fell to

[1] *Guizot*, p. 68.

pieces. To all intents and purposes it was buried with him in his grave at Aix-la-Chapelle. Its fall was hailed with delight by the many small nations which had been brought within its pale. Only in the Papal court, and possibly among some of the king's own descendants was there any fondness for the ideal that fired his imagination and disturbed his dreams—the whole continent united politically under one emperor, and spiritually under one bishop. The grand purpose that dominated his mind was not fulfilled, and it was better for Europe that it was not. Nevertheless, the mind that could conceive such a noble thought at that period in history, and environed by the sordid ideas that then prevailed both in the church and in the world at large, reveals a man whom the succeeding centuries have rightly acclaimed as truly great. He failed to realize his ideal because it was, and is, too grand for this world. But in any case, he had the sweet consciousness of knowing—

"How far high failure overleaps the bound of low successes."[1]

The ideal he entertained embraced more than one nationality. It took in all men. The catholicity of Charlemagne's character is one of its most striking features. He was a Frank only in dress.[2] What Turpin's romance says of Roland, according to the Welsh version, is certainly true of Charlemagne, "Karedic gantaw pob dyn. Ual pei brawt idaw uei bob cristawn."[3] ("He entertained kindly feelings towards every man. As his brother regarded he every Christian.")

Charlemagne's greatness was in the nobility of his aim, and in the energy and wisdom and tact with which he carried it out during his life. Notwithstanding the general wreck of his empire, in greatness of character, in

[1] "Marsyas" in *The Epic of Hades*, by Sir Lewis Morris.
[2] *Vita*, cap. xxiii. [3] *Welsh Text*, p. 100.

marvellous many-sided activity, and in magic influence of a name potent for good among succeeding generations, Charlemagne stands second to none of the great ones of the world.

II.—The Charlemagne of Romance.

"Vei le tu la u set à cel fluri gernun
Celui a la grant barbe à cet veir pelicun."—*Roman d'Otuel.*

The French *trouvères* and *jongleurs* in the Middle Ages displayed an extraordinary activity, exercised an immense influence, and produced remarkable works. These works were known and admired throughout the length and breadth of Europe. The events they narrated and the heroes they celebrated were often on all men's tongues. The great hold which these romances had on the attention of the literary world in the Middle Ages lies in the fact that quite independent of Greek and Latin antiquity, French genius drew from its own store narrative poetry in all its various forms—historical, moral, and descriptive. It was in France that the new society dared to give utterance in a form of poetry to which it had itself given birth. The origin, however, of these romances, so bright with life and so full of interest, is wrapped in obscurity. There used to be a theory that the Charlemagne romances owed their origin, more or less directly, to the Chronicle of Turpin, as the Arthurian romances are said to be based on Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Brut* or *Chronicle.* It has now been made fairly clear that the Latin Chronicle is not anterior even to some of the existing *chansons,* and some of the old songs may be traced in parts of the Chronicle, forming as it were the basis of the stories told.

The beginning of the national literature of France, as of other countries, probably was the ballads of the people. Minstrels seized upon some striking episode in the history

of the nation, and composed short stirring lays which took for granted a knowledge of the outlines of events. Cycles of ballads clustered round the names of great kings and knights. The existence of these national songs, contemporaneous with the events, is attested by many different authors.[1] Of Howell of Nantes it is stated "de hoc canitur in cantilena usque in hodierum diem"[2] (Turpin *Ch.*, Ciampi, cap. xii). Charles Martel, and Dagobert before him, were celebrated in many a song. Pepin's exploits were not forgotten by the minstrels. In the reign of Charlemagne songs were richer and fuller than ever. The war in Spain in 778 and its disastrous end created a profound impression and inspired many poems. In short, all that was glorious in the past history of the people, every great warrior and every stirring episode in history, had already its song and its ballad.

The demand for something like order among the many songs of different kinds then in existence, produced at that early date a classification of them more or less exact. The minstrels divided them generally according as they related to France, to Brittany, or to the Ancient World, as represented by Rome. The *trouvère*, Jean Bodel of Arras, at the beginning of his *Chanson des Saisnes* (thirteenth century), makes three distinct epic cycles of them.

> "Ne sont que trois matières à nul home entendant
> De France, et de Bretaigne, et de Rome le grant."

The romances "de Rome le grant" are those derived from ancient history, the chief representative of which possibly is the *Roman de Troie*, the *Dares Phrygius* of the Welsh MSS.

The second cycle, the *Matière de Bretaigne*, embraces

[1] *Flourishing of Romance*, p. 30.

[2] See also Davis' *Charlemagne*, p. 322; *Hist. Poet.*, p. 38; *Vita*, cap. xxix.

the romances of Arthur and the knights of the Round Table.

It is the third cycle of romances, the *Matière de France*, which, being the original production of the people, forms the principal interest of French literature in the Middle Ages.

The "Matter" of France is again divided into two parts: (1) The national or kingly cycle of songs; (2) The feudal or individual cycle of songs. The first group of songs refers to the songs which celebrated the exploits of the kings from Chlodovech to Charlemagne. They were dedicated to the glorification of the kings of the Franks.

The second group of songs were by far the most numerous, and were more or less hostile to royalty. In these songs the persons and deeds of the barons were highly exalted. The sovereign rights of the king are not denied, but the king never undertakes to do anything national without consulting his barons. There was also a third group, which embraced the songs relating to the wars in Spain against the Saracens.

This national and feudal poetry developed especially among the warrior class, among the lords and knights of the court and the field and their retainers, whose ideas and sentiments and ways of living and acting it reflected. It was not meant for the artisans and peasants, but for the aristocracy. It was a "courtois" production destined exclusively for the "courtois" class, and often produced by it and for those of the people who had been initiated into this culture.

In the formation and development of these songs the wandering minstrel played an important part. The *trouvères* had no intention of producing a permanent literature when they composed their *chansons de geste*. As the word *chanson* implies, they were meant to be sung and not

read, to please the ear and not the eye. And the word *geste* indicates that they were supposed to be songs which had for their subject some real episode in history.

The minstrels going about from place to place to recite these songs for the amusement of the great and for the entertainment of feast and wedding, brought the traditional songs of one region to another region, and in order to interest their audience they would attach to the one, heroes and episodes of the other, or draw upon their own fancy, or borrow from the common stock of their trade. Thus the popular tradition developed almost independently of literary authorities.

In this manner was formed a vast *epic matière* which had a national character—which expressed in song the ideal and the sentiment of the whole people of France, or at least, of its aristocratic and courtly classes.

The only popular history of the past, the only known annals of their country's deeds, were enshrined in the *chansons* of the minstrels. No other record was known. By the eleventh century the literary world had lost touch with the period of Charlemagne. Having lost sight of all landmarks it readily lent itself to expand mere myths and legends; even learned and sober chroniclers invented and recorded a personal visit of Charlemagne to Jerusalem. If this was done with what was regarded as history, it may be imagined what liberties were taken with the songs and ballads. In the eleventh century there came a time when the literary man took in hand the popular songs of the country and endeavoured to weave a story or poem out of them. The best story so produced is Turpin's *Chronicle*, and the best song the *Chanson de Roland*.

The word *épopée* is often used in the sense of an epic poem. It may also be used for the history or the matter which forms the subject of an epic poem. This matter

may be *imaginary*, pure invention, mythical, or it may be *historical, i.e.*, it may be based on real events in history more or less modified by the traditions of the people or by the imagination of the poet.

It is in this last sense that the French *épopée* must be considered, as being based, at least in its origin, on songs contemporaneous with the events.

The French *épopée* may then be defined as *poetical history* of France based on a previous or anterior national poetry, commemorating in song the great persons and events in the long past history of the country.

The *épopée* is nothing more than the poetry of a nation developed, enlarged, and centralized.[1] From thence it borrows its inspiration, its heroes, and even its stories, but it groups them and co-ordiuates them in one grand whole in which they are arranged about a principal point. It takes isolated songs and makes of them one whole and harmonious work. It removes all discrepancies, classifies subjects, arranges episodes in proper order and sequence, binds the events in a common plan at the expense of geography and chronology, and finally constructs, with the material of a preceding age, a true building. The *épopée* is simply "French history seen through a romantic lens".

The origin of the French *épopée* must be sought then in the national songs of the Franks, the songs, not as they were originally composed, but as they had been modified by the minstrels.

When the production of national poetry is arrested because the historical aspect to which it relates has come to an end, the nation, if still vigorous, will go on singing, for some time, the epic poetry of the preceding generations. But the old songs, in order to exercise fresh influence, must

[1] *Hist. Poet.*, p. 3.

submit to new conditions. In order to live, and lead a vigorous life, the old epic ballad must be brought into correspondence with its new environment.

So in the eleventh century all the epic production of the past was made to centre in Charlemagne. The French *épopée* may be rightly characterized as the cycle of Charlemagne. It was in him that the whole body of songs found their centre of unity. The national poetry up to that time was classified and arranged after the events in the poetical life of the great emperor.

Charlemagne is undoubtedly the centre of the French *épopée*. All the *chansons de geste* are connected with the great king in one way or another. *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona multi.* For three centuries *trouvères* and *jongleurs* had celebrated the great deeds of kings and warriors famous in the history of the Frankish people. But so powerfully did Charlemagne impress the imagination of Western Europe that all other kings were forgotten. Standing in lonely splendour, he put all other heroes in the shade. His exploits lived so much in the minds and hearts of the people that all the great events and glorious exploits of kings and warriors of the past, as expressed in the national epic ballads, were assigned to the great hero of the *épopée*, were grouped and co-ordinated in one vast story and arranged about him as its organic centre.

In the eyes of the poets and minstrels of the eleventh century in France, there was but one king. Charlemagne is regarded by them as the heir of all the traditions and songs which clustered round the names of Clovis, Dagobert, Charles Martel, Pepin, and even of his own son Louis. The most illustrious king of the line has eclipsed all the others. Charlemagne is the hero of all the grand episodes in the history of the Frankish nation.

This may have contributed to the confusion, at least in

the case of the *three* Charleses who figure in songs of diverse origin and inspiration, viz., of Charles Martel, Charles the Great, and Charles the Bold,—the three were all sons of a Pepin and fathers of a Louis.

As a result, by many displacements and alterations, the *trouvères* of the day composed of the material, new and old, one grand imposing character, king of the Franks and the emperor of Rome, a synthetical and glorified monarch, "the valiant Charlemagne, the son of old king Pepin", and made him the centre figure of song and romance.

The same tendency is seen in the modification of all kinds of enemies into *one* type. As the kings of France were all assimilated to Charlemagne, so all the enemies were made to conform to one pattern. This type no doubt was adopted after the war in Spain, a war whose disastrous ending in history was converted in the songs into a glorious victory, in order to satisfy poetic justice.

Not being able to distinguish their enemies by any other means, they characterized them by their religion or the lack of it. All those who were not Christians were regarded as Saracens and Paynims, worshippers of Tergavant, Mahomet and Jupiter.

Old ballads which told of national struggles in Acquitaine, in Brittany, in Saxony, in Lombardy, were corrupted. The Saracens were brought in everywhere. Even Witikind, the Saxon, the most worthy opponent Charlemagne ever met in battle, becomes a Saracen in Jean Bodel's *Chanson de Saisnes*, and Desiderius, the king of the Lombards, undergoes a similar treatment in *Chevalerie Ogier* and in *Aspremont*.

The enemies are always the objects of the most intense hatred and contempt. They are "*la pute gent*", "*y genedl fudr*".[1]

[1] *Welsh Text*, p. 110.

If any among them made manifest some good point, they invariably, before the end of the action, become converted to the Christian faith, fight henceforth most valiantly on the side of Charlemagne, and render him most loyal service.

The war in Spain against the Saracens becomes the typical war. And though the action in the Valley of the Briars ended in the complete overthrow of the rearguard of Charlemagne's army, yet popular song ever regarded it as a great victory. The oral tradition of that notable event took up in its course down the centuries all the stirring elements of other scenes of action in divers lands, and formed of them the typical battlefield.

Even Charlemagne's other battles were almost forgotten. His wars against Lombards, Saxons, Bretons, Avares—some of which occupied nearly the whole of his reign—have hardly left a trace behind in the new *chansons* of the *épopée.*

The grand idea that obtains in all the romances of the period, both in prose and in rhyme, is this—the conflict of Christian Europe against the Saracens under the leadership of the Frankish people. Thus the person of Charlemagne is glorified as the type of the king of the Franks. All the glorious events of many a battlefield in the history of the Franks, and all the great characters whose exploits fired the imagination of the people for centuries, are blended and combined in one sublime scene in a grand drama,—the fight of the Christians against the Saracens in Spain under the direct command and leadership of their ideal king, Charlemagne.

The first portraits which tradition has gathered of Charlemagne give the impression of a grand and powerful character. In the prose romance of Turpin, which seems more primitive than the *chansons,* Charlemagne is depicted

in his "manhood's prime vigour". He is a fine and imposing character, strong both in mind and body. So strong was he that he could fell a horse and rider with one blow, straighten four horseshoes joined together, and lift with his right hand a fully equipped knight to the level of his face.[1] He is represented as fighting in person in the very thick of the battle. There is no indication of age or decay in anything that he does. This refers more especially to the latter part of Turpin's *Chronicle*. In the first five chapters he is depicted at the close of his life with all his great achievements behind him. Here his piety is very marked. As a true son of the Church, though weary with oppressive labour, he once again unsheathes the sword to defend her.[2] His hobby seems to be to build churches here and there and everywhere, especially to St. James.[3]

In the *chansons*, which retain something of the national spirit, he is depicted as very old, with white hair and snowy beard flowing down his breast,[4] of superhuman majesty, prudent in counsel, valiant in battle. But his fighting days are a memory of the past.

In both prose and metrical romances, he is always the champion delegated by God to fight the faithless Paynims, destined to overthrow the power of Islam, and to establish the true faith on earth.

The epic king is attended with great pomp and circumstance. He has a gorgeous court, where he sits on a throne of gold. He is surrounded by a numerous and brilliant company of faithful knights, richly equipped in gold and silver armour, who are wedded to his throne and person, and who at his behest will encounter any form of danger to carry out his purpose, pre-eminent among whom stand the twelve peers of France: Roland, the Achilles of the Franks; Oliver, his brother-in-arms; Turpin, the

[1] *Welsh Text*, p. 26. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 1. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 4. [4] *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 59, 80.

militant Archbishop; Naimes, the Nestor of the college of peers; Geoffrey of Anjou, the king's standard-bearer, etc.

How far, then, does the epic Charlemagne reflect the real Charlemagne. To Charlemagne belongs the almost unique distinction of having two histories, one contained in the authentic annals of his country, and another evolved out of the affection and admiration of his countrymen. King Arthur, though a great hero of romance, has no assured position in history. He is almost, if not entirely, the creature of poetic imagination. The great ideal king of Wales has left hardly a trace of himself in history. But Charlemagne is great both in history and in song. The two narratives exist side by side, and both are on a grand scale.

Having given a short sketch of the Charlemagne of history, and the Charlemagne of romance, the question remains, how far does the latter reflect the former? How many of the traditions which cluster round his name have any foundation in fact?

To the historian the greatness of Charlemagne is altogether estimated by the position he holds in the true annals of his country. To him all the fictions of the *chansons* simply sully the fair name of the great king. Such, however, is not the case. For his greatness may also be estimated by the place he obtains in song. Granting that the historical elements are but faintly visible in the *chansons*, yet the existence of the epic Charlemagne bears testimony to the presence of great and commanding qualities in the man who could so impress the minds and fire the imagination of his countrymen as to evolve it. A commonplace king would not have suggested the heroic elements. It required a Charlemagne to create the French *épopée*, and the *épopée*, in turn, bears record to the grandeur of his character, "When God chose the ninety and nine

kingdoms of the world, He made of sweet France the best of all: and the best of kings that ruled in that realm was called Charlemagne."[1]

TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

I.—The Welsh Text.

The Welsh text of the *History of Charlemagne* is interesting in that it, among many other indications, makes manifest how far Wales was in touch with the new life that was throbbing on the continent, and especially in France, during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[2] During this period there was a remarkable intellectual awakening in Wales. At the time of Charlemagne, with the possible exception of Rome and a few other cities of Italy, learning had abandoned the continent and retired beyond the sea among the Britons and Irish. The lamp of learning was also kept burning in Brittany, with which Wales kept up a close attachment as long as it had an independent existence as a political unity. Charlemagne, through Alcuin and others, endeavoured to dispel the ignorance, and his efforts were crowned with partial success. At the beginning of the eleventh century there were signs that the old world was about to awake from sleep. Europe was beginning to assume another aspect. Gregory VII announced the coming of a new era. Hildebrand infused his own energy into the great minds of

[1] "Quant Deus eslist nonante et nuef reiames
Tot le meillor torna en dolce France.
Li mieldre reis et a nom Charlemagne."
(*Le courounement de Louis*, vv. 12-15.)

[2] For the state of learning in Wales during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Wales, see *Ellis*, pp. 24, etc. On the literature of Wales during this period, see Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i, pp. 19-32; Stephens' *Literature of the Kymry*, pp. 318, etc.; Dr. Maclean's *Literature of the Celts*.

Europe, and contemporary with him, Scotus, Roscelin, and Abelard, stood up for liberty of thought and speech. Up to this time Latin was the sole medium of communication between the learned men of various countries. And though Latin still continued to hold its premier position, now, however, the languages of the people are seen forcing themselves into the best literature of the day.[1]

The Welsh people were already alert and better prepared than most other nations of Europe for the impulse which was now being given to every kind of intellectual effort. They had among them an order of bards, already numerous and well-disciplined, and a language which was in use in all its fulness and richness among all classes of the people. As a necessary consequence, their literature became superior, more copious and richer, than that of any contemporaneous nation.[2] When the impulse came, instead of having to form a new language, as the *trouvères* and chroniclers of France had to do, the poets and writers in Wales had one ready at hand, and that now found embodiment in the polished diction of a classic literature. At that time, the Welsh nation, though small, held an honourable position among the nations of Europe. In the community of letters it gave as much as it received. The contributions of the Welsh people, together with their kindred on the continent, enriched the thoughts and literatures of all the nations of Europe. For were they not the creators of Arthur of romance, and did not the Bretons first conceive the *Chanson de Roland*, France's great epic poem, its boast and pride.[3]

[1] Ranke's *History of the Popes*, vol. i, p. 34.

[2] Price, *Hanes Cymru*, p. 526.

[3] G. Paris' *La Littérature Francaise au Moyen Age*, p. 54. Intro. to his *Chanson de Roland*, pp. 10-11.

Much of the excellence of the Welsh literature of this period is undoubtedly due to the enlightened patronage of the Welsh princes. In the eleventh century two events happened which seem to have had a material influence on Welsh literature. The one was the return, in 1077, of Rhys ap Tewdwr, the true heir of the throne of South Wales, from Brittany, where he had taken refuge. The other was the landing, in 1080, of Gruffydd ap Cynan, the great central figure in Welsh history during the Norman period, from Ireland, where he had been in exile. The return of these two princes created a new era in Welsh literature. In North Wales this manifested itself in a very remarkable revival of poetry, while in South Wales it took the form of prose literature. Between 1080 and 1400, Stephens enumerates no less than seventy-nine bards. To this period belong the greatest monuments of Welsh genius—the *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, the *Book of Aneurin*, the *Book of Taliesin*, and the *Red Book of Hergest*.

It is probable that the introduction of the Arthurian traditions, in their Breton form, may be dated from the return of Rhys ap Tewdwr. The appearance of the *History of the Britons*, by Geoffrey of Monmouth, was the first open manifestation of it. This book, written not later than 1147, in Latin, at once attained great popularity, and made the history it contained, together with the romantic tales of Uthr Pendragon and Arthur, familiar to the whole world. As Turpin wrote the romance of Charlemagne, and the *chansons* celebrated the glory of his vast empire, so Geoffrey wrote the epic history of the kings of Britain to enchance their glory, following in this the example set by Homer and Virgil in writing their epic poems.[1]

[1] *Vide* Dr. Sebastian Evans' edition of *Geoffrey*, pp. 356-361; and Sedgwick's Intro. to his edition of *Æneid*, pp. 8, 9.

Europe, and contemporary with him, Scotus, Roscelin, and Abelard, stood up for liberty of thought and speech. Up to this time Latin was the sole medium of communication between the learned men of various countries. And though Latin still continued to hold its premier position, now, however, the languages of the people are seen forcing themselves into the best literature of the day.[1]

The Welsh people were already alert and better prepared than most other nations of Europe for the impulse which was now being given to every kind of intellectual effort. They had among them an order of bards, already numerous and well-disciplined, and a language which was in use in all its fulness and richness among all classes of the people. As a necessary consequence, their literature became superior, more copious and richer, than that of any contemporaneous nation.[2] When the impulse came, instead of having to form a new language, as the *trouvères* and chroniclers of France had to do, the poets and writers in Wales had one ready at hand, and that now found embodiment in the polished diction of a classic literature. At that time, the Welsh nation, though small, held an honourable position among the nations of Europe. In the community of letters it gave as much as it received. The contributions of the Welsh people, together with their kindred on the continent, enriched the thoughts and literatures of all the nations of Europe. For were they not the creators of Arthur of romance, and did not the Bretons first conceive the *Chanson de Roland*, France's great epic poem, its boast and pride.[3]

[1] Ranke's *History of the Popes*, vol. i, p. 34.

[2] Price, *Hanes Cymru*, p. 526.

[3] G. Paris' *La Littérature Francaise au Moyen Age*, p. 54. Intro. to his *Chanson de Roland*, pp. 10-11.

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The *Welsh Text* itself supplies the material with which to decide the date of the translation. The translator says:—[1]

> "And this book, Madoc ap Selyf translated from Latin into Welsh, at the request and prayer of Gruffydd ap Meredudd ap Owein ap Gruffydd ap Rhys."

The prince who prompted Madoc ap Selyf to translate Turpin's *History of Charlemagne* into Welsh was of the royal race of the South, a descendant of Lord Rhys, the patron of the Eisteddfod, and the founder of the abbey at Strata Florida, the greatest of all the Welsh abbeys. His father, Meredudd ap Owein, who died in 1265, was Llewelyn the Great's most faithful ally, and fought side by side with him on many a battle-field. After Meredudd's death, Llewelyn did not forget his debt to his old friend. For it was to defend his son, Gruffydd, against his English enemies, that prince Llewelyn gathered together his forces for the last time (1271).

This Gruffydd kept up the traditions of his forefathers in fostering the literature of his country. No doubt Madoc ap Selyf, the translator of the old *Latin Chronicle* of Turpin, was a poet attached to the royal court of *Y Deheúbarth*, or connected with the abbey at Strata Florida, of which Gruffydd was patron.

The time, then, must have been not later than the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Madoc ap Selyf's date is given by Stephens as 1270-1300.[2]

The above date refers to the translation from the Latin. It should be noted that Madoc ap Selyf does not profess that he has translated anything from the French. This, among other reasons, implies that he is not the translator of *Roman d'Otuel*[3] and the *Chanson de Roland.*

[1] *Welsh Text*, p. 28. [2] *Literature of the Kymry*, p. 96.

[3] So is this *chanson* entitled in the Middlehill catalogue. The form *Otuel* or *Otwel* is found in all northern versions of the song, *e.g.*, in

It is important to bear in mind that the manuscripts in which the old literature of Wales, both original and derived, has been preserved and brought down, are copies of lost originals transcribed into the language of the copyist's time, though fortunately, through the inattention, or the conscious intentions, of the scribes, many older forms are left standing, betraying the age of the originals.

The translation of Madoc ap Selyf, among other works, was transcribed into the *Red Book of Hergest* at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The *Red Book of Hergest* is a very valuable MS. volume, in which has been preserved much of the ancient literature of Wales, and is now the property of Jesus College, Oxford. The book has been embellished in a magnificent binding of red morocco, with steel clasps, and is preserved in a case, and shewn as one of the curiosities of Oxford.

The book does not profess to contain anything original, but is rather an enormous compilation of Welsh compositions, in prose and verse, of all periods from the fifth century up to the middle of the fifteenth century. The MS. was given to Jesus College, in the year 1701, by Thomas Wilkins, of Llanblethian, to whom it had been left by Dr. John Davies. Dr. Davies obtained it in Glamorgan, in 1634, from Louis Mansel, of Margam, and it appears to have been in the possession of the Margam family for some time. The MS., however, takes its name from Hergest Court, a seat of the Vaughans, near Knighton, Radnor, and was probably compiled for them.

This book, so precious to Wales, is a thick folio MS., consisting of three hundred and sixty-two leaves of vellum, written at different times, extending from the

all the Charlemagne romances published by the E.E.T.S., in Karl. Saga, in K.K.K., and in both Hengwrt and Hergest MSS.

first part of the fourteenth century (1318), to the middle of the fifteenth century (1454). It is written in double columns, and apparently in three different handwritings.[1]

The first handwriting extends from column 1 to column 999. In this part of the MS. there is a chronology, terminating with the year 1318. The second handwriting begins at column 999, with the *Brut y Saeson,* and ends with the year 1376. The same handwriting goes on to column 1143. At column 1143 a more modern hand begins.

The Welsh text of the *History of Charlemagne* begins at column 381, and ends at column 502, and therefore it belongs to the early part of the fourteenth century.[2]

The faithfulness with which the so-called Turpin's history was translated from the Latin, and the *Roman d' Otuel* and the *Chanson de Roland* from the French, is a proof, if such were needed, of the high state of learning in Wales at that time. These translations will bear comparison with any translation into any European language of the period.

Madoc ap Selyf's translation from Latin into Welsh is, apart from certain omissions—of geographical names for the most part—far more faithful to the original than any of the old French translations. He never shirks difficulties, but grapples with them successfully. There are no interpolations and no paraphrasings in his work.

The Welsh translation of the *Song of Roland* reads like an original, and is full of poetic feeling as to the way and the mode of expressing the thought. Compare in this respect the Charlemagne romances in old English literature.

[1] *Lit. of the Celts,* p. 219; *Report of MSS. in the Welsh Language,* vol. ii, part i, p. 1.

[2] *Vide* on this point Skene's *Four Ancient Books,* vol. ii, p. 423, and Max Nettlau's *Beiträge,* p. 13.

It may be that at that period the French language was generally spoken among the *courtois* class in England, with the result that no translations were necessary. But whatever be the reason, the old English translations, or rather adaptations, of the literature of the French *épopée* are very poor as compared with the Welsh translations. There is no comparison between them, either in faithfulness to originals or in beauty and felicity of diction. Evidently, the Middle Ages were not the Dark Ages in Wales. And not without cause is the cry raised in Wales to-day—"I godi'r hen wlad yn ei hol." It needs the up-lifting.

In the Middle Ages books were so difficult of access that writers were in the habit of extracting what appeared to them the most essential features of every branch of literature. Collecting them together they gave them to their readers in the form of a compilation. This was done with the material composing the French *épopée*. This is the form of the Welsh text. It is a cyclic composition. An attempt is made to compose, of the different romances, prose and metrical, of which Charlemagne is the centre, one grand whole; in a word, to write out the history of the great emperor, according to the epic conception, with the material of the songs and legends.

That the Welsh text is composed of different elements, introduced at different times, by different authors, is evident to any one reading it with a little attention. Some parts are plainly prose; others are, not less obviously, poetry. The sources of the work must be sought outside Wales. It has an air about it foreign to the world of the *Mabinogion*, the peculiar creation of the Brythonic mind and genius. The sources of the work are undoubtedly: (1) the Latin *Chronicle* of Turpin, (2) the French *Roman d' Otuel*, (3) the French *Chanson de Roland*.

Analysis of the Welsh Text.

	Welsh Text.	Source.
Pages	1— 28, *l.* 4.	Latin Version of Turpin's *Chronicle*, chapters i to xxi.
„	28, *l.* 1— 74, *l.* 4.	French *Roman d'Otuel* (Middlehill MS.)
„	74, *l.* 5— 96, *l.* 18.	French *Chanson de Roland* (an early version).
„	96, *l.* 19—108, *l.* 9. less pp. 104, 5.	Latin Version of Turpin's *Chronicle*, chapters xxiii—xxxii.
„	104, *l.* 21—105.	Supplementa.
„	108, *l.* 10—111, *l.* 1.	Supplementa.
„	111, *l.* 2, to end.	Latin Version of Turpin's *Chronicle*, chapter xxiii (a summary).

The Contents of the Welsh Text.

(A) Outline of "Turpin's Chronicle".—When Charlemagne had conquered the world from sea to sea, and had brought it into subjection to the rule of Christ, St. James is represented as appearing to him in a vision. The king had been much interested at that time in astronomy, and was puzzled about the Milky Way—"the pathway of stars"—stretching across the heavens from the Frisian Sea to Galice, which was outside his empire. The Apostle told him that the meaning of it was that he was to go to Galice, in which land his bones were laid, and of which the Saracens were then masters. He urged Charlemagne to save Galice, promising to help him.

Charlemagne set out for Spain with a great army and besieged Pampeluna, which was invincible to his arms, but it fell a prey to his prayers. After further exploits

and the foundation of many churches, he returned home to France.

He was soon back again in Spain. For news had come that the Saracen king Aigolant had once more seized the country, and had attacked the garrisons left by Charlemagne to protect the Christians. On this expedition an awful example was made of a knight who unjustly kept back the alms left by a dying man to the clergy and the poor, for the rest of his soul.

Charlemagne besieged Agenni where Aigolant and the sixteen kings, his allies, were then encamped, and took it. Aigolant, however, fled to Santonica. Charlemagne followed him, and asked him to surrender the city. This he refused to do, saying that the city would be surrendered if he were beaten in a pitched battle. Aigolant was beaten, and fled to Pampeluna.

Charlemagne returned to France and brought out with him to Spain an immense army and besieged the city. A truce was granted, and Aigolant had a long discussion with Charlemagne concerning the respective merits of the Christian and the Saracen faith and practice. The question was submitted to the judgment of arms, and the Christians prevailed. Aigolant, being disgusted with the conduct of the Christians towards the poor and needy, refused baptism. A terrible battle followed, in which Aigolant was killed.

Charlemagne next attacked Furre, the king of Navarre, when Furre and three thousand of the Saracens were killed.

A giant dwelt at Nager, who had been sent by the king of Babylon to fight Charlemagne. This mighty man, Ferracut by name, offered to fight any of Charlemagne's men in single combat. He vanquished all the Paladins except Roland, who conquered him by means of a

stratagem. First of all, however, Roland and the giant had a long discussion concerning the great verities of the Christian faith.

Cordova was next attacked. There the Christians were almost vanquished, because both knights and horses were terrified by the ugly masks worn by the Saracens. Ultimately, however, the Paynims were conquered, and all put to the sword. Charlemagne then divided the whole of Spain between his own men.

Charlemagne held a great council at Santiago, made it an Apostolic See, and put the whole of Spain and Galice in subjection to it.

(*B*) *Outline of "Roman d' Otuel". Part I. The Conversion of Otuel.*—Charlemagne was holding a full court at Paris, surrounded by the twelve peers of France and a crowd of princes, counts, barons and knights, when a messenger arrived from the Saracen king Garsi, asking for the emperor. "Whence comest thou? and who art thou?" said Ogier. "I am Otuel", said he, "and I come from Spain. I am sent by the most powerful king, Garsi, to your king." Directed by the knights, the envoy made his way to the presence of Charlemagne, whom he summoned to pay homage to his lord, Garsi, and to renounce the Christian faith. Enraged by his words, a knight tried to kill him, but was himself killed by Otuel. By the persuasion of Charlemagne and Roland he gave up his sword and delivered his message. He made loud boast of his prowess in battle, and challenged Roland to single combat, which the latter accepted. After Mass the following morning they prepared for the fight, Otuel being equipped by Belicent, the emperor's daughter. Between two such great champions there was a terrible encounter, and the fight was carried on with varied success. Roland tried to convert Otuel, but all in vain.

Heaven intervened. A dove came flying and rested upon Otuel's helmet. Regarding this as a divine token, he agreed to renounce the law of Mahomet and to become a Christian. He was baptized, and Belicent was betrothed to him.

Part II. The Expedition against Garsi.—Otuel took his place among the twelve peers, and with the army of Charlemagne marched against Garsi, whose most furious and most relentless enemy he became. On the 1st of April the army started, and arrived soon near the city Atalie, where Garsi was. Roland, Oliver, and Ogier rode out of the camp and met four Saracen kings, three of whom they slew, and the fourth they made a prisoner. But the Saracens came up, and the French knights were compelled to let their prisoner go. Overpowered by numbers, Roland and Oliver took to flight, and Ogier was taken prisoner. Otuel met Roland and Oliver flying. The three returned and made havoc among the Saracens. Otuel fought a duel with Clarel and killed him. A general battle followed, during which Ogier escaped. The Saracens were utterly routed, and Garsi was made a prisoner and brought to Charlemagne.

(C) Outline of "La Chanson de Roland".—Garsi being in prison, Marsile took command of the Saracen forces in Spain. Knowing he could not withstand Charlemagne's might, he sent to him legates seeking peace. Two brothers of noble birth, Bazin and Bezile, were sent by the emperor to state terms. These not being acceptable, the Paynim king put the ambassadors to a shameful death. Charlemagne set out to avenge the injury and insult. Moved again by the knowledge that he could not meet the forces of France in the field, Marsile sent his prime minister, Blancandrin by name, as ambassador to the king, and promised to submit to him, to receive Christian

baptism, and to give him hostages and presents. The emperor summoned his barons to consider these terms. Roland advised the king not to accept them. Ganelon, on the contrary, urged Charlemagne not to reject the offer, and that an ambassador be sent to Marsile to state what the emperor demanded of him. This plan was adopted. Naimes, Roland, Oliver, Turpin offered to go on this embassy. To this Charlemagne would not consent. He knew that it was a mission full of danger, and would not allow any of his twelve peers to risk his life in its commission. Roland mentioned the name of Ganelon. To that all the barons agreed. But Ganelon, who recalled the fate of Bazin and Bazile,[1] swore in case he returned home sound and safe, of which indeed he had no hope, that he would be avenged on Roland.[2] Ganelon joined Blancandrin and set out for Saragossa, carrying with him the emperor's letter. On the way he could not hide his hatred of Roland. Blancandrin took advantage of it and induced him to conspire against Roland's life.

When he arrived at Saragossa Ganelon delivered his message with such haughtiness that Marsile tried to smite him with his javelin. Blancandrin intervened, and Marsile was appeased. King and ambassador communed together, and the conversation ended in Ganelon consenting to betray the emperor, and to see that Roland, "the emperor's right arm", was placed in the rear of the army with a small number of soldiers. The Saracens were

[1] No account of the embassy of Bazin and Bazile is found in the Oxford MS.

[2] According to Turpin's *Chronicle* Ganelon had no bad feeling towards Roland. He was simply corrupted by the Saracens' gold. Ganelon returned to the Franks' camp with sweet wine and fair Saracenes, and their defeat on the morrow was the direct result of their debauchery the night before. It was a punishment for their sins.

to surround this small force with a great army in the narrow defiles of the Pyrenees, and thus to destroy it. Marsile and his barons loaded the traitor with presents.

Returning to Charlemagne, Ganelon reported that his embassy had been most successful, that Marsile would come to Aix-le-Chapelle to receive Christian baptism, and that he had sent with him the tribute the emperor demanded of him.

The army in joy began to strike their tents and gather their cattle and to start for their longed-for France.

On the morrow Charlemagne, who had been troubled by dreams foreboding some evil, consulted his barons who should be in command of the rear-guard. Ganelon mentioned Roland. *Roland, though the emperor did not like it, was delighted with the post. He would not accept more than twenty thousand men with him. The twelve peers joined themselves to him. The army set out for the gates of Spain. Soon the emperor and his part of the army came to Gascony.

Meanwhile the Saracens approached the rear-guard, one hundred thousand strong. Oliver discovered them and was astonished at their number. He asked Roland to sound his horn to recall Charlemagne to their succour. Through an exaggerated sense of honour he refused to do so. The battle then began. Turpin had already blessed the soldiers and absolved them, telling them that the gates of Paradise were opened to receive their souls if they fell in fighting for their faith. Roland also roused their enthusiasm, and recalled the fact that the emperor had entrusted to them a post of great honour, and that they must see to it that that confidence was justified. To the cry of "Monjoie" they rushed into the fray, and a terrible battle ensued. The Saracens were vanquished. But new forces of the Paynims appeared on the scene without

cessation, and the Franks fell under the pressure of superior force.*[1] One by one the peers were slain. At last Roland agreed to sound his horn. But he blew it with such force that he burst the vein of his neck. The emperor, though eight miles away, heard the sound, and in spite of Ganelon's advice to the contrary, retraced his steps. But he arrived too late. All were dead.[2] Charlemagne deplored the death of his knights. He gathered his forces and pursued the enemy and slaughtered them, the sun staying in its course to help him. The Franks returned to Roncesvalles. They wept for their brave companions. Some of the dead they buried there on the field of battle. The bodies of the knights were embalmed and carried to France, where they were buried. Ganelon was torn in pieces by wild horses. A great assembly was held at the Church of St. Denis to return thanks to God for the subjection of the Paynims to Christian arms.

After a time Charlemagne's health suffered, and his death approached. Turpin had a vision. He saw an "army of demons" preparing to carry off the emperor's soul to hell on account of his sins. They were foiled, however, by St. James, who, in return for Charlemagne's benevolence towards him in the building of many churches to his name, rescued his soul and bore it into heaven.

II—Other Texts.

The original texts of the Welsh *History of Charlemagne* were written some in Latin and some in French. The *Chronicle* of Turpin was originally written in Latin, and

[1] A *lacuna* exists in Hergest MS. between the * . . *. This is supplied by the Hengwrt MS.

[2] According to Turpin's *Chronicle*, two Frankish knights escaped, Baldwin and Thiery, who came to Charlemagne to announce, the first the general disaster, and the second, the death of Roland.

the *Roman d'Otuel* and the *Chanson de Roland*, in French. The *Chronicle* was soon translated into French, and into almost all the languages of Europe. The *Chanson de Roland* was still more popular, and still more widely translated. The *Roman d'Otuel*, though not so generally known, has been put in a number of other tongues. So that there exists an abundance of other texts with which to compare the Welsh text of the Hergest MS.

(1) The Latin Text.

"Turpini de Vita Caroli Magni et Rolandi Historia."

There are five printed editions of the Latin "History."

(1) The first printed edition of the Latin text is that of Simon Schardius, who published it, *in folio*, at Frankfort-on-Main, in 1566, in a collection which he entitled, *Germanicarum rerum quatuor celebriores, vetustioresque chronographos. . . . . Francofurti ad Mœnum, Anno 1566.* Turpin's *Chronicle* is the first of the four, and its full title there is:—*Iohannes Turpinus de Vita Caroli Magni et Rolandi.*

(2) The second edition is that of Justus Reuber. This was published eighteen years after Schardius, *in folio*. This again is in a collection which has the following title: —*Veterum Scriptorum qui Caesarum et Imperatorum Germanicorum res per aliquot sæcula gestas litteris mandarunt tomus unus ex bibliotheca Justî Reuberi, etc. Francofurti, Anno 1584.*

This volume contains thirteen different works in all, of which the first three are:—

i. *Vita et gesta Caroli Magni per Eginhartum.*

ii. *Annales regum Francorum, Pipini, Caroli Magni, et Ludovici, a quodam ejus aetatis astronomo conscripti.*

iii. *Turpini de vita Caroli Magni et Rolandi Historia.*

A second edition of this was published at Hanover in 1619, and a third at Frankfort-on-Main in 1726. This last edition contains all the *Supplementa* found in Lambecius' *Commentaria,* published in 1665.

(3) In 1822, Sebastian Ciampi published his edition of the *Chronicle* at Florence. Its title is:—*De Vita Caroli Magni et Rolandi Historia Ioanni Turpino Archiepiscopo Remensi vulgo tributa . . . . Florentiae, 1822, 8vo.*

Ciampi's text does not differ much from that of Schardius and Reuber. The three editions have as a preface the letter of Turpin to Leoprand, the Dean of Aix-la-Chapelle. Schardius and Reuber, however, omit the iii chapter of Turpin as found in Ciampi, the chapter entitled: "*Nomina Villarum et Urbium*", etc.

The three editions end with these words:—"qui legis hoc carmen Turpino posce juvamen ut pietate Dei subveniatur ei. Amen."

(4) In 1836-38, M. de Reiffenberg published at Brussels an edition of Turpin's Latin *History* in connection with his edition of *Philippe Mousket.* This also contains the Supplementa.

(5) Ferdinand Castets brought out an edition of Turpin for the Society for the Study of the Romance Languages. Its title is:—*Turpini historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi. Ferdinand Castets. Montpellier, 1880.* (Publ. vii des publications spéciales du Société pour l' étude des langues romanes.)

The reputed author of the *Chronicle* is Turpin, or Tylpinus, as the name appears in its German form, who was Archbishop of Rheims from 756 up to his death, about 800, and who was then a real contemporary of those who perished at Roncesvalles in 778 (*vide* Gautier's *Ch. de R.*, p. 21).

Turpin's *Chronicle* was regarded for centuries as the record of actual deeds done. Schardius and Reuber without any hesitation insert this epic history in collections which included writers acknowledged as historians of repute. Later editors, it is true, cast doubt upon the advisability of allowing Turpin a place side by side with Eginhard. But it remains a fact that he was so esteemed by the first editors in both cases.

When the first edition of the *History* appeared, the generally received opinion concerning it was that it was the work of one man, and it was assigned to one date and one country. But when learning revived, doubts were entertained on these points. One point was soon settled, it was not written in the time of Turpin nor by him. Some were of the opinion that it was written by Pope Callixtus II, three centuries after the death of Charlemagne, with the object of increasing the number of pilgrims to the shrine of St. James of Santiago de Compostella. Oudinus *(de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, vol. ii, p. 68) writes:—"Auctor hujus operis non Turpinus, sed Callixtus II Papa, qui tribus post mortem Caroli Magni saeculis, illam fabulam confinxit, non ut Carolum Magnum, sed ut Sanctum Iacobum Apostolum et ecclesiam Compostellanam, quam ardenter amabat, illustriores his fabulis faceret: unde nil mirum quod in MS. Cantabrigiensi S. Benedicti Callistus II hanc fabulam a se confictam, dicat *opus authenticum*, primus que omnium illius mentionem faciat" (quoted in Reuber, p. 94; Ciampi, p. vi; see also Dr. Sach's *Beiträge*, p. 34).

Others are not so definite as to the author, though convinced that the book was forged by someone interested in exalting the glory of the shrine of St. James at Padron in Galice before it was transferred to Compostella (cf. "Compostella *qualis tunc temporis parva*", Turpin, chap. iii, Ciampi). In any case, the *Chronicle* was approved by

Callixtus II in 1122, with the result that it had an enormous circulation.

Others, again, maintain that the book was written in the interest of the Crusades. Warton *(Hist. of English Poetry*, vol. i, p. 128) says:—"It was forged about 1110 with the design of giving countenance to the Crusades." This is also the opinion of M d'Eichkor *(Histoire du Moyen Age)* "C'est après la première croisade du commencement du xii siècle que les moines inventèrent l'histoire de Charlemagne connue sous le nom de Turpin . . . . Les fables des guerres de Charlemagne et de Roland avec les infidèles devoient encourager et enflamer les Chretiens contre les Mahométans" (quoted by Ciampi, p. x).

The final word on this question has been said by M. Gaston Paris, who, in his Latin treatise, *De Pseudo Turpino*, has made an exhaustive study of the subject. His opinion is that the *Chronicle* is not the work of Turpin, but that of several authors who wrote at different times and in divers places, but that all wrote between the beginning of the eleventh century and the middle of the twelfth century. If the letter of Callixtus II, recommending the history as authentic to the faithful, be spurious, the first mention of it goes back to the year 1165. It is more than once quoted before the end of the twelfth century. The first ten years of the thirteenth century produced three, if not four, translations of it, and from the year 1205 writers of great historical compilations have admitted it into their works without any misgiving. It was only at the Renaissance, soon after Schardius had published his first edition of the Latin text, that Papire Masson, first of all, declared the work to be fictitious and mythical. The *Chronicle* is based partly on traditions and partly on the *chansons de geste*, while some parts are pure invention.[1]

[1] *Hist. Poet.*, p. 58.

For critical purposes the *Chronicle* is divided into two parts, the one comprising chapters i to v, and the other chapters vi to the end.

The first five chapters contain the epic account of the expedition into Spain as a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. James at Santiago. The writer of this first part does not endeavour to persuade his readers that he is Turpin. In fact the archbishop is only just named in passing. Nor does his eye rest on any *chanson* while writing. There is no trace of any of the old songs of the *épopée* underlying his narrative. In this part of the book two things, at least, are noticeable: the piety of the writer, and his evident and exact knowledge of Spanish things. He does not mention anything which pertains not to Spain. Battles are referred to, but not described. Long discourses are not reported, but prayers and miracles are recorded. And all accounts are given in as concise a manner as possible. Roland is not so much as named once. The writer does not know, or does not care to tell, of Roncesvalles. The author has no other object in writing than to induce the faithful to visit the tomb of St. James at Santiago-de-Compostella. M. Gaston Paris concludes that the first five chapters were written before the rest of the book, and that the author was a Spaniard. A Frenchman could not, at that time, know the names of all cities and towns of Spain mentioned in the third chapter of the *Chronicle* (Ciampi's edition). He further maintains that the writer was a monk of Compostella, that he wrote his book to the glory of the Church of St. James and to induce the faithful to visit the shrine of the apostle, and that this part of the book was written about the eleventh century (A.D. 1050). The latter portion of the *Chronicle* (chaps. vi to xxxii) lends itself to various interests, which employed as many biased writers, who introduced matters

into the history according to their own predilection. In this part of the book names are given which are not found anywhere save in the *chansons*, such as Aigoland, Marsile, etc. The writer of the first portion mentions Turpin once, and gives no hint to the reader that he was the author of the book. In the latter portion, the writer refers to himself often as "I, Turpin", and he wishes to impress upon his readers that he was an actual eye-witness of all the events he records. In the first part, no Christian warrior except Charlemagne is mentioned. In the second part, many names of knights famous in songs are given. The first portion is written to the glorification of St. James of Compostella; at the end of the second part, the first rank belongs to St. Denis.

M. Gaston Paris concludes that the second portion of the *Chronicle* (chapters vi—xxxii), together with the prologue, was composed by a monk of St. Andrew, at Vienne, any time between the years 1109 and 1119.

Old French Translations of the "History".

The *Chronicle* of Turpin seems to have been translated into French at a very early date. There are five old translations of it, of which four belong to the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century.[1]

(1) The oldest of these translations is that of Nicholas de Senlis. There are two copies of this old work in the Imperial Library, Paris, the one marked Fr. MS. 124 and the other Fr. MS. 5,714. These two MSS. have been collated and published by M. Theodor Auracher, at Halle-on-S., in 1877.

The preface to this translation informs the reader that Baldwin, Count of Hainault ("li cuens de Chainau"), having

[1] On these old translations, *vide* Gaston Paris, *De Pseudo Turpino*, chap. vii; and his *La litt. française au Moyen Age*, pp. 137, 138.

no faith in the *chansons* concerning Charlemagne, sought out for his true history. After a long search, he found at Sanz in Burgundy, the Life of Charlemagne which Turpin wrote in Latin. He had a copy of it made for himself, and guarded it with great care as long as he lived. At the close of his life, the Count sent this Latin book to his sister, Iolande, the Countess of St. Paul, and she, in turn, requested Nicholas de Senlis to translate it from Latin into French, "without rhyme, for rhyme supplies words not found in the Latin original".

This is the story of this translation as related in Nicholas' own words:—"En l' enor nostre Seignor qui est Peres e Filz e Saint Esperiz, e qui est un Dex en trois persones, e au nom de la gloriose mere ma dama Saincte Marie, voil commencier l'estoire si cum li bons enpereires Karlemaines en ala en Espagnie por la terra conquerra sor sarrazins. Maintes gens en ont oi conter e chanter, mes n'est si mensongie non ço qu'il en dient e chantent cil jogleor ne cil conteor, nus contes rimes n'est verais, tot est menssongie ço qu' il en dient, quar il non seuient rien fors par oit dire.

"Li bons Baudoin, li cuens de Chainau, si ama molt Karl'maine. Ni ne veut unques croire chose que l'en chantast: ainz fit cercher les bones abaies de France e garder par toz les armaires por savior si lóm i troveroit la veraie estoira: ni onques trover ne li porent li clerc. Tant avint que uns sis cleirz ala en Borgognie par l'estoire quere eisi cum De plot, si la trova à Sanz en Borguonie. Icele estoire domeinament que Turpin, le bons arcevesque de Reins escrit en Espaigne qui avoc le bon enpereor fu. Li clers au bon compte Boudoin contre-escrit l'estoire e à son Seignor l'aporta, qui molt l'én tinc en grant cherte tant cum il vesqui, e quant il dut murir, si enveia le livre à sa seror la bone Iolent, la contessa de Saint Po, e si

manda que par amor de lui, gardast le livre tant cum ela vivreit. La bone contessa ha gardé le livre jusqu' a ore. Or si me proie que je le meta de Latin en romanz. Por ço que teus set de letra qui de Latin ne seust eslire, e por romanz sera li mielz gardez."[1]

These words of Nicholas supply material for deciding the date of the translation. Iolande, the eldest sister of Baldwin, Comte de Hainau, was married to her second husband, Hugh, Comte de St. Paul, about the year 1198. Her brother died in 1195, and her husband, the count, died in 1205. So that the date of the translation must be somewhere between 1198 and 1205 (Warton, vol. i, p. 128). Gaston Paris says about 1200 ("circa annum MCC probabilius", *De Pseudo Turpino*, p. 46).

MS. 5,714 seems older than MS. 124. The translation in both copies is freely interpolated. Others have applied themselves to the task of forging and augmenting Turpin, but the interpolater of this translation leaves all far behind him. The interpolation should not be assigned to the translator, but to a later writer. This is a fair translation of the Latin text up to the tenth line in the seventeenth page (Auracher), *i.e.*, the middle of the ninth chapter of the Latin Turpin. Then comes a short interpolation to line twelve, page nineteen, after which Turpin is followed to the end of the ninth chapter. Then comes a long interpolation of sixteen pages—from page 16 to page 38. The interpolater was a native of Santonica. For he describes hardly anything beyond the neighbourhood of Santonica, or rather the city itself. He makes use of the flight of Aigolant, to which Turpin merely refers, as a peg on which to hang many local legends. There is a reference to *Taillefer de Leon*, who was not known elsewhere, but who was regarded by

[1] M. Th. Auracher, pp. 6 and 7.

the people of Santonica as a great hero. Besides, MS. 124 bears trace of the dialect of Santonica.

This old translation is very important from a critical point of view, in that it decides what was in the Latin original at the date it was translated, being three hundred and fifty years older than the first printed edition of the Latin. MS. 124 and MS. 5,714 contain the prologue addressed to Leoprand, Dean of Aix-la-Chapelle. The twenty-first chapter of the Latin (Ciampi) is wanting, and the *epitaphium* (page 73). The *Supplementa* on the Seven Arts, Roland's Adventure, the Death of Turpin, and Aumaçor of Cordres, are found in it.[1]

The translation printed in Paris in the year 1527, by Pierre Vidone for Regnault Chauldière, and reprinted in Gothic characters in 1835, contains all the interpolations of the MSS. 5,714 and 124, and is not Robert Gayuin's translation.

(2) *Cod. Gall.*, 52, or, *Johannis.* So according to M. Gaston Paris should this translation be designated, a translation generally assigned, but without any reason, to Michael Harnes. There are six copies of this translation in the Imperial Library, Paris. The oldest of these, as well as the copy in the British Museum (*vide* Dr. Sach's *Beiträge*, p. 35) refers in the prologue to the fact that Reginald, the Count of Boulogne, found the Latin copy of Turpin in the *Chronicle* of St. Denis, and had it translated from the Latin into French in the year 1206.

Three of the copies in the Imperial Library, Paris, state that Michael de Harnes found the book of Reginald, Count of Boulogne, and had it translated. This is not the case. Michael Harnes was not the translator, but the patron. There is a copy of this translation in the State

[1] Vide *Welsh Text*, pp. 104-5, 107, 108, 111.

Library, Munich (*Cod. Gall.*, 52); this was published by M. Theo. Auracher, at Munich, in 1876. One copy (MS. 921) ends with these words:—"Here ends the history of Charlemagne, which Master John translated."[1]

(3) *Anonymous.* So does M. Gaston Paris designate MS. 1850 (*De Pseudo-Turpino*, p. 59). This is a fair translation of Turpin. The prologue is wanting, but it contains most of the *Supplementa.* It is supposed to have been written sometime between the year 1200 and 1220.

(4) *Anonymous.* This is the second translation by a person unknown. Its library mark is B.N., No. 2137, and it is supposed to have been written at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The prologue is wanting; the *Supplementa* are found. In addition, it contains a chapter, "de nomine Navarrorum", which is found in several Latin copies (though not in Ciampi), but only in this French translation.

Both these MSS., 1850 and 2137, have been published by Fred. Wullf, in 1881. The full title of his work is: —*La Chronique dite de Turpin, publiée d'après les MSS. B. N.*, 1850 *et* 2137, par Fredrik Wulff. Lund. 1881.

(5) The translation of William de Briane. The only copy of this translation is in the British Museum. It was written about the middle of the thirteenth century. (*Vide De Pseudo-Turpino*, p. 60.)

(6) Robert Gaguin's translation (?). There are many references, here and there, to a translation of the *Chronicle* by one Robert Gaguin, which is said to have been published in Gothic characters, in Paris, in 1527.[2]

The book and the authorship are denied by August Potthast (*Bibliotheca historica Medii Aevi*, p. 554); and J. C.

[1] Cf. *Hengwrt MSS.*, vol. ii, p. 118.

[2] *Vide* Ciampi's Intro., pp. viii, ix. M. Theo. Auracher's Intro. to *Cod. Gall.*, 52, p. 3.

Burnet (*Enchiridion*, vol. v, p. 98), who is an authority on the subject, and has made a special study of it, says that he has never seen the book, and that its existence even has never been proved. With this, Gaston Paris agrees (*De Pseudo-T.*, p. 53).

(7) *La Chronique de Turpin.*—In 1835, a reprint was made of an edition, in quarto, printed in Paris, in 1527, by Pierre Vidone for Regnault Chauldière.

This is really a modern edition in Gothic characters of the old translation of Nicholas de Senlis, seeing that it contains the interpolations peculiar to MSS. 124 and 5714. The edition was limited to 120 copies, and is now consequently very rare. Its full title is:—"*Cronique ou hystoire faicte et composée par réuérend père en dieu, Turpin archeuesque de Reims lung des pairs de france. Contenant es prouesses et faictz darmes aduenuz en son temps du très magnanime Roy Charles le grant, autrement dit Charlemaigne et de son nepueu Raouland.*"[1]

The French Texts: "Roman d'Otuel" and "Chanson de Roland".

There is but one printed edition[2] of the Otuel story, and this was published in Paris in 1858, when a series of the old poets of France were brought out under the auspices of the French Minister of Public Instruction. Its full title is "*Otinel, chanson de geste, publiée pour la première fois, d'apres les manuscrits de Rome et de Middlehill, par MM. F. Guessard et H. Michelant.* Paris MDCCCLVIII."

[1] There is a copy of this in Dr. Williams' Library, London.

[2] In *Romania*, vol. xii, there is a fragment of this song corresponding to vv. 637-929 of *Chanson d'Otinel*, and page 42, line 16, to page 49, line 22, of the Welsh Text. Apparently it has the same origin as the Middlehill MS., and where it departs from the text of the *Chanson d'Otinel*, it always approaches the Welsh Text. Compare passages quoted in the translation.

*

To enumerate all the editions of the *Chanson de Roland* would fill many pages.

The *Roman d'Otuel* celebrates an expedition of Charlemagne into Lombardy against King Garsi, and although the event unfolds itself in Italy, the song itself is attached to the epic history of the conquest of Spain, where it forms a kind of parenthesis to the story. The song is from first to last the outcome of poetic fancy. It has no foundation either in history or in tradition. It is a poem of pure invention. The *Roman* itself belongs to the second half of the thirteenth century, and it seems to have been from an early date a great favourite in this country. Not only is it translated into Welsh, but there are two free translations of it in English. It is also found among the imported sagas of Iceland, and forms a part of the Danish cycle of Charlemagne romances.

There are only two known MS. copies of this romance—the Vatican MS. and the Middlehill MS. These two differ in some minor points, and when they do so, the Welsh text of Hergest invariably follows the Middlehill MS.

(i) The *Vatican MS.* is in the Library of the Vatican. It is a small octavo volume of 124 leaves of parchment, composed of divers works. *Chanson d'Otinel* begins at folio 93. This MS. contains many *lacunae*, one from folio 103 to folio 108.

(ii) The *Middlehill MS.*, No. 8345, was preserved in the rich library of Sir Thomas Phillipps of Middlehill.[1] It is a small volume in folio, of vellum, with double columns, and contains twenty-three pages. This copy is complete. But the editors of the *Chanson d'Otinel* found the Middlehill MS. so incorrect that they gave up the idea of publishing it in its entirety.[2] They have, however, filled up the *lacunae* existing in the Vatican MS. The parts so given

[1] *Vide* Sachs' *Beiträge.*

[2] *Vide* Intro., p. xiii.

suffice to shew that the Welsh text of the Hergest is a translation of the Middlehill MS. Characteristic passages peculiar to the MS. shew how intimate is the relationship between it and the Welsh Text, where we find them translated in each case almost word for word, *e.g.* :—

(1) "Bien est armé à lei de chevaler
Ses cunuissances sunt d'un paile cursier.
Ne paisent mie quatre fuilz d'un saltier,
N'est mie nez quis péust alegier;
Kar feu ne flamme nes poet damager;
E cil qui at le pesant d'un dener,
Tant nes péusse naverer ne blescier,
Ke ne se sente tut sein e tut legier."

Middlehill MS.[1]

"Ac ef yn gyweir o arueu diogel | y gwnsallt o bali odidawc ydoed | ny phwyssei pedeir dalen y sallwyr ny bei uawr y volym | ac na anet yn dyn a allei y gwerthydyaw | kany allei na than na hayarn argwedu idaw | a phwy bynnac agaffei bwys vn geinawc o honaw | yr meint y brethit neu y dyrnodeu agaffei | ef avydei holl iach ac amysgawn." *Welsh Text*, p. 53.

(2) "Pur Deu, dit il, dite mei, sire reis:
Devez anuit conréer ces Franceis?
Alez vos querre or le cras lard as peis?
Nel mangereient por mil mars d'or keneis;
Altre mès feites, ço est manger à burgeis."

Middlehill MS.[2]

"Ydywawt wrthaw, Arglwyd urenhin, heb ef | ae tidi abyrth hynn oll o freinc heno | ae mynet yr awr honn y dodi kic hwch y verwi udunt gyt a phys. | Ni vwyteynt hwy y ryw vwyt hwnnw yr mil o uorkeu eur. | Keis anregyon ereill udunt Kanys bwyt y dayogeu porthmyn yw hwnnw." *Welsh Text*, p. 73.

Compare also with the Welsh Text on pp. 46 to 53 the long passage from the Middlehill MS. on pp. 28 to 38 of *Chanson d'Otinel*, introduced by the editors to supply the *lacuna* in the Vatican MS.

The Middlehill MS. text of the *Roman d'Otuel* is now in the possession of T. FitzRoy Fenwick, Esq., Thirlestaine

[1] *Chanson d'Otinel*, p. 89. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

House, Cheltenham, grandson of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps.

It is a singular fact that, notwithstanding the great popularity of the song of Roland, as evidenced by the numerous versions of it in other languages, there should be so few MSS. of the original French poem. The oldest and best MS. of the *Chanson* is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and is known as Digby MS. 23. It is an octavo volume on vellum, and is believed to have been written in the twelfth century.

The Song of Roland was first published and edited by M. Francisque Michel in 1837, from the Digby MS. There is another old version of the poem preserved in the Library of St. Mark, Venice. This MS. was written in 1245. It agrees with the Digby version up to verse 3682; then it goes on to relate quite another story.

These are the two principal manuscripts of the song. There is, however, a second group of manuscripts, to which the general name of *Roman de Roncevaux* is given. This group comprises MSS. at:—(*a*) Paris, (*b*) Venice, (*c*) Chateauroux, (*d*) Lyon, (*e*) Lorrain, (*f*) Cambridge.[1] These versions do not preserve the traditions exactly in their primitive forms. Other texts, such as the German *Ruolandes-Liet* and the Icelandic *Karlamagnus Saga*, preserve the more ancient traits. The *Chronicle of Turpin* has a still more ancient form of the story. The version known to the translator of the Hergest copy is neither that of the Digby MS. nor any other of the known forms.

French Compilations.

In the Middle Ages, books were so expensive and so difficult of access that authors endeavoured to comprise in one volume the essential features of any branch of litera-

[1] *Vide* Stengel's Intro., p. iv; Gautier's Intro., p. xxxv.

ture. This tendency obtained in the French *épopée.* Attempts were made to compose of the *chansons de geste,* of which Charlemagne was the central figure, one grand whole, to make of them a history—a continuous history of the great emperor according to the epic narrative. These works took up prose and metrical romances as well as historical facts, and endeavoured to present a whole life history of the great king.

(1) *Philippe Mousket* is the author of one of these compilations. He wrote a general history of France up to the year 1242. His object was to write history, but much legendary material has crept into his metrical *Chronicle.* It is a long work, comprising over 21,000 verses. The history of Charlemagne occupies about one-third of the book. Though it has no poetic merit, it has true historical value for the author's own time, and is of great literary interest for the age of Charlemagne. For Mousket has intertwined with his history many extracts of songs which are now lost. Others preserved by him furnish important variants with those which are still extant (cf. Gaston Paris, *Hist. Litt. Moyen Age,* p. 140). This metrical *Chronicle* was published by M. de Reiffenberg, in Brussels, in 1836-38, in two volumes quarto.

(2) Girard d'Amiens wrote his *Roman de Charlemagne* somewhere between 1285 and 1314. The *Roman de Charlemagne* is a kind of poetical history of the great emperor, and it is divided into three books. Girard wished to be regarded as a historian. The first book, which the author pretends to draw from the *Chronicles of Aix,* is simply a travesty of the song of *Mainet.* The second is consecrated to the life of Charlemagne, after the *Chronicles of St. Denis.* The third book contains Turpin's *Chronicle* in metrical form, but with many variants.[1]

[1] For a full summary of the *Charlemagne* of Gerard *vide* Gaston Paris, *Hist. Poet.,* pp. 471-482.

(3) David Aubert's *Les conquestes de Charlemaine.* When the old *chansons de geste* had lost favour, and prose had usurped the position of poetry, many lovers of the old "courtois" literature wished to have the life of Charlemagne and his illustrious knights put in the old form of song. Philippe, Duke of Bourgoyne, was one of them, and he had a life of Charlemagne composed for him. There is in the Library of Bourgoyne, in Brussels, a fine MS. copy, forming two books in three volumes, and entitled *Les Conquestes de Charlemagne.* On the last page it is stated "that it was extracted and put in good French by David Aubert in the year 1488". This was the best attempt at putting the poetical history of Charlemagne in proper form. It has a unity which is lacking both in Philippe Mousket and in Girard d'Amiens. His story of the wars in Spain seems founded on good originals. To Turpin he joins the Latin legend of the voyage to Jerusalem.

(4) *La conqueste que fit le grand roi Charlemagne es Espaignes.*—This work should not be confounded with David Aubert's compilation. The book is the same as that which bears the name of *Fierabras,* and is divided into three parts, of which the second part is only a prose translation of the old *chanson, Fierabras.* The first part contains (*a*) an abridged history of France from Clovis; (*b*) a eulogy of Charlemagne and a summary of his reign; (*c*) an account of the voyage to Jerusalem after the Latin story. The second part, as was said, contains the story of Fierabras. The third part recounts the war in Spain according to Turpin's *Chronicle.*

The author himself furnishes his readers with particulars about the sources of his book. He says, first of all, that he wrote it at the request of Henry Bolomier, Canon of Lausanne, who was a great admirer of Charlemagne. Further, he says that he had derived most of his material

from a book entitled *Le Mirouer Hystorial,* and other chronicles. But it is certain that the author consulted no other authority than Vincent de Beauvais in *Speculum historiale,* as far as the first and third parts of his book are concerned. Of the second part, the author says that it was a romance which he was induced to render into prose, and it was called by some *Fierabras.* So the author did little more than translate into French the Latin of Vincent de Beauvais, and the verse of *Fierabras.* It appeared under the title *Fierabras* in 1478, and it was not known under the title *Les conquestes de Charlemagne* before 1501. It was a great success from the first, and it was this that Caxton translated into English.

German Compilations.

The material of the French *épopée* was early transferred to other countries. Germany and France have both claimed the glory of having produced Charlemagne. Such being the case, it is significant that when Germany wished to sing the praises of the great emperor it had to borrow from the song-literature of France.

(1) *Ruolandes-Liet.*—This is the most ancient translation of the *Chanson de Roland,* and it bears the name of Conrad, a German *curé,* who is said to have translated it into Latin, and then into German.[1] Grimm fixes the date of it between the year 1173 and 1177. Gautier and Paris put it down to the middle of the eleventh century.[2] It is really more of an imitation than a translation. Though it is more like the Digby MS. than any other text, at the same time it has peculiarities of its own, which makes it quite unique. Its most remarkable feature is its religious tone.

(2) *Stricker's Karl.*—This is a complete revision of the

[1] Intro., p. xxxix. [2] Intro., p. xxxviii; *Hist. Poet.*, p. 120.

old *Ruolandes-Liet* of Conrad. The poet is known under the name of Stricker or the "Arranger", and his work was to present the old song of Conrad in a more modern form. This he did in 1230. There are elements in Stricker's *Karl* which are not directly French, to say the least. Probably they are of Germanic origin. The Duke Gerold appears often in the German texts, but he is never mentioned in the French texts.[1]

(3) *Karl Meinet.*—This is a vast compilation, and includes 35,800 lines. For a long time only four fragments of the work were known. This portion was naturally called *Karl Meinet*, as the name was found in one of the fragments. But when the entire work was found, the old name was still retained. It ought really to be called *Charlemagne or Karl.* The work includes Conrad's *Ruolandes-Liet.*[2]

Scandinavian Compilations.

Haakon V (1217-1263), who destroyed paganism in Norway, wished to complete his work by substituting for the old mystic songs which filled the minds of his subjects the works of the new poetry of chivalry, which was then in great repute everywhere in the southern parts of Europe. During his reign, some of the best poems of the French *épopée* were translated. Many of these are still in MS. and have never been published, such as the Sagas of Girard and Beuve of Hanstone. But the most important of them have been united to form a consecutive history of Charlemagne, and this compilation, which is called the *Karlamagnus Saga*, is one of the most precious of the poetical histories of the great emperor.

[1] For the relation of Stricker's *Karl* to the *Ruolandes-Liet*, see Professor J. J. Amman's *Das Verhältnis*, etc.

[2] For a full analysis of *Karl Meinet*, see Gaston Paris's *Hist. Poet.*, pp. 485-490.

The Icelandic translator is distinguished, and greatly to his advantage, from the compilators already referred to, Girard d'Amiens and the author of *Karl Meinet.* More especially he excels them in this, that he makes use of only the poems of the best epoch. Further, he has translated these into prose with such fidelity and simplicity that his versions may often serve for criticism of the French texts.

About fifty years after it was composed, the *Karlamagnus Saga* was submitted to a revision, and the new editor has materially altered one branch and has added another in its entirety to it.

The work is divided into ten branches.

(1) *Karlamagnus.*—This is a medley composed of divers songs and fragments of songs, and detached from their contents in a more or less arbitrary manner, and made to follow one another, so as to form the story of Charlemagne's birth and coronation.

(2) *Af Fru Olif ok Landres.*—This branch has no immediate connection with Charlemagne. For summary see Sach's *Beiträge*, pp. 3-9.

(3) *Af Oddgeiri Danska.*—Only the first branch of this poem has been translated into Icelandic.

(4) *Af Agulando Konungi.* — This is the *Chanson d'Aspremont*, but with many variants. The Icelandic editor has used as an introduction to the song the first nineteen chapters of the *Chronicle of Turpin.*

(5) *Af Guitalin Saxa.*—This is older than Bodel's *Chanson de Saisnes.*

(6) *Af Otvel.*—This is the story of Otuel as found in the Welsh version, and contains the two parts—the conversion of Otuel and the expedition against Garsi. The second part is not as full as in the Welsh version.

(7) *Af Jorsalaferd.*—This is a very exact translation of the story, as found in the French *épopée.*

(8) *Af Runzival Bardaga.*—The Icelandic translator has followed in his work a text approaching that of the Digby MS. This text is followed up to verse 2,570, almost verse for verse (Gautier's *Ch. de R.*, p. 399); Stengel, in his edition of Roland, has, among other texts, collated this with the French text.

(9) *Af Vilhjalmi Korneis.*

(10) *Um Kraptaverk ok Jartegnir.*—This is a translation of certain chapters of the xxixth book of Vincent de Beauvais.

In Denmark, the *Karlamagnus Saga* was translated, and abridged, and it became in this form and with the title, *Keiser Karl Magnus Kronike* (the *Chronicle of Emperor Charlemagne)*, extremely popular. It is so to-day, and is still often reprinted. The translation was for a long time attributed to Christian Pedersen, Canon of Lund. But Canon Pedersen was only an editor of a more ancient text. There is a MS. copy of the work in the Library at Stockholm, dated 1480, a date before Pedersen was born. Besides, Pedersen states at the close of the book[1] that the translators of the Saga were more learned in the classical languages than in the Danish language, with the result that their translation was not at all idiomatic. Moreover, they introduced many obsolete words; and numerous printer's errors disfigured the work. What Pedersen did was to correct all this, and make the story of Charlemagne and his knights a joy to the young, and the fact that the work is still read by them in Denmark is a proof how far he succeeded in his object.

This version contains the story of Bazin and Bazile (pp. 16-17), Turpin's *Chronicle*, chapters i-xiv (pp. 38-42), *Roman d'Otuel* (pp. 104-116), and *Chanson de Roland* (pp. 123-140).

[1] *Keiser Karl Magnus Kronike*, pp. 148-9.

Old English Compilations.

The *Early English Text Society* has already published a great number of romances which cluster round the name of Charlemagne, but there are only five that bear on the Welsh text.

(1) Caxton's *Lyf of Charles the Grete.*—The full title of this work is, "*The Lyf of the noble and Crysten Prynce Charles the Grete, translated from the French by William Caxton and printed by him 1485.*"[1] The book survives only in the unique copy preserved in the British Museum. It is a folio containing ninety-six leaves, each page has double columns each containing thirty-nine lines. The work, as Caxton himself states, is a translation of the French prose romances of *Fierabras,* which is itself a compilation, as was shewn, partly from the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais, and partly of the old French metrical romance *Fierabras.*

The work contains three books. The first book (pp. 12-37) tells of the beginning of France and of the youth of Charlemagne. The second book (pp. 38-200) contains the whole of the romance of Sir Fyerabras, and his duel with Oliver. The third book (pp. 201-250) treats of the conquest of Spain by Charlemagne, of the treason of Ganelon, of the death of Roland and Oliver, and of the death of Charlemagne.

In the third book Caxton has followed Turpin faithfully, or rather Vincent de Beauvais had done so in his *Speculum Historiale.*

"As moche as toucheth the fyrst and the thyrd book I haue taken and drawen oute of a book named *Myrror Hystroyal* for the mooste parte, and the second book I haue onely reduced it out of an olde romaunce in frensshe" (Bk. III, ii, 10, p. 251). These are the words of the French

[1] Cf. title as given in Sachs' *Beiträge,* p. 35.

compiler, not of Caxton. Note that the French compilation appeared under the title *Fierabras* in 1478, and it was under this title that Caxton knew it, when he translated the work in 1485.[1]

(2) *Rouland and Vernagu.*—This romance was first printed from the Auchinleck MS., for the Abbotsford Club, in 1836.[2] Its probable date is 1330. Ellis[3] has given a full summary of the romance under the title of *Roland and Ferragus.*

Analysis of *Rouland and Vernagu.*—(1) The *Voyage to Jerusalem and Constantinople,* vv. 1-138; (2) Turpin's *Chronicle,* vv. 139-880. The second part cannot claim credit for more than being a fair metrical translation or adaptation of Turpin's romance, which it follows up to the death of Ferragus, inserting even the names of the cities found in chapter iii of Ciampi's edition of Turpin. Its continuation is *Duke Rowlande and Sir Otuell,* though it is a slightly different metre. The metre of *Rouland and Vernagu* is:—

"The way of Sterres betokeneth y-vis
That of Spaine and of Galis
Thou shalt be conquerer
Lorain and lombardye
Gascoyne, bayoun and pikardye
Schal be in thi pouwer
Thus come the apostle Iames
Thries to charls and seyd this
That was so stoute and fer.
Now wendeth Charls with his ost
Into Speyne with michel bost
As ye may forward here."

(*Stanza* 16.)

(3) *The Romance of Duke Rowlande and Sir Otuell of Spayne.*—The MS. copy of this romance is in the British Museum, and its date is about the end of the fourteenth

[1] See *ante,* pp. 60, 61. [2] Sachs' *Beiträge,* pp. 27-29.
[3] *Early English Metrical Romances,* pp. 347-357.

century. The romance is based on *Roman d' Otuel* (Middlehill MS.), which it follows fairly well, and is closer to the Welsh text of Hergest than any other of the English romances. This is made evident if passages are compared. The following verses have the same origin as the Welsh text, p. 28 :—

"Lordynges that bene hende and Free,
Herkyns alle heder-wardes to mee,
Gif that it be your will.
Now lates alle your noyse be
And herkyns nowe of gamen and glee,
That I schall tell yow till.
Of doghety men I schall yow telle,
That were full fayre of flesche and fell.
And semely appon sille."
(vv. 1-9.)

"Mynstrells in that lande gan duelle
Bot alle the sothe thay couthe noghte tell
Of this noble cheualrye.
How that Cherlles with his swerde gan melle
Bot suche a menske hym be-fell
That come him sodeynly.
They tentede to thaire daunsynge
And also to thaire othir thynge
To make gamen and glee.
Burdours in to the haulle thay brynge,
That gayly with thaire gle gan synge
With wowynges of lady."
(vv. 25-36.)

Referring to this romance, Ellis says[1] that the style of it is much more languid and feeble than that of *Otuel*, and that it resembled pretty nearly the diction of *Rouland and Vernagu*. He further remarks that it had, however, the merit of completing the story, and of furnishing a paraphrase of Turpin's *Chronicle* from the period of the death of Ferragus to the battle of Roncesvalles. From this it is evident that Ellis had under his eye a MS. which con-

[1] *E. E. Metrical Romances*, p. 337, note.

tained the whole story, *i.e.*, the romance he was reviewing did not end with *Otuel*, but went on to the death of Roland. This concluding part is not now available, though Ellis quotes freely from it.

From this it may be inferred that the epic history of Charlemagne, in both England and Wales, favoured a cyclic poem, which contained the following four parts:—(1) *The Voyage to Jerusalem and Constantinople*, according to the Latin legend; (2) The beginning of the wars in Spain, according to the early chapters of Turpin's *Chronicle*, and including the episode between Roland and Ferragus; (3) *Roman d'Otuel—Fierabras* is included in Caxton's translation, because it was so in the French original; (4) The end of the story as contained in Turpin's book.

These are the component parts of the Hengwrt MS., with the addition of the *Chanson de Roland*, and that there was a cycle of a similar kind in England is demonstrated by Ellis.

Rouland and Vernagu contains No. 1 and No. 2, *Duke Rowlande and Sir Otuell* contains No. 3, and Ellis's summary gives No. 4. Note, however, that the metre of *Rouland and Vernagu* does not exactly correspond with that of *Rowlande and Sir Otuell.*

(4) *The Romance of Otuel.*—This romance was first printed in 1836 for the Abbotsford Club, from the unique Auchinleck MS.[1] Its date is about 1330. For a full analysis of it, see Ellis's book.[2] This is not so much a translation as an adaptation. The author modifies, adds, or omits, at pleasure. Where there are variants, the text agrees with the *Roman d'Otuel* (Middlehill MS.) and the Welsh version; *e.g.*, the Vatican MS. says that Otuel came to Paris "à Pasques", while the Middlehill MS. more correctly says, "Co fu li jos dunt li Innocent sunt". The

[1] Sachs' *Beiträge*, p. 29, etc. [2] Pp. 357-373.

English text agrees with the latter, "Hit wus on childermasse day" (v. 55). So does the Welsh text (p. 28), "duw gwyl vil veib".

This text mentions "Poidras" a Saracen, a name given also by the Welsh text (p. 69):

> "And smot Poidras of barbarin
> That there he lay as a stiked swin."
> (*Stanza* 180.)

(5) *The Song of Roland.*—This is only a fragment of the *chanson*, from the Lansdowne MS., and its date is variously assigned—thirteenth century (G. Paris), fourteenth century (Wright, Tenbrink), fifteenth century (Dr. Schleich). The French original contains over 4,000 verses. This fragment has only 1,049. The *Chanson de Roland* was not the only source to which the author of the English Roland was indebted. For some traits, at least, he seems to have looked back to the *Chronicle* of Turpin; *e.g.*, his references to the fair Saracenes, vv. 28, 29, and 73-76, concerning which nothing is said in the *chanson*.

Spanish and Italian Compilations.

There is nothing bearing on the Welsh text in the Spanish literature of the period.[1] The book entitled *Historia de Carlomagno y de los doce Pares de Francia* is only a translation into Spanish of the popular French compilation entitled *Fierabras*, or *Les conquêtes du grand roi Charlemagne*. Nor is there anything in the literature of Italy relating to the story as found in the Hergest MS., apart from an account given in *Prise de Pampelune* of the embassy of Bazin and Bazile.

The *Entrée de Spagne* and the *Prise de Pampelune* belong to the French-Italian literature of the North of Italy. Their subject matter is the conquest of Spain before the

[1] See G. Paris' *Hist. Poet.*, pp. 203-217; and Watts' *Spain*, pp. 31-38.

treachery of Roncesvalles. The author of the *Entrée* narrates that Archbishop Turpin appeared to him in a dream and asked him to make a metrical version of his *Chronicle*. In the beginning of his poem the author follows the narrative as found in the *Pseudo-Turpin*.

The title *Prise de Pampelune* is not particularly appropriate. The taking of Pampeluna formed only the beginning of the poem, and that part of the work is no longer extant.[1]

The *Prise de Pampelune* contains an account of the embassy and execution of Bazin and Bazile, vv. 2,458 to 2,704.

The Welsh Compilations.

There are two Welsh compilations[2] published, that of the *Red Book of Hergest*, entitled *The History of Charlemagne*, and that of the Hengwrt collection, entitled *The Gests of Charlemagne*.

The *Gests of Charlemagne* contains the version of the story as found in the Hengwrt MSS., now preserved in the Peniarth Library, and was published in 1892, with an English translation, by Canon Robert Williams, Rhydycroesau.[3] It comprises the following parts:— (1) The

[1] For everything bearing on this subject see Thomas's *Nouvelles recherches*, etc., and Gaspary's *Italian Lit.*, pp. 110-115.

[2] The MSS. (mostly inedited) in the Welsh language bearing on the Welsh Text are:—*Peniarth* MS. 5 (Llyfr Gwyn Rhydderch), date: second quarter of the fourteenth century—(there is a copy of this in *Mostyn* MS. 135); *Peniarth* MS. 7, date: fourteenth century; *Peniarth* MS. 8, part ii, a fragment, date: fourteenth century; *Peniarth* MS. 9, an imperfect copy, but apparently the prototype of *Peniarth* MS. 5, and of the Welsh Text; *Peniarth* MS. 10, date: late fifteenth century; *Peniarth* MS. 183, a fragment, date: 1582; *Llanstephan* MS. 148, date: 1697, a copy of the Welsh Text; *Cwrtmawr* MS. 2, written by Perys Mostyn in 1543. It follows the text of *Peniarth* MS. 5 (see *Welsh Reports*).

[3] Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans has this note concerning the Hengwrt text published by the late Rev. Robert Williams, M.A., Rhydycroesau:

voyage to Jerusalem and Constantinople, being a translation of the French *Chanson du voyage de Charlemagne à Jerusalem et à Constantinople*--chaps. i-xx; (2) Turpin's Latin *Chronicle* (chaps. i-xxi of Ciampi's edition)—chaps. xxi to middle of lv; (3) *Roman d' Otuel*—middle of chap. lv to chap. lxxix—here is found a *lacuna;* (4) *Chanson de Roland* (parts i, ii)—chap. lxxx to beginning of chap. cix; (5) Turpin's Latin *Chronicle* (chap. xxiii to the end)—chap. cix (beginning) to chap. cxvii, and chaps. cxix and cxx; (6) *Supplementa*—chaps. cxviii and cxxi.

The source of the Hengwrt MS. is the Welsh text of the *Red Book of Hergest*, as will be made manifest further on in the work. The date of the compilation is given in the book as 1336. "This book Madawc ab Selyf translated, which John the Scholar wrote. The age of the Lord Jesus Christ, who, being God, was born of the Virgin Mary, was MCCCXXXVI" (1336).[1] This is the date, not of Madawc ap Selyf's translation, but of the compilation as found in the Hengwrt MS.

The Relation of the Welsh Text to other Texts.

Having briefly considered the different texts and compilations which may have some affinity with the Welsh text, either as to its form or to its matter, a position is attained from which it is possible to estimate more accurately the nature of the relationship which may exist between that text and other texts; in what respect it

—"Canon Williams's text is a composite one, and the following analysis may prove not useless to specialists. Sections i-xx = MS. 5; sections xxi-xxviii = a hopeless mixture of MSS. 8 and 5; sections xxix-xli = MS. 8; sections xlii-lxxix = MS. 5; sections lxxx-lxxxiv = MS. 10, fols. 36-38a; sections lxxxv-cxxi = MS. 5. The references are all to *Peniarth* MSS. The printed text is not reliable." (*Welsh Reports*, vol. i, p. 315.)

[1] *Hengwrt MSS.*, p. 517.

differs from or is similar to other texts; and what are the additions or omissions of the one as compared with the others; (*a*) As to *form*:—The Welsh text of the *Red Book of Hergest*, containing the *History of Charlemagne*, is a compilation made up of the following parts—(1) Turpin's *Chronicle*, (2) *The Romance of Otuel*, (3) *The Song of Roland* (Parts i and ii, 21). In this respect the Welsh text of Hergest is unique. Of the other compilations, some have more and some have less parts. David Aubert's *Les conquestes de Charlemagne* is on similar lines, but it was composed in 1458, many years after the Welsh text. The Icelandic *Karlamagnus Saga*, and the Danish *Keiser Karl Magnus Kronike*, have each about ten romances welded together. The Hengwrt text has also more. It contains the *Voyage to Jerusalem and Constantinople*. The English compilation has less. It does not contain the *Song of Roland*.

Caxton's *Lyf of Charles the Grete*, and its French original, *La conqueste qui fit le grand roi Charlemagne es espaigne*, introduce the story of Fierabras instead of Otuel.

(*b*) As to *matter*:—The Welsh text has no borrowed parts, but contains faithful translations of the originals.

The Welsh translation of the Latin *Chronicle* is a careful rendering of the original, and in this stands first of all the translations into other languages. With the old French MSS. 1850 and 2137, and *Cod. Gall.* 52, it omits the letter to Leoprand, the Dean of Aix-la-Chapelle. With the Latin texts of Schardius and Reuber, and the Danish *Keiser Karl Magnus Kronike*, it omits the names of the towns and cities found in chap. iii (Ciampi's edition). No long interpolations have been introduced into the text, as in the case with the old French MSS. 124, 5714, and the edition 1835. With all the old French translations, it contains the *Supplementa*. It has a unique Latin epilogue.

The Welsh text of the *Roman d'Otuel* contains a full translation of this *chanson*, and not a summary of it as in *Keiser Karl Magnus Kronike*, or adaptations of it as found in the old English romances. It is fuller than the version contained in *Karlamagnus Saga*. The Romance seems a faithful reproduction in prose of the song after the version contained in the Middlehill MS.

The version of the *Chanson de Roland* found in the Welsh text is unique. Its form is more primitive than that contained in the Digby MS. It contains an account of the embassy and execution of Bazin and Bazile, not found here in any other.

The relation of the Hergest text to the Hengwrt text.—The two Welsh versions of the life of the epic Charlemagne have many points in common; yet in some parts there are numerous variants. How account for their similarity and dissimilarity?

When the Welsh text of Hergest is studied with some attention, many things appear in it which point out clearly that it is composed of distinct prose and metrical romances which have been welded together to form one continuous story by some compiler. These parts have been so combined that the points of juncture are plainly discernible, and consequently the various parts are capable of being separated one from another.

The text of the *History of Charlemagne* bears evident traces of the stages through which it has passed, and of the process by which it assumed its present form. Three distinct elements are traceable in it, which were introduced at three different periods.

The first and original form of the Welsh text contained only the translation of the Latin *Chronicle* of the *Pseudo-Turpin*. This was the part translated by Madoc ap Selyf, somewhere about the year 1280. The text expressly states

that at the request of his patron he translated "this book from Latin into Welsh". The Latin book translated by him must be the *Chronicle.* This is the only popular Latin element belonging to the *épopée.* Madoc does not claim or profess to have translated anything from the French.

In the second form of the text is made manifest the first conscious step taken to form a compilation. For the second form includes, in addition to the romance of Turpin, the story of Roland as found in the *chansons.* The compiler adopted Madoc's translation as the framework of his composition, and instead of the twenty-second chapter of Turpin (Ciampi's edition), entitled "de proditione Ganaloni", he inserted a beautiful translation into Welsh of a more primitive version of the most ancient part of the *Chanson de Roland,* viz., part i, "La trahison de Ganelon", and Madoc's translation of the same chapter is summarized and placed at the end of the compilation.[1] To bring this new element introduced into harmony with the old translation of Madoc, the summary of contents given on page 27 of the Welsh text, was enlarged, and details are given which are not found in the Latin text. It is to be noted that the *Voyage to Jerusalem* is mentioned in this summary.[2] At this stage, then, a translation of this *chanson* formed a part of the Hergest text.[3]

The third step in the process was to introduce the *Romance of Otuel* into the compilation. That this romance did not form a part of the composition in its second form

[1] *Welsh Text,* p. 111.

[2] "Pa ffuruf y kerdwys y gaerusalem."—*Welsh Text,* p. 27.

[3] When the text was transcribed into the *Red Book of Hergest,* the Welsh translation of the *Chanson du voyage à Jerusalem* was misplaced, *The History of Charlemagne* being written on col. 381 to col. 502; while *The Voyage to Jerusalem* does not come in before col. 605 to col. 626. (See Sir John Rhys' Welsh text of the *chanson* in Dr. Koschwitz's *Sechs Bearbeitungen,* etc., pp. 1-18.)

is evident from the fact that no mention is made of it or of any incident in it, in the enlarged summary given on pp. 27, 28 of the Welsh text. It was probably introduced to bring the Welsh compilation into line with the English compilation (1330). The translator of *Roman d' Otuel* is not the translator of *Chanson de Roland.* The work of the first is much inferior to that of the second. It lacks its finish, its poetic feeling, and its felicity of diction. The translation of the *Chanson de Roland* is the best part of the work.

The Welsh text, when it came into the hands of the compiler of the *Gests of Charlemagne,* contained the following elements:—(1) The *Chronicle* of Turpin (chap. i-xxi); (2) *Roman d'Otuel*; (3) *The Voyage to Jerusalem*; (4) *Chanson de Roland*; (5) The *Chronicle* of Turpin (chap. xxiii to the end); and also the *Supplementa* as found in the old French MSS.[1]

In addition to a copy of the Hergest version, the compiler of the version as found in the Hengwrt collection had copies of later editions of the Latin *Chronicle* and the French *Song of Roland.* Evidently his wish was to improve on the old. For with these copies, he materially modified the old Welsh translations as found in the old version, in the direction of these later versions. The Hengwrt version cannot possibly be regarded as the original. It is a work based upon and derived from the old text of Hergest. Notwithstanding its many variants, its intimate relation with the Hergest version is very evident. Its comparatively late origin is betrayed in that it always refers to the king as Charlemagne, while the older version of Hergest generally, both in prose and metrical romances, refers to him as Charles.

[1] See Peniarth MS. 5. *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Language,* vol. i, part ii.

After careful reading and comparing the two Welsh versions, the conclusions arrived at are: (1) That the Hengwrt version is based on the Hergest version; (2) That the editor or compiler of the version, as found in Hengwrt collection, had a copy of the Latin text from which he supplied what was lacking in the old translation of Madoc ap Selyf, *e.g.*, he supplied the prologue—Turpin's letter to Leoprand. The Latin *Chronicle* did not contain the *Supplementa*, hence he omitted them, with the exception of "The Seven Liberal Arts", as unauthorized; (3) That when the Welsh text of Hergest differs from the Latin text, he generally, if he can, combines the two readings, *e.g.*:—

Hergest MS.	Lat. Text.	Hengwrt MS.
"gwisgoed crynion"	"unius coloris"	"dillad durrud unlliw"
"arglwydiawl lef"	"vocem terribilem"	"aruthur lef yr arglwyd";

(4) That he failed to find a copy of the French *Roman d'Otuel*, and hence he followed the text of the *Red Book* almost to the letter; (5) That he had a copy of the Digby MS. of the *Chanson de Roland* before him, and he endeavoured to bring the old Welsh version of the story as near as possible to it. Hence, he introduced many variants with the conscious intention of assimilating it to the later French version; (6) That where the editor of the Hengwrt version departs from the Hergest text, he never improves the diction, though he often clears up the meaning.

Both the Hergest and the Hengwrt MSS. have each a long *lacuna*. The *lacuna* of the Hergest MS. occurs in the *Song of Roland*, and that of the Hengwrt MS. in the *Romance of Otuel*. Happily in this, the one supplies the need of the other.

AUTHORITIES

Which are not fully described in the work, and the abbreviations used to designate the same.

ABBREVIATIONS.	AUTHORITIES.
Fr. Ot. *or* Vatican MS.	*Anciens Poetes de la France* (vol. i), *Chanson d'Otinel*, publiés sous la direction de M. F. Guessard. 18mo. Paris, 1858.
	Altfranzösische Gedichte aus venezianischen Handschriften, heransgegeben von Adolf Mussafia (1) La prise de Pampelune, (2) Macaire. 8vo. Wien, 1864.
Cod. Gall. 52.	AURACHER (Th.).—*Der Pseudo Turpin in altfranzösischer Uebersetzung, nach einer Handschrift* (Cod. Gall. 52) *der Münchener Staatsbibliothek.* München, 1876.
MS. 5714 MS. 124.	——— *Die Sogenannte poitevinische Uebersetzung des Pseudo-Turpin nach den Handschriften mitgetheilt.* Halle, 1877.
	AMMANN (J. J.).—*Das Verhältnis von Strickers Karl zum Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad mit Berücksichtigung der Chanson de Roland* ("Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen", Nr. 46). Wien.
Annales.	*Annales regum Francorum.* Francofurti, 1584.
Sachs.	*Beiträge zur Kunde altfranzösischer, englischer und provenzalischer Literatur aus französischen und englischen Bibliotheken von C. Sachs.* Berlin, 1857.
Caxton.	Caxton's *Lyf of Charles the Grete.* Translated from the French by W. Caxton, and printed by him 1485. E.E.T.S., extra series 36 and 37, 1880-81.
	Chanson du Voyage de Charlemagne à Jerusalem et à Constantinople. Dr. Ed. Koschwitz. Heilbron, 1876.
Ch. de R.	*Chanson de Roland.* M. Leon Gautier's *Chanson de Roland.* School edition. Tours, 1884.
Stengel.	E. Stengel.—*Das altfranzösischer Rolandslied.* Kritische Ausgabe. Band I. Text und Apparat, 1900.
	G. Paris.—*Extraits de la Chanson de Roland.* Paris, 1903.
Ciampi.	CIAMPI (SEBASTIAN).—*De Vita Caroli Magni et Rolandi historia Ioanni Turpino Archiepiscopo Remensi vulgo tributa.* Florentiae, 1822.

ABBREVIATIONS.	AUTHORITIES.
Ed. 1835.	*Chronique de Turpin.* Paris, 1835.
	Charlemagne Romances. E.E.T.S.
E. Sir Ott.	*Sir Otuell*, etc., ed. S. J. Herrtage, 1880.
Caxton.	*Lyf of Charles the Grete*, ed. S. J. Herrtage.
E. Otu.	*Rauf Colyear*, Roland, *Otuel*, etc., ed. S. J. Herrtage, 1882.
	Charlemagne, Life of. See DAVIS, HODGKIN. Article in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ix Edition.
	Celtic Literature. Article in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ix Edition.
	Chrestomathie de l'ancien français. Nouvelle Edition. L. CONSTANS. Paris, 1890.
MS. 1850 MS. 2137.	*Chronique dite de Turpin*, par Fredrik Wulff, publiée dáprès les MSS. BN. 1850 et 2137. Lund, 1881.
Davis.	DAVIS (H. W. CARLESS).—*Charlemagne* (Heroes of the Nations series). 1900.
E.E.T.S.	Early English Text Society, *vide* Charlemagne Romances.
Vita.	EGINHARD'S *Vita et Gesta Caroli Magni Imp.*, in Reuber's Collection. Francofurti, 1584.
Ellis.	ELLIS (G.).—*Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances* (Bohn's series).
Freeman.	FREEMAN (E. A.).—*General Sketch of European History.* 1889.
	GASPARY.—*History of Early Italian Literature to the death of Dante.* 1901.
Guizot.	GUIZOT.—*History of Civilisation in Europe.*
Gérusez.	GÉRUSEZ.—*Histoire de la Littérature Française.* 1884.
Hengwrt MSS.	*Hengwrt MSS. (Selections from).* Edited, with a translation, by the late Rev. ROBERT WILLIAMS, and the translation continued by Rev. G. HARTWELL JONES. Quaritch, London, 1892.
Hodgkin.	HODGKIN, THOMAS.—*Charles the Great.*
	KOSCHWITZ.—*Sechs Bearbeitungen des altfranzösischen Gedichts von Karls des Grossen Reise nach Jerusalem und Constantinopel.* Heilbronn, 1879. [This contains Principal Rhys' transcription and translation into English of the story as found in the Hergest MS.]

ABBREVIATIONS.	AUTHORITIES.
Karl. Saga	*Karlamagnus Saga ok Kappa* . . . C. R. UNGER. 8vo., Christiania, 1860.
K. K. K.	*Keiser Karl Magnus's Kronike.*—Copenhagen, 1867.
Loth.	LOTH.—*Les Mots Latins dans les Langues Brittoniques.* 1892.
	LAMBECIUS.—*Commentaria de augusta Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi* (containing the *Supplementa* to Turpin's Chronicle), 8 vols. in fol. Vindebonae, 1665–1678.
	MACLEAN (MAGNUS).—*The Literature of the Celts.* 1902.
	MEYER (P.).—*Notices sur quelques manuscrits français de la bibliothèque Phillipps à Cheltenham.* Paris, 1891.
	NETTLAU (MAX).—*Beiträge zur cymrischen Grammatik* (Einleitung und Vocalismus). Leipsig, 1887.
Middlehill MS.	OTUEL (ROMAN D').—Middlehill MS. in Phillipps' Library.
Pseudo-Turp.	PARIS (GASTON). *De Pseudo Turpino,* in 8vo. Paris, 1865.
Hist. poét.	——— *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne,* in 8vo. Paris, 1865.
Litt. Moyen Age.	——— *La Littérature Française au Moyen Age* (xie—xive siècles). Paris, 1890.
	——— *Mediaeval French Literature.* Published by Dent (The Temple Primers), 1903.
Ex. Ch. de R.	——— *Extraits de la Chanson de Roland.* Paris, Hachette & Co., 1903.
R. and V.	*Rouland and Vernagu. See* Charlemagne Romances.
	Romance, *see* Article in *Encyclopaedia Britannica.*
MS. R.	A fragment of *Chanson d'Otinel* in *Romania,* vol. xii. Paris, 1883.
Reuber.	Latin text, *see* p. 45.
	STENGEL.—See *Chanson de Roland.*
	Song of Roland, by Way and Spenser.
Skene.	SKENE'S *Four Ancient Books of Wales,* 2 vols. 1868.
	STEPHENS' *Literature of the Kymry.*
Saintsbury.	SAINTSBURY.—*The Flourishing of Romance.*
	Spain (Story of the Nations series), by Watts.

Abbreviations.	Authorities.
L'entrée de Spagne.	Thomas (Antoine).—*Nouvelles recherches sur l'entrée de Spagne.* Paris, 1882.
	Wulff.—*La Chronique dite de Turpin*, see *Chronique.*
Warton.	Warton (Thomas).—*The History of English Poetry from the close of the 11th Century—to the commencement of the 18th Century*, 3 vols. 1840.
Welsh Reports.	Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language, by Dr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans. Vol. i, part i, Mostyn, 1898; part ii, Peniarth, 1899; part iii, Peniarth, 1905. Vol. ii, part i, Jesus College, Oxford; Cardiff Library, etc., 1902; part ii, Llanstephan, Cardiff Library, 1903; part iii, Panton, Cwrtmawr, 1905.
West.	West.—*Alcuin and the Rise of the Christian Schools.* 1893.
Zeuss.	Zeuss.—*Grammatica Celtica.* Berlin, 1871.

TRANSLATION

OF

YSTORYA DE CAROLO MAGNO

FROM THE

Red Book of Hergest.

HISTORY OF CHARLEMAGNE.[1]

Red Book, Col. 381.

CHAPTER I.[2]

WHEN the apostles and disciples of the Lord were scattered to the four quarters of the world to preach, then the most glorious apostle James[3] is said to have been the first to preach in Galice. And after he himself had been slain by cruel Herod, then other disciples[4] came over the sea from Jerusalem to preach to the Galicians. And they, the Galicians, afterwards, as their sins merited,[5] departed from their faith and returned to their unbelief until the time of Charlemagne the emperor of Rome, France, Tiester, and other nations. [W.T., p. 1.]

When Charlemagne had, by his might and power, conquered the four quarters of the world and divers kingdoms, namely, England, France, Almaen, Baicar, Lotarius, Burgundy, Italy, Brittany, and countless other kingdoms and cities from sea to sea, and had, by Divine power, subdued them, delivered them from the hands of the Saracens, and brought them into subjection to the Christian rule, he, being weary through oppressive labour, resolved that he would henceforth rest and not go to battle. And thereupon he saw in the heaven a pathway of stars[6] which

[1] The division into chapters is that of Ciampi's Latin Text, and is only introduced for the sake of convenience. Numbers in brackets refer to the corresponding pages of the Welsh Text.

[2] A prologue is found in the Latin text of Ciampi and Reuber, in Hengwrt MS., O. French trans. MSS. 5714, 124, *Karlamaynus Saga.* It is not found in *Cod. Gall.* 52, MSS. 1850, 2137; nor in this text. This prologue contains a letter supposed to have been written by Archbishop Turpin to Leoprand, the Dean of Aix-la-Chapelle.

[3] "The Church of Spain boasts that St. James shared in its foundation, but its fables are in conflict with the statements of the New Testament." Herzog's *Encyc.*, vol. ii, p. 1129.

[4] Hengwrt MS. supplies "y duc y dysgyblon *y gorff* o gaerussalem dros voroed hyt y galis"; so also Lat. texts, "corpore . . . . per mare translato", cf. Fr. MSS. 5714, 124, 1850, 2137, *Cod. Gall.* 52. *Vide* G. Paris, *Pseudo-Turpino*, pp. 17, 18.

[5] "Yny gobrynei eu pechodeu"; Lat. T., "peccatis suis exigentibus"; Hengwrt MS., "o evyrllit eu pechodeu"; MS. 5714, "par lor peche et par mala auentura."

[6] "Fford o syr"; Lat. T., "caminum stellarum", *i.e.*, the Milky Way. *Vide* Davis, *Charlemagne*, p. 108, and Ciampi, p. 193. The "Milky Way" is called in French "le chemin de St. Jacques".

started from the sea of Frisia and extended to Almaen and Italy, and between France and Angiw,[1] and went on straight by Gascony, Navarre, and Spain as far as Galice, where the body of the blessed James was lying unrecognised.[2] And Charlemagne having seen this pathway many nights, he often thought what it might signify. And as his mind dwelt continually on this, one night a warrior appeared to him in his sleep. And fairer he was than [W.T., p. 2] heart could conceive or tongue express. And he spoke to him in this wise, "My son, what thinkest thou?" And Charles said, "Who art thou, Lord?" And he said, "I am James the apostle, the foster son of Christ,[3] the son of Zebedee, the brother of John the evangelist, whom the Lord, of His ineffable grace, chose to preach[4] to the people, whom cruel Herod slew with his sword, whose body lies unknown to all in Galice which the Saracens are shamefully oppressing. Wherefore I am surprised beyond measure[5] why thou, who hast subdued so many countries, hast not set my country free from the power of the Saracens. Wherefore I tell thee that as God has made thee the mightiest of earthly kings, so has He also chosen thee before all, to prepare my way and to set my country free from the hands of the Saracens, that He may prepare for thee a crown of eternal reward. The pathway of stars which thou sawest in the heavens, signifies thy going from this place to Galice, with a great army, to fight the faithless paynims and to set free my way and my country and to visit my church and my tomb. After thee all people, from sea to sea, will make a pilgrimage to me and seek pardon for their sins, and declare the praise of God and His might and the wonders which He

[1] Lat. T., "Aquitania".

[2] "Heb y adnabot"; Lat. T., "incognitum". Caxton renders *in loco*, "He nat knowyng the propre place".

[3] The translator evidently read the Latin text punctuated as follows:—"Iacobus Apostolus, Christi alumnus, filius Zebedaci, etc." (Reuber); MS. 2137, "Je sui l'apostre Jaque, *norriz* de Jesu"; and MS. Cod. Gall., 52, "Je sui Jaques li apostles, *nourechons* de diu." So *Karlamagnus Saga*, "Ek em Jacobus postuli fostrson Jesu Kristi."

The right punctuation probably is,—"Iacobus, Apostolus Christi alumnus, filius Zebedaci, etc." (Ciampi). So Caxton, "I am James, the appostle of Christ", etc.; MS. 5714, "Je soj, fit il, Jaques, li apostres ihu crist"; MS. 1850, "Je sui Jaques, li apostre Jesu Crist".

[4] Hengwrt MS., with Lat. text, supplies "ar vor Galilea".

[5] "Eithyr mod"; Lat. T., "ultra modum", cf. W.T., pp. 6, 74.

will perform. And from thy day until the end of the world they will come. And now, go thou thy way as quickly as thou canst, and I will be thy helper in all things. And for thy labour I will bring thee a crown in heaven. And to the last day thy name shall be praised."

In this wise, the blessed apostle appeared thrice to Charles. And having heard these things and relying on the apostolic promise, he gathered to him a great army and set out for Spain to fight the perfidious race.

CHAPTER II.

The first city which he besieged was Pampilon,[1] and for three months he surrounded it and failed to take it. For the walls surrounding it were very strong. And then Charles prayed the Lord—"Lord Jesus", said he, "for Thy faith came I to these countries to fight the faithless nation; for the glory of Thy name grant me this city. O blessed James, if indeed thou didst [W.T., p. 3.] appear to me, grant me this city." And then, by the grace of God and the prayer of James, the walls fell from their foundation. And those of the Saracens who wished to be baptized Charles spared, and those who wished not he slew. And having heard these wonders related, the Saracens submitted to Charles wherever he went; they sent tributes to meet him and surrendered to him their cities. And all their land became tributary to him. The Saracens were surprised when they saw the French people so fair and so finely clad. They threw down their arms and received them with honour.

And having visited the tomb of the Apostle James, he went as far as the sea and fixed his lance in the shallows.[2]

[1] Having been told at the close of the previous chapter that Charles set out to fight the paynims, it comes like a shock to read "the first city . . . besieged was Pampilon". For Pampeluna was then, as now, inhabited by Christians. "His first conquest was the Christian city of Pampeluna, in which there were no Mohammedans", Watts' *Spain*, p. 32. "Pampeluna belonged to the little Christian Kingdom of Asturias, against whom Charles must therefore have been waging war". Dr. Hodgkin's *Charles the Great*, p. 146. *Vide* Intro., p. 10.

[2] "Hyd y mor a gossot y wayw yny veiston"; Lat. T., "ad petronum et fixit in mari lanceam"; MS. 5714, "tres quau Peiro e ficha en lamer sa lance"; MS. 124, reads "peiron" for "Peiro"; MS. 2137, "au perron et ficha sa baniere en la mer"; MS. 1850, "Jusqu, a la mer ou il fiche sa lance"; MS. *Cod. Gall.* 52, "Au peron qui siet sour la mer,

And he rendered thanks to God and to James who had brought him so far. For he could not, before that time, go.[1]

And the Galicians, to whom James and his disciples had preached and whom the faithless paynim people had converted, he regenerated, by the grace of baptism, through the hand of the Archbishop Turpin, namely, those of them who wished to be baptized and who had never been baptized. But those of them, however, who wished not to be baptized, he killed or they were put in bondage to the Christians. He then traversed the whole of Spain from sea to sea.

CHAPTER III.[2]

Charles then took all the fortified towns and cities of Spain, some without fighting and others with very much fighting and skill. But Lukyrn itself, the strongest city in the verdant vale,[3] he could not take. At last he surrounded and besieged it for the space of four months. And prayer having been made to God and James, its walls fell. And from that day until now it is uninhabited. For it was covered by water in which are found black fish.[4]

Certain of the other cities, other kings of France and kings of Almaen before Charles conquered, and they had afterwards gone back to the law of the Saracens, until his coming. And also after his death, many kings and princes of France fought against the Saracens in Spain: Clodoveus, the first Christian king of France, Lotarius, Dagobertus, Pipinus, Carolus Martellus, who in part conquered Spain and in part left it to Charlemagne. He,

et fichu en le mer sa lanche"; Hengwrt MS. omits "hyd y mor". *Vide* G. Paris' *Pseudo-Turpino*, p. 20, on "El Pedron", Mod. "El Padron".

[1] "Ka ny allassie kyn no hynny uynet"; Lat. "qui [Reuber reads *quo*] tamen in antea ire non poterat"; Hengwrt MS., "lle ny allassei vrenhin a gret dyvot eiryoet".

[2] This chapter in the Latin Text of Ciampi, and in the Old French translations, contains many names of towns and cities which are not given in the Welsh Text. They are important from a critical point of view. For the list given proves, as M. G. Paris shews *(Pseudo-Turpino)*, that the writer of the early Latin MS. was a Spaniard and not a Frenchman. They are not found in the Latin Text of Reuber; he omits the whole chapter; nor are they found in *Karl. Saga* and K.K.K.

[3] *Cod. Gall.* 52, "valuert".

[4] Hengwrt MS. renders "pyscod mawr duon", with Lat. T.

however, in his days conquered the whole of Spain. And these are the cities which after he had conquered with [W.T., p. 4.] oppressive toil, he cursed, and are therefore to this day without any one dwelling therein—Lucerna, Ventosa, Capara, Adama.

CHAPTER IV.

Every idol and image[1] which he then found in Spain he utterly destroyed, except the idol which was in the land of Alandalus. Its name was Mahumet.[2] The Saracens say that he, while yet alive, made that image in his own name,[3] and by magic art, drove into it a legion of devils and sealed them in it. And so strong is that idol that no one could ever break it. When a Christian approaches it, he is put in peril, and when a Saracen draws near to pray, he finds health. And if, perchance, a bird alights on it, it dies.

On the shore of the sea[4] is an old hollow stone, finely carved, of Saracene workmanship, set on the ground. It was wide and four-sided below, and narrower and narrower above as high as the flight of a crow in the air. And on that stone is that image made of the finest brass,[5] in the fashion of a man standing on his feet,[6] with his face towards the south, and in his right hand a huge key.[7] And that key, so the Saracens say, will fall out of his hand the year in which a king is born in France, who will subdue, in his time, the whole of Spain to the laws of

[1] It is a great mistake, though a common one, in the French literature of this period, to regard the followers of Mahomet as idolaters and polytheists. The teaching of the Koran is strongly opposed to anything of the kind.

[2] Lat. T., "Salamcadis"; Hengwrt MS., "enw hwnnw oed yn eu hieith wy Salamcadis sef oed hynny o sarassinec yn an yeith ni lle duw".

[3] Hengwrt MS., "Mahumet gwr a adolasant wy tra oed vyw yn lle duw udunt", following in this Reuber's punctuation, "Mahumet, quem ipsi colunt dum adhuc viveret, in nomine suo proprio fabricavit". Ciampi, as Welsh Text, punctuates more correctly, "Mahumet, quem ipsi colunt, dum adhuc viveret in nomine proprio fabricavit".

[4] Hengwrt MS., "ar varyan ar lann y mor".

[5] "Elydyn", Caxton, "of fyn yuorye" (of fine ivory).

[6] For "traeth" read "traet".

[7] "Agoryat", Ciampi and Reuber have *clavam* (club) in the text, though Ciampi says (p. 101) that *clavem* (key) was the reading in the MS. The translator of *Karlamagnus Saga* evidently read *clavam* "ok hefir i hendi *klumbu* milka"; O. Fr. MSS. have "*clef*".

Christ. And immediately[1] when they see the key fall from his hand, they will leave their treasures, and flee out of the country.

CHAPTER V.

Of the gold and treasures which the kings of Spain gave Charles, he enlarged the Church of the Apostle James, and for this purpose he abode there for three years. And he appointed bishops and canons in it, according[2] to the rule of Isidore, Bishop[3] and Confessor, and he embellished it with bells and books and with all other similar furniture as was necessary.

Of the residue of the treasures of gold and silver which he had when he returned from Spain, he spent it all in building other churches, namely, the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Aix-la-Chapelle,[4] and also the Church of James there; the Church of James at Bitern; the Church of James at Toulouse, and that which is in Gascony, between the city of Aix and St. John of Sordua, [W.T., p. 5.] on the road of Santiago; and the Church of James in Paris, between the Seine and Mount Martures. And countless monasteries did Charles build throughout the world.

CHAPTER VI.

And when Charles had returned to France, a paynim king of Africa, Aigolant by name, came with a very great army to Spain and attacked the Christian garrison which Charles had left to guard the cities and country. When Charles heard this, he set out a second time[5] for Spain, with a great army, and with Milo as commander-in-chief.

CHAPTER VII.

And what an example God showed us all then concerning those who unjustly withhold the legacy of the dead and their alms. When Charles was encamped, with his army, in the city of Baion, a knight named Romaric fell sick, and having grown weak and received Communion, he was absolved by a priest. He commanded

[1] "Yn y lle", cf. "yn y fan"; Lat. "mox".
[2] "Herwyd"; Lat. "secundum".
[3] Hengwrt MS., "pab oed hwnnw a chonfessor".
[4] W. T., "Grawndwuyr"; L. T., "Aquisgranum".
[5] On the question how many times Charles entered Spain, *see* G. Paris' *Hist. Poet.*, pp. 259, 260.

a friend of his to sell his horse and to give its price for his soul to the clerks and the poor. After he died, his friend sold the horse for a hundred shillings, and through lust of the money, he spent it on himself in food, drink, and clothes. And as Divine vengeance for evil deeds is wont to be swift, after thirty days the dead man appeared to him in his sleep and said to him:—"Inasmuch as I bequeath my goods to thee to be given for my soul and for my sins, be it known to thee that God has fully pardoned me all my sins. And inasmuch as thou didst unjustly retain my alms, thou didst retain me also for thirty days in the pains of hell. Be it known to thee that by to-morrow thou shalt be in the pains of hell from whence I came, and I shall be in Paradise." And having said these things, the dead man departed, and the living man woke up trembling. And the following morning, as he was telling all what he had heard, and the army were discussing the matter between them, behold, all of a sudden, a loud clamour was heard in the air above his head, like the howling of wolves and lions and the bellowing of cattle, and immediately he, alive and well, in that howling, was snatched from the midst of all, by the devils. Afterwards for four days, a quest was made for him by cavalry and infantry, over mountains and through valleys, but he was not found anywhere. Twelve [W.T., p. 6.] days afterwards, as the army was marching across the wilds of Navarre and Alanar, they found his body, all torn to pieces, on the summit of a rock above the sea, three miles high,[1] and four days' journey from the city whence he was taken. There the devils had thrown his corpse, and his soul they had taken to hell. And wherefore let them who withhold the alms of the dead, know that they are eternally lost.

CHAPTER VIII.

And after that, Charles and Milo and their armies began to seek Aigolant through Spain. And after careful pursuit, they found him in a country called Desauns, on the bank of a river called Cela, on meadows the widest and best, in which place, afterwards, at the behest and by the help of Charles, a very fine church was built to the

[1] Hengwrt MS., "teir milltir ffrenig"—a literal translation of "tribus leugis".

two martyrs, Facund and Primitive, and in which their bodies rest. And he founded a monastery and a very strong town in that place.

And when the hosts of Charles had approached the place, Aigolant bade Charles to fight as he listed, whether twenty men against twenty, or forty against forty, or a hundred against a hundred, or a thousand against a thousand, or one against one, or two against two. Then Charles sent a hundred knights against Aigolant's hundred, and the hundred Saracens were killed. Then Aigolant sent a hundred against a hundred, and the Saracens were killed. Then Aigolant sent two hundred against two hundred, and the Saracens were killed. And then Aigolant sent two thousand against two thousand, and of these, some were killed and some fled. The third day, Aigolant went to cast lots secretly,[1] whose would be the victory that day. And he commanded Charles to bring his whole army to the field[2] that day, if he wished. And this was agreed to on both sides.

And then, some of the Christians were preparing their arms, the night before the battle, and they fixed their lances straight up in the ground, in the meadow by the bank of the river. And the following morning they found them with branches grown on them, and having bark and roots, namely, the lances of those who were about to receive the palm of victory and martyrdom for the faith of Christ, in the first line of battle. They marvelled beyond measure at the Divine wonders[3] . . . . [W.T., p. 7.] and they cut them near the ground, and from the roots which they left in the ground there grew a great wood of many trees, which is still there. Many of them were ash and many of other trees, according to the nature of the

[1] "Y goelaw yn ysgyualawch", Lat. "Ejecit sortes secrete"; *Karl. Saga*, "leynilega" (secretly); Hengwrt MS. adds "ac yna y cauas ar y goel gorfod o hunaw ef ac oy wyr"; Lat. T., "et agnovit Cavoli detrimentum."

[2] "Kat ar uaes"=pitched battle.

[3] "Eithyr vy mod yn ryuedu awnaethant y gwyrtheu dywawl." The Welsh Text here is defective. Latin Text reads:—"Et ultra quam dici fas est admirantes [tantumque]. Dei miraculum [gratiae divinae adscribentes], absciderunt eas prope terram, et radices, quae remanserunt in tellure", etc. The parts in brackets are not in the W.T. *Cod. Gall.* 52, is something like the Welsh Text:—"Mout s'esmeruilleirent de si tresgrant merueille." MS. 2137 reads:—"Il s'en merveillierent mout durement, et les trenchierent pres de terre", etc.

lances. It was a wonderful thing and a very great joy, a great profit to souls, and great loss to bodies! That day, the two armies met in battle, and forty thousand Christians were killed. And Milo, the commander-in-chief, Roland's father, secured the palm of martyrdom among those whose lances flourished. And Charles' horse was killed. And then Charles with two Christians[1] on foot, stood in the midst of the Saracens' battle, and he unsheathed Gaudios his sword and with it slaughtered many of the Saracens. The following morning, four men[2] came to him from Italy to help him, having with them four thousand fighting men. And forthwith, when Aigolant saw them, he turned his back in flight, and Charles and his hosts returned to France.[3]

CHAPTER IX.

And then Aigolant joined with many Saracen nations, namely, with sixteen kings and their armies. And he came to Gascony and took the city of Agenni. And thereupon he sent peacefully to Charles commanding him to come to him with a few knights, and promising him nine horses laden with jewels, gold, and silver, provided he would submit to his sovereignty. He said that because he wished to know him that[4] he might kill him, if ever he met him in battle. And Charles being aware of that, came with two thousand mighty knights within four miles of the city, and there he left them in concealment with the exception of sixty knights. And with that number he came to a mountain near the city, from whence they could see it plainly. And there he left the others. And he put on him worthless garments, and leaving his lance behind and with his shield reversed on his back, as was the custom of messengers in the time of war, and with one knight, he came to the city. And forthwith some came out of the city to meet them and asked them what they sought. "We are the messengers of king Charlemagne", said they, "sent to your king, Aigolant." [W.T., p. 8.] And they were brought to the city before Aigolant. "Charlemagne", said they, "sent us to thee. For he has

[1] *Cod. Gall.* 52, "Charles fu a piet atout deux Crestiens". Lat. T. "duobus millibus".

[2] Hengwrt MS. "pedeir llong". Lat. T. "quatuor marquisii".

[3] The Latin Texts and Hengwrt MS. have a long "moral" here.

[4] "*Wrth*" = Lat. *ut*.

come as thou didst command him with only sixty knights.[1] And he wishes to pay thee homage and be a knight of thine, provided thou wilt give him what thou hast promised. And wherefore come thou to him with sixty knights of thine own peacefully to speak[2] with him." And thereupon Aigolant donned his armour and bade them return to Charles and tell him to wait for him. Aigolant, however, did not think that he was Charles. And having known Aigolant, and having minutely examined the city in what way it would be easiest to attack it, and having seen the kings that were in it, he returned to his sixty knights, and with them he returned to the two thousand knights. And Aigolant with seven thousand knights pursued them with the intention of killing Charles. But they being aware of this, fled. After that, Charles returned to France. And having gathered together a very great army, he came to the city of Agenni. And he invested and besieged it for six months. On the seventh month, Charles put up perriers, mangonels, battering rams,[3] and several other engines, and castles of wood. One night, Aigolant and the kings and the noblest men went out, by stealth, through loop-holes and lavatories, and, along the river Guaron which was by the city, they escaped from Charles. The following day Charles entered the city with great triumph. And thereupon he slew many of the Saracens. Others fled along the river. Forty thousand of the Saracens were, however, killed in the city of Agenni.

CHAPTER X.

And then Aigolant came to Ysconnas.[4] This city was subject to the Saracens, and he held it in possession. And Charles pursued him and bade him surrender the city. And he would not surrender it, but would come out and

[1] "Ar y drugeinuet marchog", lit. "with his sixtieth knight."

[2] "Cyfrwch". Canon Williams, following Dr. John Davies, Mallwyd, translates *cyfrwch* "to meet". In this text *cyfrwch* is the equivalent of Lat. *loqui*, as here, or of O. Fr. *parler* as on p. 34 W.T.

[3] "Pyrryereu", a kind of short mortar much used for stone-shot; a "blif" was something similar; Welsh "magnel"=mangonel. These military machines were used in the Crusades. *Vide* Warton's *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, vol. i, p. 162.

[4] Lat. T. "Santonas". Here follows a very long interpolation in MSS. 5714, 124, and Ed. 1835. *Vide* Intro., p. 52.

fight a pitched battle, on condition that the city be left in peace to the one who would conquer the other. And the night before the battle, some of the Christians fixed [W.T., p. 9.] their lances ready in the ground, they being in battle array in the meadow between the castle[1] and the city. And the following morning they found their lances with bark and branches grown on them, namely, the lances of those who were about to receive the palm of martyrdom for the faith of Christ, in that battle. And they rejoiced at so great a Divine wonder. They cut their lances from the ground, and were the first to seek battle. And they killed many of the Saracens. And finally, they received the crown of martyrdom. And they numbered four thousand, and then was Charlemagne's horse killed. And Charles being oppressed by the power of the paynims, invoked the aid of the Almighty[2] and recovered his strength. And he, on foot, and his hosts slew many of them with a mighty arm. And they not being able to bear the battle fled into the city. And Charles pursued them and surrounded the city, with the exception of the part near the river. And at the close of the night, Aigolant and his hosts fled through the river. And when he was informed of this, Charles pursued them and killed two[3] of their kings and many of the paynims, about four thousand in number.

CHAPTER XI.

Then Aigolant fled through the gates of Sysar[4] and came to Pampilon. And he sent to Charles commanding him to come and fight him there. And when Charles heard that, he returned to France, and, with the greatest care, gathered together the host of France, far and wide, as thoroughly as he could. And he set free all who were in France in bondage and their heirs after them, and and made them for ever free, so that no Frenchman could from that day forward be in bondage. And he gathered all with him into Spain to fight the paynim people. What prisoners he found, he released, the poor he enriched,[5] the naked he clothed, the malcontents he pacified, the disin-

[1] Hengwrt MS. supplies "Talaburgum", with Lat. T.

[2] Hengwrt MS. reads "Cannorthwy duw a meir".

[3] Latin T., "Regem Algabriae et regem Bugiae". Hengwrt MS. "Brenhin agab a brenhin bugi".

[4] "Byrth Sysar", Lat. "portus cisereos".

[5] For "nerthoyes" read "berthoges".

herited he brought back to their inheritance, the esquires who possessed arms he honourably dubbed knights, those whom he had justly separated from himself, he, prompted by the love of God, brought back to his friendship, both friends and enemies, those afar off and those near him, [W.T., p. 10.] them the king took with him to Spain and brought in his train on that expedition. I, Archbishop Turpin, by the authority of the Lord and by mine own blessing and absolution, set them free from sins. And then having gathered together one hundred and thirty-four thousand knights mighty in battle, without counting their esquires and foot soldiers that could not easily be numbered, they set out to Spain against Aigolant.

CHAPTER XII.

These are the names of the nobles who went there with him. I Turpin, Archbishop of Rhiems, absolved the people who had been worthily instructed, of their sins, and exhorted them to fight vigorously and courageously. And often have I fought the Saracens with mine own hands and arms. Roland, the commander of the army, Earl of Cenoman, and Lord of Blaive, the nephew of Charlemagne, the son of Duke Milo of Angler by Bertha, the sister of Charlemagne, a man great in mind and great in honour, and with him four thousand armed knights. There was another Roland who is not mentioned here. Oliver, commander of the army, the bravest among knights, the son of Earl Reinyer, and with him three thousand armed knights. Estultus, the Earl of Limoegin, the son of Earl Odo, and with him three thousand armed knights. Arastagnus, the prince of Brittany, with seven thousand armed knights. Engeler, the Duke of Angyw,[1] with four thousand armed knights. These were all cunning and skilled in all kinds of arms, and especially in bows and arrows. And that Earldom of Engeler, after their lord and prince and their citizens had been slain in the Vale of Briars, was for a long time a waste, and never since has that Earldom had citizens.[2] Gaifer, King of Burdegal, with three thousand men at arms. Gandebald, King of Frigia, with seven thousand men warriors. Ernald

[1] Lat. "Aquitaniae".

[2] Hengwrt MS. "Ac ny bu un dyledawc ohonei ehun ay gwledychei".

of Belland, with two thousand warriors. Naaman, Duke of Baian, with ten thousand warriors. Lambert, Duke of Bituren, with two thousand warriors. Samson, Duke of Burgundy, with ten thousand warriors. Constans, Duke of Rome, with twenty thousand warriors. Garin, Duke of Lotarius, with four thousand.[1] The number of Charlemagne's host from his own proper land was forty thousand knights. His foot soldiers could not be numbered.[1] The afore-mentioned armies were composed of men of renown, [W.T., p. 11.] the mightiest battle-loving[2] warriors in all the world, the most powerful among the powerful, the beloved of Christ, who upheld the Christian faith in the world. For as our Lord Jesus Christ and His disciples sought the world for the Christians, so Charlemagne, King of France and Emperor of Rome, and those nobles who were with him, sought Spain to the glory of God's name. And then all the hosts were gathered together on the borders of Burdegal, and they covered that country in its length and its breadth, namely, the space of two days' journey. For twelve miles in all directions was their tumult heard. And thereupon Ernald of Belland passed first through the gates of Sysar and came to Pampilon. And after him, Earl Estult, with his host. Then came King Arastagnus and then Duke Engeler and their hosts. After them came King Gandebald and his hosts. Then Constans and Oezer with their hosts. And in the rear came Charlemagne and Roland with their hosts. And they occupied[3] the whole land, from the river Rime to a mountain which is three miles distance[4] from the city on the road to Santiago. They were eight days in passing[5] the gates. And Charlemagne sent to Aigolant commanding[6] him to surrender the city in which he had his seat, or would he come out to fight. And Aigolant, seeing that he could not hold the city against him, chose rather to fight a pitched battle than

[1] Query: Why is the name of Howel of Nantes omitted from the list? It is found in the Latin texts, and of him it is stated:—"de hoc canitur in cantelena usque in hodiernum diem, quia innumerabilia fecit prodigia".

[2] The Latin Text gives "ymladwyr", and not "ymladgar".

[3] "Achubassant" (from Lat. occupo), Lat. T. "co-operuerunt".

[4] Hengwrt MS. "ymdeith tri diwyrnot".

[5] For "y adan" read "y adaw".

[6] For "erchi idaw y gaer" read "erchi idaw *eturyt* y gaer". *See* W.T., p. 8, *l.* 31.

to be besieged[1] ignominiously in his city. And he then asked Charlemagne to give him time to bring his army out of the city, and to grant him his troth that he might speak with him. For he desired to see Charlemagne.

CHAPTER XIII.

A truce having been made between them, Aigolant came out of the city with his army. And he left his army, and with 60 of his nobles[2] came before Charlemagne, who had left his army near the city. And the two armies were set in a plain close by, which was six miles in length and breadth, to wait their fortune. And then Charlemagne said—"Art thou Aigolant who hast treacherously taken possession of my land, the country of Spain and Gascony, which by Divine aid, I won, and brought into submission to Christian laws, and whose kings I brought under my rule? And when I returned to France, thou didst kill the [W.T., p. 12.] Christians of God, and thou didst destroy my cities and my castles and all the land, with fire and sword, of which now I greatly complain." And when Aigolant heard Charles speak the Arabic[3] tongue, he was pleased, and he rejoiced that he spake the same language as himself. Charles had learned the Saracen language at Twlws[4] when once in his youth he was there in school. Then Aigolant said to him—"Tell me, I pray thee, why dost thou invade a land which belongs not to thee by hereditary right, nor to thy father, nor thy grandfather, nor thy great-grandfather, and take it from our people?" "I will tell thee", said Charles, "because our Lord Jesus Christ, the Creator of heaven and earth, has chosen our people, the Christians, before all other people, and has made them rulers over all other people in the world. And as far as I could, I have converted thy people, the Saracens, to our laws." "It was most unworthy",[5] said Aigolant, "to subject our people to your people, seeing that our law is better than yours. We have Mahumet who was a messenger of God, and

[1] Lat. T. "quam in urbe turpiter *mori*"; so Hengwrt MS. "ei varw".

[2] "Dyfod ar y drigeinuet oe bennaduryeit"; lit. "came with his sixtieth noble".

[3] *Vide* Vita, p. 19.

[4] Lat. T. "Tolete".

[5] "Val" of the Welsh Text possibly is a part of "Valde" of the Latin Text.

whom He sent to us, and whose commandments we keep. And we have almighty gods, who at the behest of Mahumet, make known to us future things, whom we worship and by whom we live and reign." "O Aigolant", said Charles, "thou errest there. For it is we who keep the laws of God, and you the most vain precepts of a most vain man. We believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and worship Him. You, in your idolatry, believe in the devil and worship him. Our souls, by the faith we hold, go after death to Paradise and life everlasting. Your souls proceed to hell. And wherefore it is evident that our law is better than yours. *And in as much as you know not the Creator of all things*[1] *and have no wish to know Him, you deserve no heritage, nor anything either in heaven or earth, but your portion and possession are with the devil and with your God Mahumet.*[2] Wherefore [W.T., p. 13.] receive baptism, thou and thy people, and live, or come and fight against me, and die." "Be it far from me", said Aigolant "to receive baptism and to renounce Mahumet, mine Almighty God. But I will fight thee and thy people on this condition, that, if our law is preferable before God to yours, we conquer; if yours be the best, that you conquer. And be it a reproach to the last day to him who is conquered, and an everlasting glory and honour to him who conquers. And furthermore, if my people are conquered, I will receive baptism, if I escape alive." And this was agreed to on both sides. And forthwith twenty Christian knights were chosen against twenty Saracen knights, and they began to fight under that condition on the field of battle.[3] And immediately the Saracens were killed. Then forty were sent against forty, and the Saracens were killed. Then a hundred were sent against a hundred, and the Christians fearing death went back in flight and were killed while fleeing. That signifies that he who fights for the faith of Christ ought not, for any kind of danger, to go back. As those who went back were killed, so shall the Christians die a shameful death in their sins, who [fighting against evil] go back to it.

[1] Hengwrt MSS. "greawdyr nef".

[2] Parts in italics are not found in the Latin texts of Ciampi and Reuber, nor in the oldest French MSS. *Cod. Gall.* 52 alone has something to the same effect—"et pour ce que vous ne voles croire le createur de toute creature, n'aues vous droit ne en ciel ne en terre".

[3] For "ymplas" read "ymaes"; Lat. T. "in campo".

But if they fight bravely, they shall overcome their enemies, namely, the devils who provoke[1] the sin. He shall not receive a crown,[2] says the apostle, who does not fight lawfully. Then two hundred were sent against two hundred, and all the Saracens were killed. And then, a truce having been made on both sides, Aigolant came to Charles to acknowledge that the Christian law was better than that of the Saracens. Then he returned to his people and told the kings and princes that he wished to be baptized. And he bade all of them to be baptized. Some of them agreed to this. Others rejected this.

CHAPTER XIV.

[W.T., p. 14.] The following day, about terce,[3] a truce having been given to all to come and to go, Aigolant came to Charlemagne with the intention of being baptized. And when he saw Charles sitting at the table dining, and about him many nobles clothed in divers robes and habits, some in knightly garb, others in the habit of black monks, and others in the habit of canons, he asked Charles the estate of each one of them. "Those", said Charles, "whom thou seest clad in robes of russet-brown[4] are the bishops and priests of our law, who expound to us the precepts of our law and absolve us from our sins, and bestow upon us the blessing of our Lord. Those whom thou seest there habited in black are monks, and abbots also in their own proper colour, and they never cease to pray to the Divine Majesty[5] continually on our behalf. Those whom thou seest there in white habits are the regular canons, who follow a saintly life, and pray for us, and who sing masses and matins and hours for us."[6] And thereupon

[1] "Ennic", from "annog".

[2] 2 Tim. ii, 5.

[3] "Awr echwyd"; Lat. T. "hora tertia" (= 9 a.m.); *Cod. Gall.* 52 "vers tierce".

[4] Gwisgoed crynyon"; Lat. T. (Reuber) "birris unius coloris"; cf. "dail *crinion*" (withered leaves); MS. 2137 "de vestimenz de *brunetes*"; Karl. Saga "einlit" (one colour); Ciampi reads "unius coloris"; so *Cod. Gall.* 52, "d'une coulour"; "crynyon" might be for "hirion" (long); cf. MS. 2137, "*longues* robes"; Hengwrt MS., as usual, combines Lat. and Welsh readings and renders—"dillat durrud un lliw" (durrud = cochddu).

[5] "Arglwydiawl dywolyaeth"; Lat. T. "dominicam majestatem".

[6] "Yn kanu . . . oryeu drossom." Cf. Dafydd ab Gwilym's ode (Claddu y bardd o gariad):—"A'r gog rhag f' enaid a *gan* | Ar irgoed, fel yr organ | *Paderau* ac *oriau'n* gall | A *llaswyrau*, llais arall."

Aigolant saw thirteen[1] poor men, naked and miserable, on the bare floor, without table or linen before them, and with little either to eat or drink. And he asked what kind of people those were. "They are the people of God", said Charles, "the messengers of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom we feed daily, thirteen of them, according to our custom, in the name[2] of our Lord Jesus Christ and His Twelve Apostles." And then Aigolant replied: "Those who are about thee are happy[3] and have abundance[4] of meat and drink and clothes, for they are thine. But they whom thou sayest are the kindred of thy God,[5] and His messengers as thou affirmest—why do they perish of famine and nakedness and shame? Why are they cast away far from thee? and why treatest[6] thou them shamefully? Much dishonour does he to God who serves His servants thus. Thy law which thou saidst to be good, thou shewest to be false." And he took his leave and returned to his own army offended. And he refused baptism, and bade Charlemagne come to fight the following day. And when [W.T., p. 15.] Charlemagne understood that Aigolant had refused baptism because of the poor he saw, he finely clad all the poor he could find in the army, and fed them worthily with meat and drink.

NOTA.—And wherefore it is right to consider how great a reproach[7] it is to a Christian who does not faithfully serve the poor of Christ. For Charlemagne lost the Saracen king because he so vilely[8] treated the poor of Christ. What will be the lot of him at the day of judgment, who treated[9] the poor here vilely? How will they hear

[1] "Tri achenaw ar dec"; Lat. T. "duodecim" (Ciampi); "tredecim" (Reuber); "xii" MS. 2137 and *Cod. Gall.* 52; "xiii poures" MSS. 5714, 124, 1850.

[2] "Yn enw"; Lat. T. "sub numero"; old Fr. MSS. as W. T.; "en nom", MSS. 5714, 124; "el non", MS. 1850; "eu nom", *Cod. Gall.* 52; MS. 2137 has "en remembrance".

[3] "Drythyll"; Lat. T., "felices"; "beneüre" MSS. 2137, 1850, 5714, 124.

[4] "Drythyllwch a gaffant ovwyt"; Lat. T. "feliciter comedunt"; "cil qui enuiron toi sieent sont richement vestus et bien peu", *Cod. Gall.* 52; "I see wel that they that ben aboute the been in good poynt and wel arayed", Caxton.

[5] "Gystlwn dyduw"; Lat. T. "Dei tui . . esse".

[6] "Treythy", from "traethu". See below.

[7] "Cabyl"; Lat. T. "culpa"; MS. 5714 "ablasmer"; *Cod. Gall.* 52 "coupe".

[8] "Dielwet", lit. "so profitless".

[9] "Traethassei", "traetho", from Lat. tracto, cf. llaeth for Lat. *lacte*.

the voice of the Lord[1] saying, "Depart from me ye accursed to everlasting fire. For I was an hungered and ye gave me no meat", and the other reproaches as well?[2] And be it known that the law of God, or the faith of a Christian, is of very little worth unless fulfilled in works. As the Scripture testifies which says, "As the body without the soul is dead, so faith by itself,[3] without good works, is dead."

CHAPTER XV.

And then, on the following day, they came armed from both sides,[4] in order to fight[5] under the covenant of the two laws. And the army of Charlemagne numbered one hundred and thirty-four thousand knights, and the army of Aigolant one hundred thousand. The Christians formed four battalions, and the Saracens five, and the first of them which came to the battle field was forthwith vanquished. Then came the second battalion of the Saracens, and was forthwith vanquished. And as soon as the Saracens saw the loss of their men, their three battalions joined together, with Aigolant in their midst.[6] And when the Christians saw that, they surrounded them on all sides. From one side came Arnald de Belland with his army. From another side came Earl Estult with his army. From another side came king Arastagnus[7] with his army. And the princes surrounded them and the commander of the hosts[8] from another side. *And they blew their ivory*[9] *horns*[10]

[1] "Arglwydiawl"; Lat. T. "terribilem"; Hengwrt MS. combines the two—"aruthyr lef yr Arglwyd". MS. 124, as W. T., "la uoie nostre Seignor"; *Cod. Gall.* 52 "la vois diu".

[2] "Ar ymliweu ereill y am hynny"; Lat. T. "et cetera".

[3] "Yndi ehun"; Lat. T. "in semetipsa". As quoted in the Latin text, this forms a part of St. James ii, 26. But it is not found there either in the Greek or the Vulgate. There it forms a part of the 17th verse.

[4] "Parth", from Lat. "partem".

[5] For "yr ymlad" read "er ymlad".

[6] "Perued", from Lat. "per media".

[7] Ciampi only mentions three names, Arnaldus de Berlanda, Constantinus, and Carolus. Reuber gives seven names, Arnoldus de Bellanda, Estultus Comes, Arastagnus, Galdebodus rex, Ogerius rex, Constantinus, and Carolus. These seven names are also found in *Cod. Gall.* 52, six only of them being given in MS. 2137.

[8] "Ar tywssauc lluoed"; Lat. T. "Carolus". As usual, Hengwrt MS. combines Welsh and Latin texts.

[9] "Eu kyrn *moruil*", cf. "asgwrn moruil", W. T., p. 97; Hengwrt MS. "kyrn eliffeint".

[10] "A chanu eu kyrn", cf. *Cod. Gall.* 52, "sonner cors et buisines".

and roused them speedily,[1] *trusting in God.*[2] Arnald charged into their midst. And he killed and smote, on the right and on the left, those he met, until he came to Aigolant, who was in the midst of his army, and he killed him with his own sword, and then was a great lamentation and clamour made by all the Saracens. And the Christians fell upon them from all parts, and killed them all. Then was [W.T., p. 16.] there a slaughter of the Saracens that none of them escaped except the king of Seville and Altumor,[3] the king of Cordova. These, with a few of their troops, fled. So abundant was the blood[4] there that the victors could swim in it up to their necks.[5] And as many of the Saracens as they found in the city, they killed.

NOTA.—Behold, did not Charlemagne have the victory over Aigolant because they fought under the covenant of the Christian faith? And wherefore it is evident that the Christian faith is more excellent than all the laws of the whole world. And thou, O Christian, if thou wilt hold thy faith with thine heart, and, as much as thou canst, fulfil it with thy work, undoubtedly thou shalt be exalted above the angels, with Christ thy head, in that thou art a member of Him. If thou desirest to ascend, believe firmly, because all things are possible to him that believes. Then all the hosts, rejoicing at their great victory, gathered together, and they came and encamped at Argys, on the road to Santiago.

CHAPTER XVI.

That night, unknown to Charlemagne, some of the Christians, coveting the spoil of the dead whom they had left lying where the battle had been, full of gold and silver, went back there. And as they were coming with their heavy loads, the king of Cordova, and with him very many Saracens who had fled from the battle and had been

[1] "Kyffroi yn uuan." Possibly the reading here is "kyffro i ymwan" (roused them to fight); cf. *Cod. Gall.* 52 "ferirent"; Hengwrt MS. reads "yn duhun wrawl".

[2] Parts in italics are not in the Lat. T.

[3] Lat. T. "Altumajor".

[4] "Kyn amlet oed y gwaet"; Lat. T. "tanta sanguinis effusio".

[5] "Hyt eu mynygieu"; Lat. T. "ad bases"; Heng. MS. "hyd ym bras eu hesgeiryeu"; MS. 5714 "jusqu' aus cheuillies"; MS. 1850 "jusqu' aus jarrez"; *Cod. Gall.* 52, rather doubtfully, "Desci as queuilles estoient el sanc li vainqueour, ce dist l' istore".

in hiding until then—fell upon them and killed them to a man. And there were about a thousand of them.[1]

CHAPTER XVII.

The following day tidings came to Charles that Furre, the king of Navarre, wished to fight him. And when Charlemagne came to Mount Garsim, that prince arranged to fight against him the following day. And the night before the battle Charles prayed God to shew him which of his men would fall in that battle. The next day, when the armies had put on their arms, lo, there was a red cross on the shoulders of the Christians who were about to be slain, above their coats of mail. And when Charles saw that, he kept that number back in his oratory[2] lest they should be slain in the battle. O,[3] how difficult it is to apprehend[4] the judgments[5] of God, and to follow[6] His [W.T., p. 17.] ways.[7] After the battle had been fought, and Furre and three thousand Saracens had been killed, Charlemagne found those whom he had shut within his oratory dead. And they were about one hundred and fifty in number. O most holy band of Christ's warriors! Though their enemies' sword did not kill them, nevertheless[8] they missed not the palm of victory![9] Then Charles subdued Mount Garsim and the whole country of Navarre, and made them his own *for Christianity.*[10]

CHAPTER XVIII.

And then tidings came to Charles that there was in Nager[11] a giant, Ferracut by name, who was of the race of Goliath, and had come from the borders of Syria, whom Amilad,[12] the King of Babylon, had sent, with twenty thousand of his people, to fight Charles. That man

[1] Here follows an "Allegoria" in the Lat. T. It is found in Hengwrt MS. and the old Fr. MSS.
[2] "Capel"; Lat. T. "oratorio".
[3] "Oi a duw", lit. "alack the day", *vide* W. T., p. 108.
[4] "Anhawd ymordiwes"; Lat. T. "incomprehensibilia".
[5] "Brodyeu", from "brawd", cf. "brawdle".
[6] "Ymganlyn"; Lat. T. "investigabiles".
[7] Rom. xi, 33 (Vulgate).
[8] "Kyn" . . . . "Eissoes"; Lat. T. "etsi" . . . . "tamen".
[9] "Palym budugolyaeth"; Lat. T. "palmam martyrii".
[10] "Wrth gristonogaeth", not in Lat. T.
[11] "Ynager"; Lat. T. "apud Nageram"; R. & V. "Naser".
[12] Lat. T. "Admiraldus".

feared nor lance, nor sword, nor arrow,[1] and he had the strength of forty strong men.[2] Thereupon, Charles came to Nager. And when Ferracut knew of his coming he came out of the city offering to fight one against one. And then Charles sent to him Oger of Denmark. And when the giant saw him in the field, he approached him heedlessly[3] and took him all armed under his right arm and carried him in the sight of all to his city, in the same way as if he were a gentle sheep.[4] His height was twelve[5] cubits, and his face a cubit broad. His nose was his own palm long.[6] His arms and his thighs were four cubits long, and his fingers were three palms long. Then Reginald[7] of the White Thorn was sent intending to fight him, and forthwith he took him into his castle to prison.[8] Then Constans, King of Rome, and Earl Howel,[9] and he took them, the one under his right arm and the other under his left arm, and carried them to his castle.[10] Then were sent to him two at a time up to twenty, and those also he committed[11] to his prison. And when Charlemagne saw that, and being amazed[12] at it, both he and his retinue, he dared[13] not thenceforth send anyone to him. However, Roland, the commander of the army, having with difficulty obtained leave of Charles, came to fight him. *And Charles was concerned about him because he was so young. And being anxious about him, he prayed the Lord to strengthen* [W.T., p. 18.]

[1] "Saeth", from Lat. "sagetta".

[2] "Kynnybei namyn ar y deugeinuet owyr cadarn", lit., "provided he be only with his fortieth of strong men"; Lat. T. "vim xl fortium possidebat". R. & V. "He hadde tventi men strengte".

[3] "Ynysgaelus"; Lat. T. "suaviter".

[4] Caxton, "and made nomore a-doo to bere hym than dooth a wulf to bere a lytel lambe".

[5] Lat. T. "cubitis xx"; R. & V. "40 feet". "Kyuut" = cyfud, from Lat. "cubitus".

[6] R. & V. "His nose was a fote and more".

[7] "Reinallt or dreinwen"; Lat. T. "Rainaldum de albo spino".

[8] *Cod. Gall.* 52 adds here "Apres reuint Fernagus ou camp et demanda bataille contres deus". So also MS. 2137.

[9] "Howel iarll"; Lat. T. "Oliverius comes" (Ciampi), "Oellus comes" (Reuber); *Cod. Gall.* 52 "et Hoüel de Nantes"; so also MSS. 5714, 124, 1850, 2137.

[10] "Y gastell"; Lat. T. "carcarem".

[11] "Orchymynnwys"; Lat. T. "mancipavit".

[12] "Ryuedu"; Lat. T. "admiro"; *Cod. Gall.* 52 "mout s'en esmeruilla".

[13] "Lauasswys"; Lat. T. "ausus".

his nephew with His own might.[1] *And when the giant saw Roland coming to him,* he snatched him with his right hand, *as he did the others, and pulled him off his horse,* and put him between him and the *saddle-bow*[2] on his own horse. And when he was bearing[3] him towards his castle, Roland, having recovered his strength,[4] and trusting in God, seized the giant by his throat[5] and turned his neck back on his horse. And they both fell to the ground off the horse. And they both at once got up and each found his horse. And immediately Roland smote the giant with Durendard, his sword, with the intention of killing him, and he cut his horse in sunder with one blow. And when Ferracut had regained his feet, and was threatening Roland with his sword, Roland dealt him a blow on the arm which held the sword. And though[6] the blow did no harm to the arm, nevertheless[6] the sword fell out of his hand. And when Ferracut had lost his sword, he sought Roland with his fist, and missing him, hit his horse in the forehead that it fell down dead. They then fought on foot, both with fist and stones. At vesper-time,[7] Ferracut requested truce of Roland[8] until the morrow. And they promised that they would both come on the morrow and fight without horses and without lances. And having made this agreement of warfare, they went to their tents. On the morrow, at the dawn of day, they came to fight on foot as they had agreed. Ferracut, however, brought with him a sword. But it availed him nought. For Roland had brought with him a long twisted club,[9] and with that he defended himself and belaboured

[1] The parts in italics are not found in the Latin text.

[2] "Coryf", from Lat. "corbis". See Loth, *sub voce.*

[3] "Arwein"; Lat. T. "portaret", cf. "yn *arwain* y goron ddrain" (St. John xix, 5). Vulgate "*portans* coronam spineam".

[4] "Galw ei nerthoed"; Lat. T. "resumptis viribus suis".

[5] "Herwyd y ureuant"; Lat. T. "per mentum".

[6] "Cyn . . . . . eissoes".

[7] "Pryd *gosper*", cf. "pryd *nawn*". The canonical hours were as follows:—*Plygain* or *Pylgain* = 3 to 6 a.m. *Anterth* (from Lat. "ante tertiam") = 6 to 9 a.m. *Echwydd* = 9 a.m. to 12 noon. *Nawn* (from Lat. "nona") = 12 to 3 p.m. *Gosper* (from Lat. "vespera") = 3 to 6 p.m. *Ucher* = 6 to 9 p.m. Cf. *Welsh Report,* vol. i, p. 1112.

[8] Lat. T. "a Rolando", although Ciampi says (p. 115) that the reading in the text is "a Carolo".

[9] "Trossawl", cf. W. T., p. 30; Lat. T. "baculum"; *Cod. Gall.* 52 "baston".

the giant until late in the evening.[1] But he did him no harm. And he threw also at him the big stones which were in the field all day long.[2] But that also did him no harm. And the giant being tired and heavy with sleep, asked truce of Roland to sleep. And as Roland was a noble and magnanimous young man, he placed a stone under the giant's head that he might sleep more calmly. He could safely do that.[3] For there was an understanding[4] between them that a Christian who gave truce to a Saracen, or a Saracen who gave truce to a Christian, should observe it faithfully. And whosoever should break a truce without warning would be killed. And when the giant had slept enough, he woke up, and Roland was sitting near him. And Roland asked him, what kind of strength and what kind of hardness there was in his flesh, seeing that nor lance, nor sword, nor wood, nor stone could do it any harm. "I am not vulnerable", said the giant, "save in my navel." *And when Roland heard that he turned from him as though he did not understand it.* For the giant spoke in Spanish, and Roland knew that language well. And then the giant regarded Roland and inquired of him in this wise,—"What is thy name?" said he. "Roland", replied he "is my name." "Of what people art thou?" said he, "seeing thou dost so mightily fight against me. *Never before have I met thine equal in prowess.*" "I am of the French people", replied Roland, *the nephew of Charlemagne.*[5] "Of what law", said Ferracut, "are the Franks?" "By the grace of God", replied Roland, "we are of the Christian law, and to the sovereignty of Christ we submit, and for His law, as far as we can, we strive." And when the paynim heard the name of Christ, he asked him,—"Who is the Christ in whom thou believest?" "The Son of God",[6] replied Roland, "who was born of the Virgin, who suffered on the cross and was buried in a grave, and the third day He rose from the dead and returned to the right hand of God." "We believe", said the giant, "that the Creator of heaven and earth is one God, and that He had neither son nor father, that is to [W.T., p. 19.]

[1] *For* "educher" *read* "hyd ucher"; Lat. T. "tota die". For "ucher", see p. 104, note 7.

[2] "Yn hyt y dyd"; Lat. T. "usque ad meridiem".

[3] See Scott's *Talisman*, chapter ii.

[4] "Amot a oed y rydunt"; Lat. T. "inter eos institutio".

[5] *Cod. Gall.* 52, p. 42. Parts in italics are not in Latin text.

[6] "Filius Dei *Patris.*" "Patris" omitted in W. T.

say, that as He is begotten of none so has He begotten none. And wherefore He is one God and not three." "Thou sayest truly", said Roland, "that He is one God. But when thou sayest that He is not three, thou haltest in thy faith.[1] If thou dost believe in the Father, believe also in His Son and in the Holy Ghost. For He is God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost—one God, three[2] persons." "If", said Ferracut, "thou sayest that the Father is God, and the Son God, and the Holy Ghost God, they are three Gods, which is not true, and not one God." "Not so", said Roland, "but I maintain[3] that He is one God and three, both one and three. The three persons are co-eternal and co-equal. Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is the Holy Ghost.[4] In the persons there are properties, and in the divinity[5] [W.T., p. 20.] there is unity, and in power[6] there is similarity. One God in Trinity do the angels in heaven adore. And Abraham saw three and he worshipped one." "Shew me this", said the giant, "how are the three one?" "I will shew", said Roland, "by earthly things.[7] As there are three things in the harp when played, namely, art, strings, and hand, and yet it is but one harp, so there are three persons in God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and yet He is but one God. And as there are three things in the almond,[8] namely, the outward shell, the rind, and the kernel, and yet the almond is but one, in like manner there are three persons in one God. There are three things in the sun. It is white, bright, and hot. And yet it is but one sun. There are three things in the wheel of a cart, namely, nave, spokes, and tire. And yet it is but one wheel. There are in thyself three things, body, members, and soul. And yet thou art but one man. In like manner is God one and yet three." "I understand now", said Ferracut, "that God is one and is three. I know not, however, how the Father begat a Son, as thou

[1] "Cloffi", Lat. T. "claudo".

[2] "Teir", the adjective takes the gender of the Lat. "persona".

[3] "Pregethaf"; Lat. T. "praedico".

[4] Cf. Athanasian Creed.

[5] "Dwywolyaeth"; Lat. T. "essentia".

[6] "Medyant", cf. S. John x, 18. "Y mae gennyf *feddiant* i'w dodi hi i lawr, ac y mae gennyf *feddiant* i'w chymmeryd hi drachefn." Vulgate "potestatem"; Lat. T. "in majestate adoratur aequalitas".

[7] "Creaduryeit dayrawl"; Lat. T. "per humanas creaturas".

[8] "Amand-lys"; Lat. T. "amygdala"; *Cod. Gall.* 52 "une amande".

sayest." "Dost thou believe that God created Adam?" said Roland. "I do believe", said the giant. "As Adam was born of none", said Roland, "and yet sons were born to him, so God the Father was born of none, and yet a Son was born to Him, Divine, according to His will, before all times, in an ineffable manner." "Thou sayest well", said the giant, "but I know not at all how He who was God became man." "He who made heaven and earth", said Roland, "and who made all things out of nothing, made His Son to be man, without human substance, but by His Holy Spirit." "There I am in difficulty", said the giant, "How was a Son born of a virgin, without human intervention, as thy sayest?" "God", said Roland, "who formed Adam without human intervention, made His own Son to be born of a virgin without human intervention. And as Adam was born of God the Father, without a mother, so was His own Son born of a mother, without having a human father. For such a birth became God." "I am very much amazed",[1] said the giant, "how He was born of a virgin, without human intervention." "He", said Roland, "who makes a weevil grow[2] in a bean, and a [W.T., p 21.] worm in a tree, and many fishes, and birds, and bees, and vipers, without male intervention, He also made the pure Virgin[3] give birth to God and man without human intervention. For He who easily made the first man, as I said, without any human intervention, could also easily cause His Son to be born of the Virgin, without human intervention." "It is possible", said the giant, "that He was born of the Virgin, and yet if He was the Son of God, as thou sayest, He could in no way die. For God can never die." "Thou sayest well that He could be born of the Virgin", said Roland, "and in that He was born as a man, so He died as a man. For all who are born shall die. And since His birth is credible, credible is His death or His passion, and then His resurrection from the dead." "How can His resurrection be believed?" said the giant. "Because all who are born shall die", said Roland, "and He who died rose again the third day." And the giant, when he heard these words, was very much surprised, and he

[1] "Diruawr gewilyd yw gennyf vi"; Lat. T. "valde erubesco"; *Cod. Gall.* 52 "m' esmerueil".

[2] "Awna tyuu"; Lat. T. "facit gignere".

[3] "Uorwyn wyry"; Lat. T. "virgo intacta".

replied to him in this wise—"Roland", said he, "most vain are the words thou hast declared to me. It is impossible ever to raise a man from the dead." "Not the Son of God alone", said Roland, "rose alive from the dead, but all that ever were of men from the beginning of the world and that shall be unto its end, shall rise up before His throne to receive the recompense of the deeds done by each, whether they be evil or good. God", said Roland, "who makes the sapling grow on high, and makes the grain of corn, after it has decayed and died in the earth, grow, and fructify, and revive, He will also raise, at the last day, all the dead to life. Consider thou the nature of the lion. For the lion will, with his roaring, revive his whelps, the third day, if they are still-born. What wonder is it then that God the Father raised His own Son from the dead the third day. And it ought not to be a wonderful thing to thee that the Son of God rose from the dead, in that many dead rose before Him. For if Elias and Eliseus made the dead alive, it was easy for God the Father to raise Him. And He who raised many from the dead before His passion, easily rose Him-
[W.T., p. 22.] self from the dead. And death could not withhold[1] Him from whom death flees, and at whose voice the multitude[2] of the dead shall rise." "I see well what thou sayest", said the giant, "but I do not understand how He ascended[3] into heaven." "He", said Roland, "who descended easily from heaven, ascended easily into heaven. He who arose through Himself, ascended easily into heaven. Take examples[4] of many things. The lowest part of a mill-wheel now will be the highest part presently. A bird in the air will descend as far as he will ascend. And if thou descendest from an high elevation thou canst return back from whence thou didst descend. Yesterday the sun rose in the East and set in the West. To-day it arose from whence it came yesterday. So from heaven, whence the Son of God came, there He returned again." "Therefore", said the giant, "I will fight with thee on this condition, that, if thy faith be true, I be vanquished; and if false, thou be vanquished. And be it an everlasting

[1] Cf. "teneri illum ab eo", Acts ii, 24 (Vulgate).
[2] "Twryf"; Lat. T. "phalanx".
[3] Read "yd ysgynnwys".
[4] "Agreift." *Vide* Loth, *sub voce.*

reproach to the people of him who is vanquished, and to the victor be everlasting glory and honour." "Be it so," said Roland. And that condition was confirmed on both sides. And Roland forthwith attacked the paynim, and he aimed a blow at Roland with his sword. But Roland sprang to his left and received the sword on his club. And when Roland's club was broken, the giant attacked him, seized him, and immediately smote him down under him on the ground. Then Roland perceived that there was no way of escape for him. He began to implore the aid of the Son of the Virgin Mary.[1] And thereupon he slid, little by little, from under him until he was above him. And he put his hand to his sword and stabbed him in the navel and fled from him. And with a very loud voice he called upon his God, in this wise—"Mahumet, Mahumet, my God, help me, for I am now dying." And at that cry the Saracens came and snatched[2] him to the castle. And Roland returned whole to his own people. And immediately they attacked the city and the Saracens who were carrying the giant's body. And having thus killed the giant, they took the city and the castle, and the men were released from their prison.

CHAPTER XIX.

Shortly afterwards tidings came to the Emperor[3] that Ebrahim,[4] king of Cordova, and king of Seville and Altumor, who had formerly fled from Pampilon, were waiting in ambush with the intention[5] of fighting with him. And they had with them the armies of seven cities.[6] And Charlemagne decreed to go and fight against them. And when he came to Cordova with his host, the above named kings, with their hosts in arms, came three miles out of the city. And the army of the Saracens numbered about ten thousand, and there were about six thousand Christians. And then Charlemagne formed three battalions, the first battalion of the most approved knights, the second of infantry, and the third of knights. And the Saracens did [W.T., p. 23.]

[1] "Beatae" of the Lat. T. is translated in the Hengwrt MS.

[2] "Ysglyfyeit"; Lat. T. "rapuerunt".

[3] "Amherawdyr", from Lat. "imperator"—used here for the first time.

[4] Lat. T. "apud Cordubam Ebrachim rex Sibiliae, et Altumajor".

[5] "Ar odeuaw" from "goddauo".

[6] The names of the cities are given in the Latin text as follows:—Granada, Santa, Denia, Ubeda, Albula, Baetia.

likewise. And when the first battalion, at the command of Charlemagne, advanced towards the Saracens, there came in front of each of their knights a foot-soldier having a mask,[1] bearded and horned, like unto devils, and having each a harp,[2] upon which they played. And when the horses of the Christians heard those voices and saw their terrible masks, they were so terrified that their riders could not hold them back. And when the two other battalions of the Christians saw the strongest battalion in flight, they also fell back. *And when Charles saw that, he was surprised beyond measure,*[3] *until he knew the cause of it.*[4] And the Saracens rejoiced, and pursued them very slowly,[5] until the Christians came to a mountain, which was about two miles from the city. And there the Christians with one accord rallied together[6] to wait them for battle. And when they saw that, they went back a short distance. And there the Christians pitched their tents until the morrow. And when the morning[7] came, and counsel had been taken, Charles commanded all who had horses to cover their heads with linen and cloth to screen their eyes lest they see those devilish masks, and to stop their ears lest they hear their infernal voices. A wonderful contrivance! Having protected[8] the eyes and ears of their horses, forthwith they boldly charged them, caring nought for their treacherous[9] cries. And from morn till noon they overcame the
[W.T., p. 24.] Saracens, and killed many of them. They did, not how-

[1] "Gwasgawt", lit. "a shadow"; Lat. T. "larva".

[2] "Telyn"; Lat. T. "timpanos"; Hengwrt MS. as usual combines the two, "telynau a timpaneu"; MS. 1850 "timbres"; MS. 2137 "tabours et timbres"; Caxton "in hys honde a lytel *belle*". So MSS. 5,714 and 124 "campanes", Ed. 1835 "clochettes".

[3] "Eithyr mod." See W. T., p. 2.

[4] Words in italics are not in the Lat. T., cf. *Cod. Gall.* 52, p. 46.

[5] "Eu hymlit yn erhwyr"; Lat. T. "retro *lento gradu* insequnti"; "erhwyr", from "*er*"=intensive particle, cf. Zeuss, p. 895, and *hwyr*= slow, cf. "milgi hwyr". See also Dafydd ap Gwilym's ode (yr haf), "ac awyr *erwyr* araf". On p. 106 of W. T. "retro lento gradu" is translated "yn llibin"; Hengwrt MS. "ac yn *herwyr* y doeth y cristonogyon y vynyd", which Canon Williams renders, "and the Christian fugitives came to a mountain". *Cod. Gall.* 52 "les siuirent mout lie *le petit pas*".

[6] "O gytduundeb y klymawd y cristonyon"; *Cod. Gall.* 52 "s' aünerent"; MS. 1850 "Si pristrent conseil ensemble".

[7] "A phan dy vu y bore"; Lat. T. "mane facto".

[8] "Gwarchae"; Lat. T. "claudis".

[9] "Bredychus"; Lat. T. "subdolos".

ever, kill all. And the Saracens crowded together, and in their midst[1] was a waggon[2] drawn by eight oxen. And on the waggon was their standard raised. And their custom was such that none of them took to flight as long as they saw the standard up. And when Charles knew that, he, being encompassed by Divine power,[3] rushed among the arrayed forces and smote them on the right and on the left until he came to the waggon. And he then with his sword struck down the staff[4] which held the standard, and brought down also the standard itself. And then the Saracens began to flee, dispersing here and there. And then the hosts on all sides raised a shout, and eight thousand of the Saracens were slain, and among them Ebrahim, king of Seville. Altumor, with two thousand men, made for the city. And on the morrow, he having been conquered, surrendered the city to the Emperor, on condition that he receive baptism, submit to Charlemagne, and hold the city under him.

Then Charlemagne divided *the hundreds of Spain, its commots, its towns, and its cities,*[5] among those of his own men who wished to dwell there. And the whole of Spain he thus divided among his own men. But none of the Franks desired the land of Galice because of its roughness.[6] Henceforth, in those days no one could molest Charlemagne in Spain.

CHAPTER XX.

And then having dismissed the greatest part of his army and leaving them in Spain, Charles went to Santiago. And those he found dwelling there he made Christians,[7] and those who had relapsed to the Saracen law he either killed or sent as exiles into France. And he then appointed bishops and priests. And he honoured[8] and summoned a council in the city of Compostella, of princes and bishops. And then by the advice of the council, he

[1] "Kenawl", from Lat. "canalis".
[2] "Venn"; Lat. T. "plaustrum".
[3] "Damgylchynnedic"; Lat. T. "obumbratus".
[4] "Y beiriant"; Lat. T. "perticam"; cf. Eng. "perch".
[5] Parts in italics not in the Latin texts.
[6] "Drysswch"; Lat. T. "aspera".
[7] The Latin texts and all the MSS. read here, "and those Christians he found dwelling there he honoured".
[8] "Ac anrhydedu" seems to belong to the previous sentence. It has no meaning here, and is not found here in any other text.

ordained, to the honour of Santiago, that all prelates and Christian kings and princes of Spain and Galice, both present and future, should obey the bishop of Santiago. At Iria, he appointed no bishop, but that it should be under Compostella. And then, at the command of Charlemagne, I Turpin, the Archbishop, and having with me [W.T., p. 25.] nine[1] bishops, dedicated, with great solemnity, the church and altar of Santiago, on the Kalends of June.[2] And the King put the whole of Spain and Galice in subjection to that Church. And he gave as its portion,[3] four pence annually as tribute from every house in Spain and Galice, and granted to themselves freedom from all servitude.[4] And that day it was resolved to call that Church an Apostolic See, in that the name of the Apostle James rested there;[5] that the chapter meetings of the bishops of that country should be held in it; and that it should be the privilege of the bishop of that place to ordain[6] the bishops of the country and its kings. And if Christianity or the Ten Commandments[7] should fail, through the sins of the people, in any of the other cities, they should be restored under the direction of that bishop, and there also should they rightly[8] be set straight. For as the Christian faith was established in the East at Ephesus, through the Apostle John, the brother of James, so was there established in the West, in Galice, a seat for the Christian faith, and an Apostolic See. And no doubt those are the two seats which the two apostles begged of Christ, that they should sit the one on His right and the other on His left, in His Kingdom. There are three supreme Apostolic Sees established in the world which are justly above all others, namely, Rome, Galice, and India.[9] For as God gave the pre-eminence in His fellowship and His secrets to Peter, James, and John above the other apostles, as is evident from the scripture and the gospels, so God shewed

[1] "Naw"; Lat. T. "lx", not "ix". But *Cod. Gall.* 52 reads "ix evesques".

[2] "*Hanner* meheuin", cf. W. T., p. 101 (top); Lat. T. "*Kalendis* junii".

[3] "Arodes yny *hargyfreu*"; Lat. T. "dedit ei in *dotem*".

[4] Lat. T. "et qui dabat ab omni servitute . . . . . liber erat".

[5] Lat. T. "eo quod ibi apostolus Iacobus requiescit".

[6] "Urdaw", from Lat. "ordo".

[7] "Y degeir dedyf"; Lat. T. "dominica praecepta".

[8] "O iawn dylyet"; Lat. T. "merito".

[9] Lat. T. "Ephesianam".

them that pre-eminence in this world also, in the above three principal Sees. And rightly[1] is Rome regarded as the most pre-eminent of the Apostolic Sees. For Peter, the prince of the apostles, consecrated it by his preaching, by his own blood, and by his burial. Compostella is justly the second See in pre-eminence. For, after the Apostle Peter, the Apostle James was the most pre-eminent among the apostles, most worthily pre-eminent, and the greatest in honour, *age*,[2] and integrity.[3] And in heaven he has the pre-eminence over them. He was the first to be martyred. He at another time[4] confirmed[5] it by his preaching, and consecrated it by the burial of his hallowed body. And he makes it famous[6] by his miracles, and enriches it with unfailing gifts. The third See is that of India.[7] For there [W.T., p. 26.] the Apostle John preached his own gospel. And with the consent of the bishops whom he had himself appointed in the cities, and whom he calls angels in his book,[8] he consecrated that church by his learning, by his miracles, and by his own burial. And if it should happen that questions[9] pertaining either to the world or to the Church[10] could not be decided in the other Sees throughout the world, because they were either intricate or doubtful, they should be discussed and decided lawfully in those three principal Sees. Therefore, Galice having been from the earliest[11] times set free from the Saracens, by the power of God and of the blessed James, and by the aid of Charlemagne, continues faithfully in the Catholic[12] faith unto this day.

[1] "O iawn dylyet"; Lat. T. "jure".
[2] "Hynafyaeth"; not in Lat. T.
[3] "Aduwynder"; Lat. T. "honestate".
[4] "Weith arall"; Lat. T. "olim"; gweith = quondam; *Zeuss*, p. 617.
[5] "Cadarnhawys"; Lat. T. "munivit".
[6] "Oleuhau"; Lat. T. "illustrat".
[7] Lat. T. "Ephesus".
[8] "Yny lyuyr"; Lat. T. "in apocalypsi sua".
[9] "Damweinyeu"; Hengwrt MS. "damweinyeu pedrus"; Lat. T. "aliqua judicia".
[10] "Ae o blegyt byt ae oblegyt eglwys"; Lat. T. "aut divina aut humana".
[11] "Dechreu amseroed"; Lat. T. "in primis temporibus"; MS. 5714 "en premier temps"; MS. 124 "on primer tens". This supposes that some considerable time had elapsed between the liberation of Galice and the writing of the Chronicle.
[12] "Catholica", Ciampi; "orthodoxa", Reuber.

CHAPTER XXI.[1]

Charlemagne was a man of fair complexion, graceful in person, and ruddy of face. His hair was auburn,[2] and his visage gentle, and not unkind.[3] His height was eight feet, after the measure of his own feet, which were very long. His loins were broad, and his waist was well proportioned.[4] His arms and legs were stout and all his members strong. He was the wisest and cleverest in battle, the most valiant of knights.[5] His face was a palm and a half long, and his beard[6] a palm long, and his nose half a palm long. A foot was the width of his forehead. He had the eyes of a lion, sparkling like a carbuncle stone. Each eyebrow was half a palm long. He who regarded him when he was angry, was filled with fear and dismay. Eight palms long was the circumference[7] of his girdle about him, without reckoning what was over and above.[8] Very little bread did he eat, and a joint[9] of mutton, or couple of fowls, or a goose, or a shoulder of pork, or a peacock, or a crane, or a whole hare.[10] He was so strong that he could with one blow of a sword smite a knight, in full armour and his horse fully equipped, from the crown of his head to the ground. He could easily stretch four horse shoes at once

[1] This chapter is not found in MSS. 5714, 124, 2137. It is found in the Latin texts, MS. 1850, Ed. 1835 (in the last chapter), and *Cod. Gall.* 52. Caxton omits it as part of Turpin in Book III, but brings it in as part of Book I. (Caxton's *Lyf of Charles the Grete*, p. 26.)

[2] "Gwallt gwineu"; Lat. T. "brunus"; R. & V., v. 434, "Blac of here and rede of face". *Cod. Gal.* 52 "noir de cheueus".

[3] "Golwc araf digreulawn"; Lat. T. "visu efferus"; Caxton's *Lyf*, "hys syght and regarde fyers and malycyous"; Hengwrt MS. "ac aruthyr y olwc"; *Cod. Gall.* 52 "crueus de regart". The true reading here might have been "golwg arw dygreulawn".

[4] "Aduein oed am y arch"; Lat. T. "ventre congruo".

[5] For this chapter cf. Eginhard's *Vita Caroli Magni*, chapter xxii, p. 9, Reuber's edition, A.D. 1584.

[6] Eginhard, who fully describes the physical appearance of Charles, makes no mention of his beard, though he mentions his eyes, nose, voice, etc. Apparently he did not see anything worthy of notice in his beard.

[7] "Cirraed"="cyrraedd" or "cyrredd"; Lat. T. "cingulum"; Hengwrt MS. "arraed".

[8] "Heb a vei odieithyr"; Lat. T., Reuber, "praeter id quod dependebat"; Ciampi, "praeter corrigias quae pendebant"; *Cod. Gall.* 52, "Sans ce qui pendoit dehors le boucle".

[9] "Aelawt"; Lat. T. "quartam".

[10] W. T. omits "parum vinum, sed limphatum sobrie bibebat".

between his hands. He could without any trouble raise level with his face an armed knight standing on his hand. He was most liberal[1] in his gifts, most just in his laws,[2] and most trustworthy[3] in his words.

On the four principal feasts of the year he held [W.T., p. 27.] a court in Spain, and wore the crown of his kingdom on his head, and his sceptre in his hand, namely, on Christmas Day, Easter Day, Whit Sunday, and the feast[4] of James the apostle. Before his throne, in accordance with imperial custom, a naked sword was continually held. Around his bed each night six score armed men[5] were always placed to guard him. Forty of them took the first watch of the night, ten at his head, ten at his feet, ten on his right, and ten on his left, and in the right hand of each a naked sword, and in his left a wax taper burning.[6] And in like manner did forty other armed knights during the second watch[7] of the night, and the other forty armed knights likewise, during the third watch of the night, guarding him until the day and whilst the others were sleeping.

And if any one delights to hear of his great deeds, it is to us a great and heavy task to narrate them as Galafrus[8] nobly does, and how afterwards Charlemagne, for love of that Galafrus, slew his enemy, namely, Bravant, the great and proud[9] king of the Saracens; and then how he conquered divers kingdoms, towns, castles, and cities, and brought them into subjection as Christians, in the name of the Trinity; how he founded many churches and monasteries throughout the world; how he arranged many bodies and bones of the saints throughout the world and set them in

[1] See Ciampi, p. 120; Caxton's *Lyf*, p. 29.

[2] "Kyfreitheu"; Lat. T. "judiciis".

[3] "Geirwir"; Lat. T. "luculentus"; Hengwrt MS. "goerhwyr". On this vide *Histoire Poétique*, p. 37.

[4] July 25th.

[5] Lat. T. "cxx fortes orthodoxi".

[6] "And eueri dughti knight | held a torche light | and a naked fauchoun".—R. & V., vv. 455-57.

[7] Eil trayan", lit. "the second third-part", cf. Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans' *Bruts*, p. 50; "mi arodaf ywch *drayan* ygkyuoeth" (*tertiam* regni mei *partem* vobis concedo. Geoffrey's *Historia*, Lib. i, cap. xi).

[8] Latin T. "quemadmodum Galafrus, Almiraldus Tolletae illum in pueritia exulatum adhornavit habitu militari in palatio Tolletae". All this is placed in the first chapter in *Cod. Gall.* 52.

[9] "Syberw", from Lat. "superbus".

gold and silver; how he obtained the Empire of Rome; how he went to Jerusalem;[1] and how he brought with him from thence the cross of the Lord[2] with which he enriched[3] many churches, we can neither write nor narrate. However, it is the hand and pen that fail rather than his grand exploits. *How, however, he returned from the battle of Roncesvalles to France; how the battle took place in the Vale of Briars;*[4] *how an end was made of the knights in Spain; how the sun stood once for the space of three days, to avenge the Christians on* [W.T., p. 28.] *the Saracens; how he made obsequies for his nobles; how he buried them; how a council was held at St. Denis when they returned; how he built his own court and the church of Lady Mary at Aix-la-Chapelle,*[5] *and how Charlemagne died there,*[6] we will briefly narrate at the end of this book.[7]

And this book Madoc ap Selyf translated from Latin into Welsh at the request and desire of Griffith ap Meredith ap Owen ap Griffith ap Rhys.[8]

[1] "Y kerdwys y gaerusalem"; Lat. T. "dominicum sepulcrum adiit", *Chanson du voyage à Jerusalem.* This is one of the oldest traditions concerning Charles. It is found in the Chronicle of Benoit (968), vide *Hist. Poet.*, p. 55.

[2] Welsh tradition says that Diboen brought the Cross from the Holy Land. "Diboen ferch Coel Codebog | I gred a gafas y grog".

[3] In the E. E. romance, "The Sowdone", we are told that Charles distributed the sacred relics as follows:—

"At our lady of Parys | He offred the Crosse so fre
The crowne he offred at Seynte Denyse | At Bologne the nayles thre."

[4] "Glynn mieri" is of course a literal translation of Roncevalles or Runcivallis.

[5] "Grawndyuyr" = "Aquisgranum".

[6] The parts in italics are not found in the Latin texts. There it is simply said: "Quemadmodum tamen per deliberationem telluris Galletiae ab Hispania rediit ad Galliam, nobis breviter dicendum est." Note that there is no reference here to any episode of the Roman d'Otuel. That evidently did not form a part of the book as originally conceived.

[7] Turpin's *Chronicle*, chap. xxii, is not found in the Welsh text, its place being taken by:—1, *Roman d'Otuel*, pp. 28 to 74 of Welsh text; 2, *Chanson de Roland*, pt. i, pp. 74 to 96 of the Welsh text. There is, however, a summary of the contents of this chapter on the last page (p. 111) of the Welsh text of Hergest. Turpin's *Chronicle*, at chapter xxiii, is resumed at the middle of page 96 of the Welsh text, and is followed then to the end.

[8] Vide *Intro.*, p. 34, for Madoc ap Selyf and his patron.

"ROMAN D'OTUEL."

A.—The Conversion of Otuel.

Prologue.[1]

Whosoever desires to know or hear a valiant story,[2] let him, with a quiet mind, listen, and we will tell him the flower of the gests, namely, the story of the valiant Charles, the son of Pepin the old king of France, the noblest and mightiest emperor and the most illustrious conqueror of the countries of the paynims and of the enemies of Christ, that ever was in Rome; and of the Twelve Peers[3] of France, who loved each other so much that they were never separated until they were slain, when Gwenwlyd betrayed them to the faithless race of the paynims. Through him twenty thousand and seven hundred were killed the same day. For which cause Charles to his dying day felt exceeding sad and sorrowful. This story is finer and more excellent, for it is not found among bards and jesters who have all ceased from celebrating him because they know naught of him. They only sing the adventures and exploits of those they know, or draw upon their imagination. Naught, however, know they of the sudden loss that came to Charles the Emperor.

Charles and his Court in Paris.

When Charles, the king of France, on Holy Innocents' Day,[4] was in the city called Paris, having observed there with unwonted splendour the Christmas festivities, and with him were the twelve peers of France, and earls, barons and knights without number, and all

[1] The division of *Roman d'Otuel* into chapters is the translator's own.

[2] "Chwedyl grymus"; Fr. T. "chançon de biau semblant".

[3] "Gogyfurd", lit. "equal in rank or order".

[4] "Duw gwyl vil meib", *vide* Old Welsh Calendars in *Welsh Reports*, vol. i, p. 17, etc.; "Aeth Mair vorwyn ai mab bychan o tre vedylem . . rac erodr, ac yna y peris yr erodr greulon ladd i *vil veibion* a oed ii vylwyd hyd i geni" (*Welsh Reports*, vol. ii, p. 573); Vatican MS. reads: "Ce fu à Pasques"; Middlehill MS. has: "Co fu le jor dunt li Innocent sunt". The reference to Christmas seems to fix the day as that of the Holy Innocents, which is observed on Dec. 28th; so E. Otu., stanza 6, "Childermasse day".

entertained the king and his company as best they could, they decided to hold a court.[1] And there they mutually pledged each other that they would go to war against Garsi,[2] the king of Spain, and that they would do so at the close of the month of April, when they could find fresh pastures and green grass for their horses.

[W.T., p. 29.]

But before vespers were sung in the town they[3] heard other tidings, that, if the God who created all the world had not been mindful of them, twenty thousand of their Franks would have been killed.[4]

The Arrival of Otuel.

A Saracen of Spain, Otuel by name, a man worthy of honour in a fourfold manner, for fine physique, for prowess in arms, for lineage, and for discretion, arrived as messenger from King Garsi. He rode through Paris until he came to the court of the king. At the gate he dismounted and ascended the steps leading to the hall. Ogier of Denmark and Gwalter of Orleans, and the mighty Duke Neimus met him. He asked them to shew him Charles, and informed them that he was a messenger from a king that cared not a button for him.[5]

Gwalter[6] first answered him and said—"Behold him sitting there, the man with the white moustache[7] and long beard, wearing a black gown.[8] The man in scarlet red mantle[9] who sits on the one side of him is Roland, his nephew, and Earl Oliver, the companion of Roland, sits on the other side, and beyond them on either side sit the twelve peers." "By Mahomet", said the Saracen, "now

[1] "Gosod dadleu"; Fr. T. "I plet devisent dont sont eu contençon".

[2] "Garsi"; Vatican MS. "Garsilion"; Middlehill MS. "Marsilie".

[3] Fr. T. "Einz que finent lur parole, teles noveles orunt
Dunt vint mil chevaler de noz Franceiz murunt,
Si Dampnedeu n'en pense, qui sustent tut le mund."

[4] E. Sir Ott., stanza 5, "ther hade dyede thritty thousande, Gif goddes helpe ne wore".

[5] Middlehill MS. "Messager sui un rei qui ne l'aime un butun".

[6] *Ogier* replies according to Vatican MS., *Gwalter* according to Middlehill MS.

[7] "Kynyslwyt"; Dr. Rhys suggests "kymmysglwyt". Middlehill MS. "à cel fluri gernon"=with that white moustache; Hengwrt MS. reads "cyfyslwyt". E. Sir Ott. "with white berde large and lang | Faire of fleshe and fell".

[8] "Ar wisg du ymdanaw"; Middlehill MS. "a cel veir peliçun".

[9] "Ar vantell goch ysgarlad"; Middlehill MS. "el vermeil ciclatun"; "in rede siclaton". E. Sir Ott., v. 87.

know I Charles.[1] May evil fire and wild flame burn his beard and cleave his body from breast to heel."[2]

Otuel before Charles.

Thereupon[3] he came into the presence of the king, and, as before, spake to him, and said—"Listen to me, I pray thee, Charles. I am a messenger of the mightiest king that ever was in the law of Spain;[4] who greets thee not,[5] for he ought not, in that thou hast roused his ire, and kindled the wrath of Mahomet, and mine also. Be he such a one as I trust in, he will kill thee and all thy companions and bodyguard, and especially thy nephew Roland, whom, should I meet in battle, or where my [W.T., p. 30.] horse could run against him, I would pierce with my sword until it would pass through him like a spit."[6]

Thereupon Roland laughed and looked at the king. Then he addressed the Saracen thus—"Thou mayest now speak all thy mind and no Frank will hinder thee."

"Yes, he may", said Charles, "as long as it pleaseth thee, in that he is safe on my part until the end of the week."

"You speak nonsense",[7] said Otuel, "for I fear no man as long as I have my sword, Curceus by name, at my side. By it was I dubbed knight. Nine months have not yet gone by since, with it, I cut off the heads of a thousand Franks."

"Where was that?" said Charles. "Recall the event and tell it to me."[8]

"With pleasure", said Otuel, "will I tell thee. Eight

[1] Middlehill MS.; "Mahun! fait li paen, ore conus jo Charlun".

[2] "He saide, ane euyll flawmandre fyre
Byrne th[i] berde, th[i] breste and th[i] swyre
Euen to th[i] fote alle doun".
E. Sir Ott., stanza 8.

[3] From page 3, v. 18, of the French text, to page 6, v. 8, there is a lacuna in the Vatican MS., this part of the story being supplied by the Middlehill MS.

[4] "Ynghyfraith yr Yspaen"; Fr. T. "en la paiene lei", p. 3, v. 21.

[5] For "annerthwys" read "annerchwys"; Fr. T. "ne te salu".

[6] "Yn ver trwydyaw"; Fr. T. "un espei".

[7] Fr. T. "De folie parlez", p. 4, v. 10; Hengwrt MS. reads "yn y ffyd".

[8] "Where? sayde the kynge in hy.
Sir, in the playnes of lumbardy
Thou claymes it for thi lande."
E. Sir Ott., vv. 133-135.

months have gone by, and this is the ninth since thine own special city Rome, of which thou art styled emperor, was destroyed. King Garsi and his barons took it, and twenty thousand were killed there between men and women, and a great many more in addition. So many of them did I strike with my sword that the swelling[1] did not depart from my wrist for a week." "Alack the day thou wert ever born,"[2] said the Franks. Estut of Lengres, a knight of proven valour, stood up, and with a big four-sided staff[3] which he had in his hand, sought to strike him. Roland went between them and said to Estut, "For my love, if love thou hast for me, leave the Saracen alone and spare him. For I am pledged to him. I cannot[4] do him any harm. Let him say what he likes."

Thereupon a knight Provental of St. Gille, a man of rather excitable temperament, went behind the messenger when he was off his guard, and taking hold of his hair with both hands, pulled him down to the ground. Otuel [W.T. p. 31.] rose up quickly, and drawing Curceus, his sword, whose hilt was of gold, he struck off the knight's head so that it rolled at the feet of the king.

Thereupon the Franks cried out to arrest him. But he moved aside from among them, his eyes all red and rolling wildly like a famishing lion enchained and enraged,[5] and when there was great tumult in the palace because of this occurrence he cried out with a loud voice—"Be not agitated, barons. For, by Mahomet to whom I have devoted myself, I will cause the death of seven hundred of you, if you contend."[6]

[1] "Hwyd"="chwyd"; Fr. T. "enflez", p. 4, v. 25; Hengwrt MS. wrongly reads "rhwd" (rust); Karl. Saga "sva miklum *throta* laust i hond mer".

"My selfe was ther in batelle and faughte
My neffes were *bolnede* [inflamed] dayes aughte
That selly was to see." E. Sir Ott., vv. 148-150.

[2] "Gwaethiroed duw dy eni eiryoet", "Duw"="dyd"; Fr. T. "mar fustes unquez nez". Cf. Fr. T., p. 47, v. 15.

[3] "Trossawl"; Fr. T. "bastun"; cf. W. "pastwn".

[4] For "attwyf" read "allwyf". So Hengwrt MS.

[5] E. Sir Ott. "Bot he rollede his eghne both up and dowun,
And ferde als a wilde lyoun".—vv. 172, 173.

[6] "Y kyn hennoch"="o kynhenoch"; "*cynhennu*" from Lat. "contendo"; Fr. T. "Si vos croulez", p. 5, v. 21. "Croulez"=to move, disturb. E. Sir Ott., vv. 179, 180, "And any of yow duspers *stirre* thare | the beste party schall dy."

Thereupon the emperor rose up and bade him give him his sword. The Saracen replied that he would not give it, and that it was mean on his part to ask for it.

Roland bade him surrender it to him, he undertaking to return it on his departure from them. Until then, he would, to the best of his power, protect him, so that he received no harm from anyone.

"Noble sire", said Otuel, "take it, and keep it well I pray thee; for I would not part with it for the seven best cities[1] in thy domain. Moreover, by it thy head also shall be cut off."

"By my faith", said Roland, "thy arrogance is beyond measure.[2] Cease now. Tell thy message, and then take thy leave and go." "That will I do gladly", said he, "grant me hearing."

Otuel's Message to the King.

"Charles", said Otuel, "I will hide nothing from thee, I am the messenger of the Emperor Garsi, who holds Spain, Alexandria, Russia,[3] Tyre, Sidon and Barbary, and all other countries from here to Femynie[4] are subject to him. He commands thee and all thine army to renounce thy Christian faith, since it is not worth a fig,[5] and he who believes not this[6] does a very foolish thing; and to pay homage to Mahomet,[7] and worship him who governs the whole world, and then come to him and he will grant thee Auvergne, and Manausie, and all the seaports of England, together with her estuaries[8] this side of the Red Sea. To thy nephew Roland he will give Russia, and to his companion Oliver he will give Slavonia. The heart of [W.T., p. 32.] France,[9] however, he will not grant thee. For he has already given it to Florien of Sulie, the son of Julf the Red, king of Barbary. He is the finest man[10] in all Spain,[11] by

[1] E. Sir Ott., v. 194, "I nolde gif it for twelve cite."

[2] "Gormod ydymuelchey a ragor"; Fr. T. "Par fei, trop vos avancez".

[3] For "busi" read "rusi"; Fr. T. "Roussie".

[4] Karl. Saga, "Semilie"; K.K.K. "Similiaborg".

[5] E. Sir Ott., v. 222, "Ne are noghte worthe ane aye".

[6] "Ar neb ny chretto"; Fr. T. "et qui la croit".

[7] "Dyvot yn wr y vahumet"; Fr. T. "Deviens ses homs et toi et ta lignie".

[8] "Ae haberoed"; Fr. T. "et la navie".

[9] "Gallon Ffreinc"; Fr. T. "douce France".

[10] "Gwas goreu"; Fr. T. "preudome".

[11] "Or yspaen"; Fr. T. "en tote paienie".

far the greatest in renown, the bravest among the knights, and the best that smites with the polished sword. He it is who will keep France free and in peace both for himself and his heir."

Then said the emperor, "By my faith", said he, "with the aid of the Almighty it shall not happen thus. And what say you to this, you my people whom I have ever protected?"[1]

"Right worthy emperor",[2] said all the barons and their armies, "never shall we suffer the Saracens to hold France in their possession.[3] Only summon thy forces together and set them in battle array and then lead us, if thou wilt, until we find that corrupt people. If we find King Garsi in battle he will not escape thence with his head, we swear."

"I hear you speak utter vanity and nonsense", said Otuel. "Those who are now threatening the king, he yet will vanquish and kill. For when you behold the greatness of his power and his knights, the bravest among you will not then be able[4] to laugh. He would rather be somewhere beyond Normandy."

"Yet", said duke Neimus, "if Charles were to summon his forces together, where could he find king Garsi? Will he fight with the hosts of Charles?"

"Thy words lack knowledge and wisdom", said Otuel. "When they are arrayed, there are seven hundred and seven thousand[5] of them in glittering hauberk and banners of silk.[6] Sooner would they suffer death together than desert one another. Besides, they have builded them a city, Atalia by name, and fortified it around with walls and dykes, between two rivers.[7] So that God has not created the man who could prevent their going outside to hunt or to fish. And if thou, grey-bearded Charles,[8] shouldest come there, we shall see then who will have a fair lady-

[1] "Y nifer a vegeis i eiryoet"; Fr. T. "ma *mesnie* norie".

[2] "Amherawdyr dylyedawc"; Fr. T. "drois emperere".

[3] "Baeliaeth"; Fr. T. "baillie" (government, power, possession).

[4] For "digawn" read "dichawn".

[5] Fr. T. "Quar paien sunt par .x. foiz .xxx. mile", p. 7, v. 26.

[6] For "sirie" read "siric", as suggested by Dr. Rhys. "Siric". from Lat. "serica"; probably borrowed from the Anglo-Saxon "syric". *Vide* Loth, *sub voce.*

[7] "Ywrg deudwr"; Fr. T. "entre .ii. eves est fremée et batie", p. 7, v. 30.

[8] "Chyarlys vary flwyt"; Fr. T. "Karle à la barbe florrie", p. 8, v. 4.

love,[1] and who best can strike with a polished sword. But go thou not there, thou hoary headed rustic.[2] Take my advice [W.T., p. 33.] and guard the walls of Paris, lest crow or magpie alight on them. For never more wilt thou be a power in battle."

The Challenge and the Acceptance.

Charles felt much mortified. Thereupon Roland rose up in great passion. He took three steps towards the Saracen and said to him, "Thy arrogance and bragging before the Franks this day are beyond measure. Had I not given thee my troth thou wouldest straightway be a dead man at my sword. And should I ever meet thee in battle I will deal thee such a blow with my sword that none of gentle birth shall ever more receive harm from thee."

"Let us come to an understanding now", said Otuel, "and I challenge thee to meet me in the field to-morrow in single combat."

"Pledge me thy word", said Roland, "that thou wilt come." And the paynim pledged his word. "And let him who breaks his word be confessed a coward, and let his spurs be broken short at his heels, and let him never more be received at court."[3]

[1] "Gorderch dec"; Fr. T. "belle amie". Canon Williams translates "the mastery" as if "gordrechu".

[2] "Gonners bilein." This is evidently a corruption. Canon Williams translates "The villain Conners". The Vatican MS. reads "Mès vos, veillart, la ne vendrez vos mie". We might conjecture that the reading here in the MS. was "canuz vilein"; cf. Karl. Saga "rytta afgömul" (rytta = shabby thing; afgömul = very old). According to the English version of "Sir Ottuel", it is Naymes and not Charles that is mocked by Otuel.

"Let Duke Naymes lenge at hame
To kepe pareche walls fro schame
That no gledes neghe tham nere
Coo ne pye that there come none
For cheualrye es fro hym gone
A nolde *nappere* als he were."

E. Sir Ott., vv. 283, etc.

But in the English "Otuel" Charles is the subject of derision—

"And thou art king and old knight
And hauest iloren al thi might
And in thi yunkthe [youth], tak god hede
Thou nere neuere doughti of dede."

E. Otu., stanza 26.

[3] "Whethir oo werse es of us twoo
Lett hewe bothe his spourres hym froo
He never more honourede bee."

E. Sir Ott., vv. 307-309.

This agreement having been made known, Charles asked the Saracen, "By thy faith, from what country, and what people dost thou spring, and what is thy name?"

Otuel replied, "I am the son of king Galien, who has killed more Christians than thou hast in thy domain. The emperor Garsi is my cousin, and Fernagu, the king of Navarn, whom Roland slew, was my uncle, and to-morrow I will be avenged on him for that."[1]

And Charles said to him, "O prince, thou art gentle enough.[2] Great pity is it that thou wilt not be baptized."[3]

Thereupon Charles called his chamberlain Reinyer and said, "Take this messenger and conduct him to the house of my friend Ernalt, and give him one hundred shillings[4] for his own expenses, and one hundred shillings for his horse."

Then he called to him old Reginald of the White Thorn, Gwalter of Lyons, and Ogier the Dane,[5] and said, "I command you to attend upon this noble knight and to supply him with everything he needs." And so they did that night.

Preparing for the Combat.

The following morning at dawn of day Charles rose up, and bade them call Roland. And they went to the chapel to pray.[6] The abbot[7] of St. Omer sang mass[8] for [W. T. p. 34.] them. Charles brought a silver cup[9] full of Parisian coins[10] and gave it as an offering for himself and the twelve peers. Roland also gave his sword Durendal as an offering, and afterwards redeemed it for seven silver marks.[11]

[1] E. Sir Ott., v. 316, "I chalange his dethe now in this place." Vide *Turpin*, chap. xviii; Welsh Text, p. 17.

[2] "Bonhedic digawn ywyt"; Fr. T. "tu es assez gentis".

[3] Fr. T. "mar fu ton cors quant n'as bapteme pris".

[4] "Cann swllt"; Fr. T. "C. sols"; "swllt" from Lat. "solidus".

[5] Vatican MS. reads here: "Puis apele dus Naimes de Baivier | Et avec lui le bons Danois Ogier"; Middlehill MS., however, as Welsh Text:

"Puis si apele le vielz chanu Richer
Galter de Liuns e li Deneis Oger
Pernez, feit il, garde del chevaler."—Fr. T., p. 80.

[6] Cf. *K.K.K.*, p. 106.

[7] "Abat," from Lat. "abbatem"; Loth, *Les Mots Latins*, p. 129.

[8] "Efferen," from Lat. "offerenda".

[9] "Ffiol *aryant*"; Fr. T. "hanap *d'or*".

[10] "Parissennot"; Fr. T. "parisez".

[11] "Seithmarc oaryant"; Fr. T. "*x. mars* donner". "Aryant", from Lat. "argentum".

After mass matins[1] were said, and they then left the church to look if they could see the Saracen, who had come to speak to the king.[2]

Thereupon Otuel rode forth haughtily and called to the king and addressed him in an arrogant tone. "Charles", said he, "where is thy nephew Roland, whom thou so greatly lovest, and in whom is placed all the trust of France? I will call him a perjurer, and will reproach him as if I had already vanquished him, if he keep not the promise he made yesterday to me, in the hearing of the whole court, both men and women."[3]

At these words Roland came full of wrath, and with an oath said, "By the apostles who suffered pain for their Lord I will not leave off to-day for any man living until I compel thee to hold thy peace, by conquering thee, or by killing thee, or by causing thy conversion to the Catholic faith."

"Do so", said Otuel, "don thine arms on that condition. If I fail to appear I pray thee hang me."

"Thy words are most arrogant and haughty", said Oliver. "It will be a great marvel if they turn out well for thee."

Roland's Equipment.

Thereupon the eleven peers[4] led Roland to a chamber, and they armed him with fine and secure armour[5]—a coat of mail[6] made by Butor the armourer, the disciple of Galiant, who was the most skilful man in that craft in his day. Duke Neimus tied the lace[7] round his neck, and put on his head a glittering helmet which formerly belonged to the

[1] "Kanu orryeu yr dyd"=to intone the hours of the day. "Oryeu", from Lat. "horae". By "hours of the day" are meant certain prayers which are to be said or sung at stated hours of the day, as matins, lauds, prime, tierce, sext, vespers, compline. Probably the hour intoned after mass would be matins. For Welsh equivalents, see *Welsh Reports*, vol. i, p. 1112.

[2] "Y gyfrwch ar brenhin"; Fr. T. "au roi parler".

[3] "I calle hym recreyande knyghte
I appelle hym for trouthe broken
For the wordes that were spoken
Yistreuen within the nyghte."
E. Sir Ott., stanza 29.

[4] "Un gogfurd ar dec"; Fr. T. "Li .xii. per".

[5] "Aruev *tec diogel*"; Fr. T. "bel et cortesment"; "arueu" from Lat. "arma".

[6] "Lluruc", from Lat. "lorica".

[7] "Kareieu", from Lat. "corrigia".

giant Goliath, and which Charles obtained when he killed Briant. And then they brought him his sword, Durendal, which it was vain for any there to covet; for there was no one in France, either great or small, who knew it not, and was not aware that it had no equal from there to the east. And then they placed round his neck a strong and heavy shield[1] finely engraved with gold and azure.[2] In the first place, about the boss[3] were engraved the four chief[4] winds, the twelve celestial signs,[5] and the twelve months of the year, as if each one followed the other in succession. [W. T. p. 35.] And on its lowest border was depicted hell, and above that, encircling it skilfully, heaven and earth.[6] In the two other corners were engraved, with much toil and study, the sun and moon. Its band[7] was all of fine silk, and its boss[8] a hard diamond. Then they brought him a strong spear, well tipped, and having a fine banner of red and green from the point of the lance to its hilt. And Earl Ierius put spurs of gold and silver on his feet. A horse was brought him which ran swifter than an arrow flies from a strong crossbow.[9] And God never made another beast that could equal it in running, or bear it company neck to neck at the flying of an arrow. His saddle was of crystal. The nails were of silver. The panel was of precious silk. The stirrups were of pure gold engraved.

The earl sprang nimbly to saddle without setting foot in stirrup, or hand on saddlebow. He made his horse canter[10] in the sight of his people and rode back smilingly to Charles, and said to him, "Sire, grant me thy leave and thy blessing. And then if, after that, the Saracen comes to fight with me, he will have no surety for his life."

"My nephew", said the king, "to Him who made

[1] Fr. T. "Au col li pendent .i. fort escu pesant".

[2] Fr. T. "Paint à azur et à or gentement".

[3] "Bogel"; Fr. T. "l'urle" = "l'orle" (border); "bogel", from Lat. "buc(c)ella" (?). Loth gives the meaning of "bogel tarian" as the "swelling of a shield".

[4] "Pryf", from Lat. "prima".

[5] "Sygyn"; Fr. T. "signe".

[6] "Wedy yr gwmpassu yn gywreint"; Fr. T. "et ciel et terre feit par compassement".

[7] "Harwest."

[8] "Ystyslenn."

[9] "Albrast kadarn."

[10] "Gellwg neit y uarch"; Fr. T. "i eslais fet"; cf *Ch. de R.*, vv. 2997, 3166.

heaven and earth I commend thee. May He defend thee from evil." And he raised his hands in prayer and signed him with the sign of the cross.

Then Roland spurred his horse towards the meadow. And all of them, even the youths and maidens, followed him, and said, "To Jesus we commend thee, and to Lady Mary; may they to-day protect thee from death."

And the eleven peers quickly mounted their horses and accompanied him between the two rivers which run through Paris, one of which is the Seine, and the other is called the great Marin.[1]

Otuel's Equipment.

The Saracen was still standing before the king, and he said to him haughtily, "Charles", said he, "give me coat of mail, helmet, shield, and sword.[2] I have myself a swift destrier. There is no better horse from here to the east.[3] And I will promise thee truly, by my faith, that I will, [W. T., p. 36] before breakfast time,[4] kill Roland with my sword, if he still abides by the compact we made."

Thereupon the king became exceeding angry. He was well nigh bursting with rage. And he said to the paynim, "May God first confound thee and thy people. For so greatly hast thou roused my ire and my sorrow."

And thereupon he perceived his daughter Belisent coming from her chamber towards the palace. And when she entered in, the whole palace was resplendent with her beauty,[5] as if she were the noonday sun in May, or the sparkling splendour of a carbuncle when the night is dark. And he made a sign to her with his glove, and said, "Daughter", said he, "to thee do I commit this paynim. Equip him speedily that he lack nothing in respect of arms. He has vowed to fight against my nephew Roland."

[1] Middlehill MS. "L'une est Seine, l'autre Marne la grant"; Fr. T., p. 12, v. 20.

[2] "Ane hawberke aske I the
Spere and schelde garre brynge me till
For I hafe horssynge at my will
None siche in Cristyante."
E. Sir Ott., vv. 387, 390.

[3] "Beliant"; Fr. T. "Oriant".

[4] "Kynn awr anterth", "anterth" (=9 a.m.), from Lat. "antetertiam". *Karl. Saga*, "athr dogurtharmal (=breakfast) komi"; Fr. T. "ainz qu' il soit vespre ne le soleil couchant".

[5] Middlehill MS. "Tut le paleis de sa bealté resplent".

"Gladly, lord", said she, "it shall be done according to thy desire."

Then Belisent called to her two other maidens of gentle birth, Flandrine de Monbel and Rossete de Ruissel, and the three maidens led Otuel to a square marble grotto.[1] And there they armed him with a coat of mail[2] which formerly belonged to king Sanneil, on the collar whereof, in front, was a figure of a fine bird. And Flandrine tied the lace round his neck. And on his head was put the helmet of king Galathiel. This was square in form. Around its ring[3] were flowers wrought in gold. And its nasal had the design[4] of a noble bird. Then Belisent girded on his thigh the sword which formerly belonged to king Achael. It was Curceus. Its edge was equal to that of a keen knife.

Then to his neck they hung a strong new shield as white as snow. Its boss was of gold. Its nails were of silver. And they brought him a lance of strong ash, tipped with a bright and sharp head, and a new banner as white as the bloom of the water-lily, and on it the figure of an eagle holding between its claws a dragon. Rossete de Ruissel put on his feet two spurs equal in worth to any castle. His saddle was put on his own destrier—swift [W. T. p. 37.] Migrados. Swifter it ran, when touched with spur, than an arrow flies from the bow. The sportive and prancing steed, when it saw its master, knew him, and he vaulted on to its back. And much better knew that horse how to fight than the most skilful artizan how to strike with hammer. And then he made his horse canter,[5] and he returned to Belisent and said, "Noble lady", said he, "may God bless thee. Thou hast armed me well. Give me thy leave, and soon after Roland will be dead at my hand." Then Belisent said, "Nevertheless, take good care of thyself against Durendal, and unless thou defendest thyself well against it with Curceus, nevermore wilt thou hold a city."

[1] "Fur o maen marmor pedrogyl"; Fr. T. "en une croute qui fu fete à quarel"; Hengwrt MS. "furd" (table); Fr. T. "croute" (grotto); *Karl. Saga* "leidu thaer hann i *lopt* eitt" ("lopt"=hall).

[2] "Lluruc"; Fr. T. "haubert".

[3] The helmet was composed of three parts, the circle or *ring*, the calotte or *cap* of iron, and the *nasal* or nose piece.

[4] "Ar veith"="arveith"="arfaith".

[5] "Gellwng neit kywreint"; Fr. T. "un eslais fet".

At these words Otuel rode to Ogier the Dane[1] and the mighty Duke Neimus. And they accompanied him to the meadow where Roland was.

The Mighty Combat.

And Charles went up to the high loopholes[2] and called to him the eleven peers,[3] and bade them come with him. At his command all the Franks moved out of the meadow, and left it to the two knights. And then he bade them fight when they listed. And Otuel said that he was ready. And Roland thereupon said to the paynim, "O unbelieving paynim", said he, "from this time forth I renounce my covenant with thee".[4] "And I, likewise, mine with thee", said Otuel, "and guard thyself well against me, for I do not love thee at all. And I require of thee the death of my uncle Fernagu, whom thou didst kill."

And then they pricked their horses hard[5] with their spurs and made a rush at each other, so that, what with the speed, the fury, and especially the clamour, the meadow quaked and the earth was rent in furrows.

Setting their lances, on which the banners rustled ominously in the wind, they dealt heavy blows each on the other's shield, so that the lance shafts of both were broken and also their newly tanned leather[6] belts. Their coats of mail, however, were good, seeing that not a single ring was broken or strained. And the mighty knights rode on, neither the one nor the other having lost anything. [W.T., p. 38.]

Then Charles said, "O God", said he, "this seems to me a great wonder that the Saracen is able to withstand one blow from Roland."

His daughter, Belisent, who was standing by, said, "My arms are very good, and he who bears them is in no wise a coward."

After these words, Roland drew his sword, Durendal, and struck Otuel on the glittering helmet so that its nasal fell to the ground and with it a great number of rings, and

[1] W. T. "ly danais".

[2] "Ffenestri uchel"; Fr. T. "grans fenestres"; *Karl. Saga* "vigs korth" (= statio propugnatorum in muris).

[3] Fr. T. "Les *xii.* pers a o soi apelez."

[4] "Ymdiffydyaf" from di + ffyd, from L. Lat. "diffidare", to dissolve the bond of allegiance, to defy; Fr. T. "je te defi dès ici en avant".

[5] "Yn gadarn"; Fr. T. "airéement" = in passion, rage.

[6] "Lledyr brwt."

fair flowers, and precious stones. With a second blow he smote the horse's head off its body far on to the ground.

And then Otuel fell when his horse failed him, and he said two words.[1] "By Mahomet", said he, "thou hast done a dishonourable thing in killing my horse without cause or desert on its part. And thine will not leave this place bragging."[2]

And he drew Curceus his sword, held his shield before him, sprang in front of Roland and struck him on his helmet that its nasal fell to the ground, and the blow glided off the pommel and cut through the saddle and through the horse about the shoulders, so that the sword was up to its hilt in the ground. And he loudly cried, in a boastful strain, "By Mahomet", said he, "that was not a child's[3] stroke."

"O God", said the king, "how heavy was that blow! And I pray the Lady Mary to defend for me my nephew Roland." And if the earl fell, no one need wonder at that. For his horse had fallen dead under him. Durendal, however, was already in his hand, and with it he set upon the Saracen and struck him across the helmet that he smote off the fourth[4] part thereof, the hood of the mail, and a part of his ear, and he clave his shield asunder, and he himself was now either killed or vanquished as everybody supposed. Nevertheless, Otuel had still great valour and strength to fight as hitherto. And with Curceus he paid the blow back to Roland, and Roland to him, again more vigorously, not willing to take anything from him unrequited. And so they continued exchanging blows and stubbornly fighting on either side, so that their coats of mail availed them nought against [W.T., p. 39.] their swords, and the meadow glittered with the rings of their hauberks.

And then said Belisent,[5] "What very noble fighting

[1] "Deu air"; Fr. T. "et dit ii mos".

[2] "Dan chwerthin"; Fr. T. "*gabant*".

[3] For "maw" read "macwy". *Karl. Saga* "ok kvath that ekki *barns* högg":—

"This was a stythe stroke of a knyghte,
And no thynge of a childe."—*E. Sir Ott.*, vv. 485-6.

[4] "A quartere of his helme awaye gane vale,
And halfen-dele of his one ere."—*E. Sir Ott.*, vv. 497-8.

[5] "Belisent sayde full curtaysly,
Mi lorde, thay feghten full gentilly
And grete trauayle thay hafe."—*E. Sir Ott.*, vv. 505-507.

there is between them now. And it cannot, however, last long, because of the gallantry of the knights. And very well does Roland's sword Durendal cut. But it avails nought against Curceus."

"O God", said the king, "how my mind failed me, and how my heart suffered me to speak falsely," and crossing himself he fell towards the east[1] and offered a prayer to God after this wise, "O God Almighty, seeing Thou art the Lord and Ruler of all people gentle and savage, defend my Roland, and turn the heart of the Saracen, Otuel, that he may receive baptism and that he may believe in Thy blessed name." And he kissed the ground and rose up. And then he put his head out of the loophole and saw the knights fighting as before, not having as much of their shields as would cover their hands in front.

Then Roland said to the paynim, "Renounce Mahomet and Tervagant", said he, "and believe in one God Almighty who suffered pain to redeem us from hell's everlasting bondage, and accept a noble gift, even Belisent, the daughter of the Emperor Charles, and mine own cousin. I will cause her to be given to thee. And I and thou and Oliver will be companions. And there will be no castle, city, or place which we cannot take and subdue. For myself, however, as in the past, I seek not from thee the value of a single spur."

"What nonsense thou speakest", said Otuel. "And shame be to him who made thee a clerk.[2] And while thou art a clerk and a disciple I am a master,[3] as I will shew thee before we part. I will give thee such a blow that thou shalt not be able to utter a word[4] any more than an anvil struck by an iron mallet." And thereupon Roland became enraged beyond measure, and with Durendal, [W.T., p. 40.]

[1] Fr. T. "En croiez se jete Karle contre Oriant", p. 18, v. 12.

[2] Fr. T. "Male honte ait qui de vos fist clerçon"; p. 19, v. 10.

"Thou kan to littell of clergy
To leryn me siche a lare."

E. Sir Ott., vv. 531, 532.

[3] Fr. T. "Ffaillé avez à ce premier sermon
Ne savez thas bien lire la leçon
Mès je sui metre, si le vos apenron."

p. 19, vv. 11-13.

[4] Fr. T. "Tel te donrai sus ce hiaume reon
Ke ne poras dire ne ou ne non."

p. 19, vv. 15-16.

whose hilt was of fine gold, in his hand, he struck the warrior Otuel on the top of his helmet that fire flashed out of both sword and helmet. The Saracen parried as one skilled in action, and the blow glanced along his shoulder blade, and clave his double hauberk and all his armour from the top of his shoulder to the girdle of his breeches. The sword, however, did not touch the flesh. And yet so very heavy was the blow that it made the knight bend and well nigh fall down on his knees. This being so, many of the Franks gave thanks, being delighted with the blow, and said that the Saracen was conquered and could no longer defend himself nor fight. Possibly, however, not one among them knew Otuel, or had seen him before in battle. The son of King Galien jumped up nimbly to avenge the blow, and if Roland had not parried that stroke, never more would he have entered the list in knightly combat.

And the Saracen changed colour, and his eyes rolled quickly in his head, like a wild and famished beast.[1] And he raised Curceus on high and attacked Roland with all his might. And in his rage he struck him a heavy blow on the top of his helmet that would have smote off his head if the sword had not turned in his grasp. The second blow he dealt on his left side, and as much of the shield as was in his hand and as much of the other parts of the armour as met the blow he broke in pieces until the sword was plunged far into the earth. And Roland fell off his horse to the ground. And drawing his sword out of the ground he said, "By Mahomet, well does my sword cut."

The Franks then perceiving this, were filled with fear at the might of the strokes, and seeing that they had torn their coats of mail both back and front, and that no more of their shields remained than would cover their hands, they fell on their faces towards the east. And great fear came upon them for their Lord Roland. And they prayed the Lord God to give good counsel to the knights and to make peace between them, either by treaties or by some other security.

The Conversion of Otuel.

And at these words, a dove came flying, so that Charles and all his army could see it, and the Holy Ghost descen-

[1] Fr. T. "Les iex roïlle ausi com *liemier*" (bloodhound), p. 20, v. 1.

ded upon Otuel's shoulder. And then he said, as Roland was aiming to strike him, to avenge his blows, "Cease, Roland", said he, "and stay thine hand. I know not what I have seen flying in my presence. My mind and purpose are changed.[1] Let the fighting end here. And for thy love I will receive baptism, and I ask forgiveness of Mary. Henceforth she shall be my defence and in her will I trust." And when Roland heard these words, joyfully[2] he said to him, "Noble sire",[3] said he, "art thou minded to do this?" "Yea, by my faith, I am", said Otuel, "and I do now renounce Mahomet, Tervagant, Apolin, lousy Jupiter, and all their gang." [W.T., p. 41.]

Thereupon they threw away their swords on the grass, and the brave knights embraced each other.[4] "O God", said the king, "how great is this Thy power,[5] behold they are reconciled, and are making some compact between themselves methinks. And go ye, my brave knights, to see." And they went as quickly as they could. And the king himself came spurring his horse after them, and having arrived, he said, "My beloved nephew", said he, "how farest thou, and what alliance have you formed between you?"

"Sire", said he, "I fare very well in that I am perfectly whole and happy. And I have received no harm, though I fought with the best and bravest warrior that ever was among the paynims.[6] And thanks be to God, I have achieved this, that Otuel will receive baptism and the Christian faith. And welcome thou him with joy, and grant him honour and power according to his desire, and, in addition, thy daughter Belisent to wife."

"O God", said the king, "Thou hast done what I desired, and that was the prayer that I was about to make to Thee."

Then they with haste divested the knights of their

[1] Fr. T. "Ne soi quel chose me va ci conseillant
Qui m'a mué mon cuer et mon talant."—p. 21, vv. 11-12.

[2] "Dan chwerthin"; Fr. T. "en riant".

[3] "Unbenn bonhedic"; Fr. T., "jentis hons sires", p. 21, v. 23.

[4] Fr. T. "L'espée jete sus l'erbe verdoiant,
Les bras tendus se vont entrecolant."—p. 21, vv. 25-26.

[5] "Gwyrtheu", from Lat. "virtus"; Fr. T. "vertuz".

[6] "Mi lorde, full gentilly
I hafe foughten with the beste knyghte
In alle this werlde es none so wighte."
E. Sir Ott., vv. 594-6.

armour. And Roland mounted a swift fiery destrier,[1] and Otuel a high ambling mule, and they came towards the [W.T. p. 42.] city to baptize Otuel. And they sought the Church[2] of Mary. And Turpin, the Archbishop of Rheims, put on his stole,[3] and took a psalter, and said the Litany. And then he came above the font and blessed it. Great also was the number of earls, barons and knights, and the crowd[4] of them looking at Otuel being baptized. Charles was his sponsor at his baptism, and Earl Odis, and Gerard, earl of Normandy. And they did not change his name, but as before, they called him Otuel.

The Betrothal of Otuel and Belisent.

And thereupon, when he had renounced his unbelief and had been baptized, Belisent came, who was fairer than the bloom of the rose.[5] And Dawns of the fair beard led her to Charles. And the king took her by her sleeve and said to her, "Daughter, thou art very beautiful, and thy complexion is fair, and whosoever may have thee in his possession, and at his desire for one night, ought never afterwards to be a coward, but should be praised for his valour and be very brave. So will he who will have thee, if God will grant him life, and whom many of the Franks will envy."[6]

And to Otuel he said, "My godson, thou hast now embraced the right faith. For thou hast renounced Mahomet and hast received baptism. In return I give thee my daughter Belisent to wife, and with her the land of Verel and Iuorie, and Chaste and Plansence, and Melan and Panie and Lombardy." Then Otuel bent on his knees, and with great humility[7] and gratitude kissed the king's foot and spake to him in this fashion, "Sire", said he, "I will never refuse that. If the maid is willing I also am willing."[8] And Belisent then said, "I am willing,

[1] "Amys", from Lat. "admissus", see Loth, *Les Mots*, etc., p. 164.
[2] Fr. T. "Au *montier* [monasterium] l'ont mené Sainte Marie."
[3] "Ystol", from Lat. "stola"; Fr. T. "estole", v. 23.
[4] Fr. T. "Grant fu la prese de la chevalerie
Por Otinel qui recoit bautestire."—p. 22, vv. 25, 26.
[5] Fr. T. "Elle est plus blanche que nule magerie",
"Et plus vermoille que la rosse florie."—p. 23, vv. 2, 3.
[6] MS. R. begins here. Fr. T., p. 23, v. 8.
[7] "Vuulltatwt", from Lat. "humilitatem"; MS. R. "Les piez lui beise, forment se humilie".
[8] Fr. T. "Se la pucelle me veut, je bien l'otrie", p. 23, v. 19.

and now I have found my joy, and I ought never to repent me of my union, and never shall my love be false to thee."

"And since thou wilt be my betrothed", said Otuel, "for love of thee I will win me renown and fame. And many paynims before the city of Atalie shall die by my bright sword, for I have received baptism. And to thee, worthy emperor,[1] I commend my betrothed until we come to the plains of Lombardy, and our nuptials[2] will be celebrated in the plains around Atalie, when I shall have killed[3] king Garsi."

B.—The War against Garsi.

The Council at Paris.

And then the king entered into his palace, and his barons went with him, and their meal was ready.[4] And they having entered, the cloths were laid, and they sat down to eat. And, not to labour the point, supper was announced. And all having satisfied their need, there being no lack of wine, the king went into his chamber, and after him all went into their tents to rest and to sleep. And they shut the doors until the morrow after sunrise. Then the king rose up and summoned his barons to him. And he went and sat on a marble table[5] in the hall, having in his hand a fine staff studded with nails of gold, and he said to them, "Lords, Barons, hearken unto me and advise me, for it is your duty so to do, concerning king Garsi, who, as ye have heard, has entered my domain by force, and is burning my castles, and demolishing my cities, and destroying the Christian faith as far as he possibly can. Shall we go to war against him immediately after winter, or shall we wait until summer?" [W.T., p. 43.]

The Franks replied and said, "We are all surprised at what thou sayest about delaying and prolonging the time. For this Garsi has all things ready, and is daily destroying thy country, and before summer comes he will have com-

[1] "Amherawdyr dylyedawc"; Fr. T. "Droiz emperere".

[2] "A ni ae pieifydwn"; pieifydwn = piau + fyddwn = priodwn; MS. R. "Les noces serrunt a prez toz Atalie".

[3] "Ym lad" = "i'm ladd." Hengwrt MS. (wrongly), "pann darfo *ymlad* Garsi"; cf. MS. R. "Quant auerai mort l'emperur Garsie".

[4] "Parawt", from Lat. "paratus".

[5] "Vort o vaen mynor"; Fr. T. "une table d'eschuine".

From page 24, v. 11, to page 26, v. 22, is missing in the Vatican MS., and is supplied by Middlehill MS.

pleted the subjection of the greater part of thy domain, if he goes on in the future as he is doing now. Therefore it is wrong to miss the opportunity."

"Seeing that this is the advice of you all", said the king, "for love of me, be ye prepared by the end of March to start at once at the beginning of April." And all agreed to that.

Preparation for War.

Then the king had letters written, and sent them by messengers over all his empire, commanding that no knight, foot soldiers, possessor of bow or of arblast, should tarry, but should come to him to Paris by the first day of April. And he who could not come should send four pence to St. Denis.[1] And though the time was longer than it takes us to relate, that month nevertheless passed, and January, February and March. And the appointed time quickly[2] came.

[W.T., p. 44.] The emperor was in Paris, and the twelve peers[3] with him, namely, Roland and his companion Oliver, Anseis, Gerard, Engeliers, Estult de Lengres, Archbishop Turpin, Giriers, Bertoloi, Otuel, the duke Neimus, and Ogier the Dane.[4]

And they went up to the high loopholes, and through them they see coming the men of Germany, Bavaria, Lorierg, Angevin, Gascony, Berriuuer, Poitou, Provençal, Burgundy, Flanders, Puiers and Normandy. And the Bretons were coming with their shields coloured in four shades, and leading their fiery destriers with their right hands. It was difficult for any in that part of the country to withstand them. Each of the knights was attended by four esquires, of whom they could make knights, if there was need in the future. And under Montmartre they came together in thousands.

The Departure of the Army from Paris.

On the first day of April, at the dawn of day, the king and his host set out from Paris, and came to St. Denis. From thence they set out on their journey[5] and took their leave. And they left their wives and their

[1] *Vide* W. T., p. 104. [2] "Amysgawn."

[3] For different lists of the twelve peers see Gaston Paris, *Histoire Poétique*, p. 507.

[4] W. T. "Oger ly danais." [5] "Dechreuassant eu fford."

families weeping and cursing Garsi. And they sounded their horns. And as many as ever had noble wife or fair betrothed set out with the king to Lombardy. Roland was the commander of the host in the van, and the mighty duke Neimus kept the rear.

Otuel, however, did not leave his betrothed behind, but took Belisent with him, mounted on a mule of Hungary, whose pace was quicker than flies the swiftest galley ship on the sea. Seven hundred barons formed her court, constantly maintained in meat and apparel by her. Each of them was fine in strength, great in himself, and very brave. And though the time was longer than it takes us to relate, they left France and Burgundy and Mungui, Iuorie, and Montferrant, until they saw Atalie, the strong city where Garsi was, and with him the infidel people.

So far no one troubled them on their journey, or could if he wished. And under Mount Poun, in a meadow by the banks of the river Toon, there they pitched their tents. [W.T., p. 45.]

The Adventures of the Three Peers.

And then the emperor made the Franks rest from day to day, for a week, that the knights might throw off their fatigue and weariness, bleed their horses, take care of and heal their maladies. And nothing essential to him was left unthought of. He made a bridge to span the river that they might pass over at their wish. And when they returned they raised the bridge to prevent any of the paynims from following them, binding the rafters and planks strongly with iron.

The bridge having been completed they went to their tents to eat. But Roland, unknown to any save to Oliver and Ogier the Dane, did not go. These three went and armed themselves under a laurel tree. They then mounted their steeds, crossed the bridge and went towards the city seeking any that would fight with them. Before their return, however, the bravest of them would not be recompensed for being there with a heap of pure gold.[1]

There were there four kings of the infidel race of paynims, who had come a good mile out of the city to fence. Each was well armed according to his desire. Their names,

[1] "Mwtwl o eur coeth"; MS. R. "un mui d'or cler"; Fr. T. "M. marz d'argent cler", p. 27.

unless history is untrue, were as follows. One of them was Balsamin, king of Ninivent. The second was King Eurabil, a man who never kept faith or promise with any. The third was Ascanard, a man who killed more than a thousand men with his sword. The fourth was Clarel. There was not a finer man than he from there to the land of the rising sun. He never found a man who could oppose him in battle, or could stand a blow from him, whom he did not smite down to the ground wounded or killed. These were going along the meadow leading their destriers by the reins. And they were violently threatening Roland and Oliver, swearing that if they lived long enough to lead their hosts into the heart of France,[1] there would be no guarantee to Charles against them for his life, and on the twelve peers also they would accomplish their desires.

[W.T. p. 46.] And Clarel said to them, "Sires, we shall profit nothing by such threatening. Much praise have I heard of Roland, and that there is not from here to the east a braver man than he, and that against his sword nothing prevails. Nevertheless, I pray my God, Mahomet, and Tervagant, that I may again meet him in battle. I will smite him on the top of his helm with my sword. And I think it will be very hard unless I cleave him down to his teeth. For I have a just cause, if I could find him, seeing that he killed my brother Samson de Monbrant in a tournament under Mount Pampelune. And I shall die of pain and grief unless I can avenge him."

The Franks were riding silently and secretly under the shelter of the wood which is called Forestant.[2] And when they heard the noise of the paynims they stood and listened. Roland saw them first, and he said to his companions, "Sires, rejoice, see there the paynims standing under the rock. And there are only four of them as far as I can see. Thanks be to the Almighty, we may safely fight now." "Quite true", said his companions, "let all be done according to thy desire."[3]

Thereupon they set their lances, and spurred their horses towards the paynims.

[1] "Ymperved ffreinc"; Fr. T. "douce France".

[2] "Forestant"; MS. R. "Forestant"; Fr. T. "Forest grant".

[3] From page 28, v. 28, to page 38, v. 23, there is a lacuna in the Vatican MS., and this part is supplied from the Middlehill MS.

Clarel, raising his head, looked towards the sun,[1] and he saw the earls coming towards them at a gallop.[2] And he called his companions to him quickly and said to them, "Sires, let your hearts and minds be at ease. I see afar off three knights spurring their horses towards us. Meet them and ascertain what they seek. Ye are three and they also are three."

And thereupon the paynims, without any delay, gave their horses the bridle, and without saying anything or asking who they were or whence they came, or what they sought, they began to deal blows to each other.

Ascanard attacked Roland with a spear, and struck him under the boss of his shield, and split it through, and broke off the head of his lance. And because his armour was good he received no further harm.

Roland, however, struck him back with all his might [W.T., p. 47.] so that neither shield nor coat of mail nor any other part of his armour availed him the value of a fig. He pierced his breast and clave his heart asunder, and smote him dead to the ground, and mockingly[3] he uttered these few words, "Son of a harlot, thou hast met Roland in battle, whom just now thou wert threatening."

Eurabyl attacked Ogier the courteous[4] with a spear and dealt him a heavy blow on his shield, cut off[5] thirty rings of the coat of mail, and the spear almost struck his side. However, it availed him not the value of a single pea.

Thereupon Ogier thrust him through his shield, his coat of mail, and all other parts of his linen armour, and also through his own accursed body, so that he fell dead down to the ground. And he spake two courteous words[6] to him, "Son of a harlot, I am Ogier the Dane, and for dealing such blows as this am I beloved of Charles."[7]

Balsamin, the king of Ninivent, attacked Oliver with a spear and pierced his shield on which a lion was depicted, but it availed him nought. Then Oliver thrust

[1] "Yn erbyn yr heul"; Fr. T. "vers levant"; *i.e.*, towards the East, p. 29, line 1.

[2] "Wrth yr avwyneu"; Fr. T. "mut fierement". "*Afwyn*", from Lat. "habena".

[3] "Dan chwerthin"; Fr. T. "en riant".

[4] W. T., "le curteis".

[5] The verb "cut off" is supplied from "trenche", Fr. T.

[6] "Deueir letneis"; Fr. T. "dous moz curteis".

[7] Fr. T. "Pur tels colps feire m'aime Charle li reis"; cf. "Pur itels olps nus aimet l'Emperere", *Ch. de R.*, v. 1377.

him through all his fine ensign and armour and his own lousy body, and smote him down dead, and said to him, "I commend thee to him[1] to whom thou didst devote thyself." At that instant Clarel spurred his steed towards him to avenge the Saracen, if Oliver would wait for the blow. But Roland came across in front of him and he dealt the Saracen a heavy blow on his shield. And good was the armour and secure, that protected him from death.

His horse then raised his forefeet and fell back on its haunches, and both he and Roland fell to the ground.

Thereupon, with a loud voice, Clarel shouted their rallying cry[2] and went flying towards the city and praying God to receive him and defend him.

But Ogier the Dane,[3] however, overtook him and dealt him a heavy blow right on his breast.[4] And so good was the armour that nothing gave way any more than before. Nevertheless he fell down senseless. Oliver took his horse and brought it to Roland by its bridle. And he spake to him in this wise, "Sire", said he, "mount quickly. Here is a present for thee from Ogier, a horse which is better than thine own. And I think it is worth a hundred of it."

[W.T., p. 48.] And then Roland quickly mounted without putting either foot in stirrup[5] or hand on saddlebow. And the Saracen rose up on his feet and drew his sword, Melle, and mightily defended himself with his shield. And Roland went towards him and unsheathed Durendal, and with it smote off so much of his shield as met it. Clarel fought furiously in defending himself. But he saw it availed him nought. And he said to them in this wise, "Sires", said he, "grant me my life, I pray you, and take my sword. You made a great and mighty attack. Who is chief among you, that I may render him my sword?" And Roland received from him his sword. And they brought him a swift black horse fully harnessed, on whose back was killed the king of Ninivent.

[1] "Yr gwr"; Hengwrt MS. "yr diawl"; Fr. T. "Al malfé".

[2] "Eu harwyd Naimawnt"; MS. R. "en halt s'escrie s'enseine *Naunant*"; cf. W. T., p. 56, line 5, where *Karl. Saga* translates "Nu kallar merki sitt that het *Nanant*", though here the rendering is "ok helt upp merki sinu". "Naimawnt" is evidently a corruption of "raünant"; Fr. T. "s'enseigne raünant", from "re-unir", to rally.

[3] W. T. "Oger ly danais". [4] "Ymperued cledyr y dwyuronn."

[5] "Heb dodi y droet yny warthauyl."

Thereupon these noble companions made an end of fighting. And Clarel was with them, a prisoner. And they thought of leading him and presenting him to Charlemagne. But before they had gone a mile they had another matter which they considered of greater importance. For the Saracens[1] had assembled together, one thousand and five hundred in number as far as one could estimate. They heard their horns and saw their glittering helmets and their pennons streaming in the breeze. And when Roland saw them he began to whistle, and to fix himself firmly in the saddle.[2] And he said with an oath to Ogier, "By the most High Lord, who claims[3] to be God", said he, "if I can to-day do battle against them[4] with Durendal, thou shalt see me smiting and killing them, so that tidings[5] of it will travel beyond the sea."

"Lords barons", said Oliver, "I have heard wise men say that man cannot always guard[6] himself against evil, and that he who engages in many battles and encounters will not always escape to his home with a whole skin. For when a man thinks he is about to meet with the greatest quietness and good fortune, then is he nearest to being disturbed." "Quite true", said Ogier, "and therefore we ought to be brave, and it is unseemly for us to be timid. For you see the paynims, and we cannot avoid them. We must pass through the midst of their spears, [W.T., p. 49.] and therefore each one of us should now shew his prowess. Set Clarel also at liberty. For such a man ought not to be shamefully killed nor treated with disdain. For you see that we cannot take him with us, and perchance he may some other time repay[7] us the kindness."

"By Mahomet", said Clarel, "a noble mind and heart caused thee to speak these words."

And then Ogier addressed his companions a second time, and said, "Roland", said he, "thou art a mighty man, bold, fearless, and wary, and a leader in battles. And Oliver also has proved himself a brave knight. And I myself have

[1] "For the Saracens" is supplied from the French text.

[2] "Ymgadarnhau yny warthafleu"; Fr. T. "s'afiche"; cf. *Ch. de R.*, v. 3117.

[3] "A vynnwys ei alw"; Fr. T. "qui se fit clamer".

[4] "Ymgymysgu"; Fr. T. "meller".

[5] "Chwedleu"; Fr. T. "noveles".

[6] "Ymoglyt" = "ymogelyd"; Fr. T. "garder".

[7] "Talu y pwyth"; Fr. T. "reguerdoner".

escaped from many a narrow strait in battle and tournament. Behold yonder the paynims, we cannot avoid[1] them. And we cannot implore any other help for this. Therefore he who now strikes not with the sword bravely and not timidly will do the cowardly thing, and prove himself henceforth a coward." Having spoken in this wise they cried "Monjoie",[2] and with one accord the three attacked their enemies, and in that place afterwards were found very many of the paynims, some dead and others lying desperately wounded.[3]

Roland dealt a blow to a paynim, Berruier by name, who was blacker than the blackest wild blackberry,[4] and smote him down dead in the middle of the road. Oliver struck Baisan de Montpeler, and Ogier struck Moter, a Saracen, and they smote them down dead. These were the three first killed. They then made use of their swords. Roland went among them smiting them down one by one with every stroke of Durendal. The Saracens found Oliver also very fierce. With Hauteclere he made so wide a path among them that it would be possible to drive along it four carts abreast. The brave Ogier also gave there occasion for praise. He spurred his horse into their midst, and with Curceus he immediately made the heads of thirty of them fly off their bodies.

Ogier a Prisoner.

Thereupon came Carmel of Tabarie, a Saracen, who was the leader of all the others. He was securely armed on all points,[5] and rode his steed Penopie. In his own tongue he cried out with a loud voice, "What art thou [W.T. p. 50.] doing? May Mahomet curse you![6] What shall we say to the emperor Garsi in that three men are vanquishing so great a host as this? I will now, in any case, take away the life of one of the three". And he spurred his

[1] "Gwrthneu"; Fr. T. "refuser".

[2] "Galw ar eu llywenyd". "Monjoie", O. Fr. "Munjoie", was the rallying cry of those who fought under Charles. Properly speaking, it was Charlemagne's banner or standard.

[3] MS. R. ends here.

[4] "Mwryar ffreghic"; Fr. T. "mure de murer".

[5] "Yn gyweir o arueu diogel"; Fr. T. "bien est armé".

[6] "Beth awney di vahamet emelldigedic" = "What art thou doing, thou cursed Mahomet?" is an impossible expression for a faithful Saracen; Fr. T. "Ke faites vos? Mahumet vos maldie!"

horse and brandished his spear, and he struck Ogier a blow, and pierced him through his shield and all his armour, and he fell down wounded. Thereupon Roland saw Ogier's blood gushing out and all pouring forth, and he struck the Saracen on his helmet, and his sword clave right through him without stopping. And he said to him, "Traitor,"[1] said he, "may the God of Heaven curse thee. A brave fellow hast thou taken from my fellowship." And he spurred his horse along the field, cutting to pieces the infidel race. There was another Saracen, whom may God curse. He was a cousin of Alphanie, a fair maid, who that morning had given him love-tokens,[2] and he had promised her that he would deal a fine blow[3] to one of the Christians. And if the Lord God had not been mindful of them, he would have caused them very great anxiety.

He dealt Oliver a blow with his full intent, and strong was the armour that then protected his life. He was thrown to the ground, but was not, however, wounded. The earl got up quickly and mounted Penopie, the good destrier of Carmel of Tabarie, as was said above. And he cried to his companions, "Lord Roland", said he, "be not at all anxious about me. I have pledged my troth to thee that I would not fail thee as long as we live, and I will make it good." Thereupon began the tumult and the fighting of Franks and of paynims. Then Ogier rose up quickly. And because the press of the soldiers around him was so great, he could not mount his horse. Then looked he at his sword and began to praise it in this wise, "O Curceus, much ought I to love thee. In Charles' court thou didst make me beloved and honoured. To-day we two must part. But before I die I wish to show thy mettle." And he dealt a paynim a blow on his helmet and cut him through armour and head as far as the teeth. Roland then called him back, but he heard him not. For there were so many of the paynims around him that he knew not in what direction he ought first to go to defend himself from them. The esquires of some of the Saracens then vigorously essayed to kill him, and [W. T., p. 51.] he mightily defended himself.

[1] "Culvert twyllwr"; Fr. T. "culvert"; the Fr. "culvert" is translated and then transferred into the W. T.

[2] "Tlysseu", lit. "jewels". *Karl. Saga* "astarthokka".

[3] "Dyrnawt clotuorus"; Fr. T. "Colp de chevalerie".

Thereupon King Clarel perceived him in much distress, and yet dealing deadly blows with his sword. And he bade the esquires leave him alone. And to Ogier he said, "Surrender thy sword to me and be not afraid. Thou mayest safely trust in me. No evil shall befall thee while I can defend thee."

Moaffla,[1] one of the esquires, said, "Thou canst not defend him. Thou shalt see him, however, cut in pieces before thy eyes, limb from limb."

When Clarel heard these words, he became quite mad with rage. And he drew his sword and smote off Moaffla's head to the far end of the field, and said to him thus, "Thou wilt now let Ogier alone."

He found a good horse and made Ogier mount it. And he called to him eight Saracens of his own court, those in whom he could best trust, and he said to them, "Lords, give good heed to this affair; take Ogier to Alphanie, my beloved, and tell her to look after him well." And he sent six of them to go with Ogier, and they were to examine his wounds often while on the journey.

Alphanie, the king's daughter, had entered an orchard to amuse herself, and there were with her two other noble maidens, Gware and Belamyr. They saw the paynims, and one of them said to the others, "Let us go and speak[2] to them, and enquire after their condition and intentions." And Alphanie said to them, "Ah, barons, tarry[3] with us and tell us your news. How met you this knight? Was he taken in battle and thus wounded?"

"Noble lady", said the Almaffet, "by Mahomet, why dost thou mock us? So great a wrath burns in our hearts that we could not laugh even if we would." "And pray, who troubled you so", said she, "take heed that you do not conceal it from me." "This knight",[4] said they, "and two others have smote off the heads of at least a hundred of our paynims. And Clarel, thy beloved, [W.T., p. 52.] bade thee, for his love, to look after him well." "Go back now", said she, "and take the others also and bring them to me." "Summer will come", said they, "ere we can do that." And forthwith they went back.

[1] "Moaffla"; Fr. T. "l' Almaafle".
[2] "Gyfrwch"; Fr. T. "parler".
[3] "Kyfarhowch"=cyf + arhos=cyd aros.
[4] "Bwinart"; Fr. T. "buinard". The word is left untranslated in the Welsh Text.

The fair lady then said to the earl, "Come now", said she, "and thou shalt be well treated and lodged. And tell me thy name and of what nation thou wert born."

"My name", said he, "is Ogier the Dane, and my people are in the court of the emperor Charles." "I know thee well enough now," said the maiden. And then the three maidens led Ogier to a place under an olive tree. First of all they attended[1] to his horse, and led it to the stable. They then divested him of his armour, washed his wounds with skill, and laid him to sleep. And they gave him to eat a blessed virtuous herb of great value which God himself planted in His garden. It was called "All health."[2] No man could estimate its value in worldly goods. And he slept soundly, of which he had great need. When he woke up he felt more lively, and healthier than the healthiest apple in the orchard.

Let us now cease speaking of Ogier the Dane, whose bravery never failed him when he needed it most.

Otuel to the Rescue.

We will now speak of duke Roland and of his companion Oliver, whom Ogier left in battle fighting bravely with their swords. There were still a thousand of the paynims opposing them. They could no longer, however, deal such heavy and so frequent blows as at first. And therefore they took to flight. And no one except a fool would wonder at it. And the paynims followed them in order to smite off their heads.

And then Otuel sought and enquired after the earls in all parts of the camp. And when he could not find them, he knew that they had gone towards Attalie to fight. With haste he ran to put on his armour. And he took with him seven hundred knights. The most timid of all that number was brave enough to conquer a mighty king. Having donned his armour, Otuel mounted his horse and went to greet the king.[3] And he said to him—"Sire,[4] bid [W.T., p. 53.] the Franks put on their armour, and let us go and put our forces in battle array. Thy nephew Roland takes me for a coward, seeing that he went without me to fight this morning. If evil befalls him, whom

[1] "Gwrteissant"; Fr. T. "areinent".
[2] Fr. T. "Seine at à nun", p. 37, v. 13.
[3] "A mynet i gyfrwch ar brenhin"; Fr. T. "si veit al rei parler".
[4] Hengwrt MS. ends here.

ought he to blame? He wishes too much to excel all men. But by Him who claims to be God, if I may to-day meet the Saracens, thou shalt hear me cry 'Monjoie', and see me deal such blows with my sword, that nothing will be known of Roland on the field, and no one will say one word about him."

Then the emperor had the horns sounded, and the Franks put on their armour, and he went over the bridge. And he gave the standard to duke Samson. Then there were seen so many gonfanons uplifted, so many straight lances and so many pennons streaming in the air, that God never created a man who could number them. And the active young esquires[1] fixed themselves firmly in their saddles,[2] boasting, the one to the other, of dealing mighty blows to the Saracens. In front of the army went the seven hundred knights, whom Belisent maintained in food and raiment at her sole charge.

A good bowshot in front of them rode Otuel on his horse Flori. He was well and securely equipped at all points.[3] His robe of honour[4] was of very fine silk. It weighed not four leaves of a psalter, though small its volume. Neither was a man born who could estimate its value. For neither fire nor iron could harm it. And he who had but the weight of a penny of it, no matter how great the wound or the blow he received, would feel all sound and active.[5] It was Belisent, the daughter of Charles, who gave it to him, as also to Gwalter of Orleans, his ensign.

At the outlet of the fishpond[6] Roland met him, and Otuel assailed him with mocking words, "Sire", said he, "comest thou from fishing? Dost thou intend to eat all the

[1] "Y gweisson ieueinc"; Fr. T. "bacheler".

[2] "Ymgadarnhau yny gwarthafleu"; Fr. T. "forment s'afichent".

[3] "Yn gyweir o arueu diogel"; Fr. T. "bien est armé".

[4] "Cwnsallt"; Middlehill MS. "ses cunuissances"; Vatican MS. "ses armes".

[5] Middlehill MS.:—

"Bien est armé à lei de chevaler
Ses cunuissances sunt d'un paile cursier,
Ne paisent mie quatre fuilz d'un saltier,
N'est mie nez quis péust alegier;
Kar feu ne flamme nes poet damager
E cil qui at le pesant d'un dener,
Tant nes péusse naverer ne blescier
Ke ne se sente tut sein e tut legier."—Fr. T., p. 89.

[6] "Over pysgotlyn"; Fr. T. "l'issir d'un viver".

paynims thyself?[1] There is still enough of them both for me and for thee to nibble at them.[2] Come back now. Thou canst forthwith bring vengeance upon them for what they have done thee."

Help came to Roland and Oliver when the need was most urgent. The paynims were then hastening their doom. Thereupon Otuel pricked Flori with his spurs, and brandished his lance and smote Eucomber, a Saracen, through his shield and all his armour and body. And he fell down dead in the middle of the road. [W.T. p. 54.]

Estut de Lengres made a dash at a paynim named Clater. And neither shield nor coat of mail could protect him from death. He smote him down dead. "Monjoie", he cried, and he bade his companions be brave and fight. And they did so. They fought as bravely as they could.

Lo, then was heard great tumult and clamour and the waving of standards. A great battle was about to ensue, many lances were broken, many shields pierced, many coats of mail torn to pieces, many Saracens smitten and killed, so that God never created a man who could number them.

And thereupon Englers went from point to point along the line of battle, seeking the Saracens, with his lance broken and his sword unsheathed in his hand. And he saw Clamados, the paynim who ruled over Numieland, who had smitten Reiner of Melan down, and he was seizing his horse. He told him that he would cause him grief and sorrow ere he could take his horse. And he dealt him a blow on his helmet with his full force and clave him down to his teeth. His body fell down dead and his soul went to hell.[3]

Thereupon came another Saracen to him, Galatas by name, the man who ruled over the land called Tyre the Great. And he shewed great boldness and daring before his companions. He lowered his lance and directed it towards the earl and spurred his horse. And he smote Englers on his shield and cut off a good handbreadth. The lance slipped under the saddle and God defended him that his flesh was not touched. However, he could not hold him-

[1] Fr. T. "Sire Rollans, venez vos de peschier?
Quidez vos sul les paienz tuz mangier?"—p. 39, vv. 11-12.
[2] Fr. T. "Et moi et vos i aurons à rungier", p. 39, v. 14.
[3] "Uffern", from Lat. "inferna".

self in the stirrup nor abide in the saddle, but down he fell for good or evil. And Galatas said with a loud voice, "Thief", in that he took the glory of the glove[1] from him.[2]

And thereupon, as Englers still tarried among the forces after his shield had fallen from his neck (as the author of the book says), he mounted again on the back of his horse when Talot, a Saracen, who had killed more than a thousand men since he was dubbed knight, and with him sixty other Saracens, spurred towards him and smote him down a second time with their lances. And others shot at him with barbed arrows and diamond-pointed javelins, and most severely was he wounded that day. His coat of mail was pierced in thirty places. It was no wonder then that he received severe blows and pains. Nevertheless he received no wound that made him much the worse for it. If he could mount his horse, how he would bury his sword in the heads of the Saracens and smite off the heads of the strongest of them. Then on their return[3] came Isoret, Gwalter of Lyons, David,[4] Girard of Orleans, and Bertolo the bearded, and each of them prepared to smite dexterously with his sword. "Monjoie," they cried, and they pressed the paynims back until Englers was mounted on his horse.

[W.T., p. 55.]

Thereupon Isoret and Talot met together and dealt each a blow on the other's shield that they broke their lances, pierced their breast plates,[5] and turned the points of their lances on their coats of mail. Saddle, stirrup, and reins[6] availed them nought, so that they both fell down together. Quickly they rose up and drew their bright shining swords and dealt heavy blows on their jewelled helmets. And so they would have gone on fighting on the field until the end of it would be known, had not the crowd disturbed them.[7]

Gwalter of Lyons attacked Armagot,[8] a paynim, with a spear, and with the first blow smote him down dead, and

[1] "Vanec"="maneg", from Lat. "manica".

[2] According to *Karl. Saga*, Galatas' betrothed had given him her glove, that morning, as a love-token.

[3] "Ar yr ymchoel"; Fr. T. "à la resconusse", p. 40, v. 18.

[4] For "Danyd" read "Dauyd", so *Karl. Saga*.

[5] "Quireu"; Fr. T. "cuers"; E. "cuirass".

[6] "Avwyneu"="afwynau"; from Lat. "habena".

[7] Fr. T. "Ne fust la presse qui les a desevrez", p. 41, v. 15.

[8] Fr. T. "à Margot".

the devils immediately snatched his soul. And the Franks kept on bravely killing their enemies, cutting the heads of some, the shoulders of others, and about the ribs of others. Not but that there was enough smiting on all other parts, so that the most active[1] of them was tired enough, and the very bravest was satisfied; and the whole field was red with the blood of the slain.

Thereupon Erapates, a Turk,[2] who had under him the horse of Floriant, from a city of India the great,[3] spurred, and came to Clarel. And holding him by the bridle he [W.T., p. 56.] addressed him thus :—" Sire", said he, "we fare no better than before." "On my oath", said Clarel, "I will now shew my full power, unless we are hindered by the water." And they spurred their horses and went towards the Franks.

And Clarel called out their war cry,[4] and at this sign came to them paynims, Moors, and Persians, and those from Arabia, until there were at least a hundred of them, and not one of them but possessed a good lance, a Turkish bow,[5] or a sharp javelin. And they compelled the Franks to retire half the flight of an arrow from a strong cross-bow.[6] And Clarel smote Droon, a German,[7] through his shield, his coat of mail, and all his armour, and through his body, and he fell down dead in the midst of the Franks.

Erapater, with great fury, struck Girard of Orleans with his sword on his helmet, so that his brains and eyes gushed out of his head. And after he had slain him he went away from him galloping his horse.[8] Thereupon Otuel, with naked sword in his right hand and shield on his shoulder, went to waylay him. And Erapater turned his horse's head towards him and with fury dealt him a blow that he

[1] For " y gysdickaf " read "yr ystigaf".

[2] For "Cwrc" read " Twrc".

[3] Fr. T. "Arapater, .i. Turc de Floriant
Une cité de la Inde la grant."

[4] "Ar naimawnt eu harwyd hwy"; *Karl. Saga* "nu kallar hann merke that het Nanant". Fr. T. "En haut s'escrie s'enseigne mescréant". See W. T., p. 47. For note on *Naimawnt* see p. 140, note 2.

[5] For "vwa cwrtois" read "vwa twrcois"; cf. *Karl. Saga*, "boga Tyrkneska", and Fr. T. "arc turquois".

[6] " Hanner ergit saeth mawr"; Fr. T. " plus de demi arpent".

[7] For "Droy vn or almaen" read "Droon or almaen"; cf. "Dromer of Alemaine", E. Otu., stanza 130.

[8] Fr. T. "Quant il l' ot mort, si s'en va galopant", p. 42.

cut through his shield and his helmet. And strong were the other parts of the armour so that he cut none of them. However, he broke his own sword in drawing it to him. Otuel smote him with all his might, and with one blow clave all that met his sword from the top of the helmet down to his heart. And he fell down dead, and he commended his soul to the devils, and to him he said, "Cousins we were, and therefore gave I thee so great and good a blow as that."

The Conflict between Clarel and Otuel.

And then was Clarel in battle. And he perceiving his people killed and severely wounded in all directions, made a furious dash among the Franks and thereupon killed Richart d'Eglent, Guarin d'Angiers, Hugon de Clarvent, and Helis, and he went away from the forces a victor not having lost the value of a spur. And he sounded "Graisle" his horn[1] to rally[2] his people and to call them to him. And not more than a hundred of them were found. And these [W.T., p. 57.] fled towards the city as best they could. And the Franks pursued them furiously, endeavouring to kill them as they were wont often to do previously.

The paynims then, however, escaped successfully under a rock, called the rock of the ships,[3] and there they met with the people from the court[4] of the Emperor Garsi.

Twenty thousand of the corrupt[5] race were coming to their aid. Then there would have been, without fail, a battle, had it not been that the day was ended, and the hour for compline[6] passed, and that the night hindered them.

And then Clarel laid down his shield and unloosed the laces which held his coat of mail about his neck, and with a loud voice he said to Otuel, "Who art thou?" said he, "May Mahomet curse thee. Tell me thy name that I also may tell it to Garsi." Said the Christian in reply, "I will not hide it from thee. I am Otuel the son of King Galien,

[1] "Grasle y gorn"; Fr. T. "Sone ses grelles"; "graisle"=M. Fr. "grêle"=horn.

[2] "I reoli"; Fr. T. "por ralier".

[3] "Carrec y llogeu"; Fr. T. "une roche naïe".

[4] "Niuer llys"; Fr. T. "la mesnie".

[5] "Y genedl uudur", vide W. T., bottom of p. 109.

[6] "Pryt cwmpli"; Fr. T. "la complie". *Compline* is the last prayer at night, to be said after sunset.

and my mother's name was Die.[1] I have been baptized and have ceased from my folly. And Charles, the king of the Franks, has given me Lombardy, and his daughter Belisent to wife. And therefore never as long as I live[2] will I love a Saracen."

"What a very surprising thing I hear now," said Clarel. "And didst thou then renounce thy faith?" said he. And he railed at him in this wise, "Thou hast drunk a hot draught out of the pool with which doctors mix stone to make their medicinal potions, and this has made thee mad.[3] Come back, even now, I counsel thee, beloved companion, and make amends to Mahomet for an offence so great as thou hast committed against him by renouncing him and his law, and I will make peace between thee and Garsi, and will myself give the half of the kingdom of Almarie."

"Be assured, that is what I will never do," said Otuel. "And may the curse of God[4] abide on all your company. And by my faith I have in the Lady Mary if I may take thee or the Emperor Garsi, I will hold him above the pit of Gacanie."[5]

And Clarel said, "Thou speakest as a fool of him who is the best of all the paynims. And how full is thy heart of iniquity and wrath! Nevertheless I am prepared", said he, "to maintain against thee, provided there be only one against one, that thy baptism, the Christianity thou hast embraced, the mass intoned by thy priest and the oblation he offers, are not worth a single pea as compared with our law, and that Mahomet is better than the son of the Lady Mary."

Then Otuel replied to him, "Clarel", said he, "the devils have taken full possession of thee. And if it be thy wish to defend Mahomet against me, make sure of this —that their anger rest not on thee.[6] For I myself will [W.T., p. 58.]

[1] "Die"; *Karl. Saga* "en mother min het Dia"; Fr. T. "Ludie", p. 44, v. 15.

[2] "Ymbuw"; Fr. T. "en ma vie".

[3] "Ath ynuydawd"; Fr. T. "enchanté es", p. 44, v. 22; "Foully there thou wichede was", E. Sir Ott., stanza 96.

[4] "Oer wasgar"; Fr. T. "mal dehez", p. 45, v. 6.

[5] "Pwll gacanie"; *Karl. Saga* "Tha skal ek hengja ykkr vith in hæsta gálga in dalnum Gatanie". "Pwll gacanie" may stand for "pwll *coginio*" (roasting pit). Cf. Fr. T. "Que ne te pende en haut, comme une espie".

[6] Fr. T. "Fai moi séur qu' il ne remaigne en toi", p. 45, v. 23.

defend God and the Catholic Faith." To that the Saracen raised his hand in assent. And he himself pledged his troth faithfully that he would not delay without coming to the battle.

Then Clarel and his people entered the city, and Otuel, together with the Franks, returned to the meadow, and there they formed quarters, encamped and pitched their tents. And they kindled a fire and buried the dead with honour, and made the doctors attend the wounded.[1]

To the tent of Charles came Otuel, and Duke Neimus held his stirrup while he dismounted. And the princess searched his ribs on both sides lest he might have received wound or blow that might cause him future trouble. And when he was disarmed she kissed him thrice. And then said Charles to him, "My godson", said he, "thou hast a gracious mistress." "Sire", said he, "to God be the praise for it. And that will be the ransom[2] of the paynims ere summer is ended."

And that night the men of Burgundy and Germany kept watch over them. And Charles and his host slept securely that night. And in like manner the Saracens, on their part, kept watch. And they kept sounding their horns and shouting until after sunrise on the morrow.

Clarel, nevertheless, rose up as the day began to cast forth its bright beams. And he went out of his chamber to don his armour. And Ganor of Montbrant and Melions, and Apolin the great, a man not wanting in stature—he was four feet higher than a giant[3]—went to equip him.[4] First of all they put on him a double coat of mail which in their opinion no weapon could break, or separate one ring from another. However, if Otuel could come so near to him that he might smite him with Curceus, his coat of mail would be no security to him for his life. On his head

[1] "Leches come that couthe one booke
Woundede men for to loke
to salue tham of thaire sare."
E. Sir Ott., stanza 99.

[2] "Prit"; Fr. T. "Comparront".

[3] "Mwy oed aruod pedeir gweith no chawr"; *Karl. Saga* "hann var four fotum hæri en risi".

[4] "A vuant wrth wisgaw dano"; "wrth" = Lat. "ut"; cf. "yr archescyb a elwit yr llys *wrth* wisgaw y goron ar ben y brenhin", "Ystorya Bren y Bryt", *Bruts*, p. 201; ("archipraesules ad palatium ducuntur *ut* regem diademate regali coronarent", Geoffrey's *Hist. Brit.*, Lib. ix, cap. 13, p. 133).

they put the helmet of King Briant, made neither of iron, nor steel, nor wood, nor silver, but solely of a serpent's head.[1] And engraved on it were Jupiter, Tervagant, and Mahomet in the form of a golden youth. These were their gods and on them they continually called, and to them they prayed. And through those he thought to escape scathless out of battle. And then about his neck they placed a strong and heavy shield, with no wood in it, throughout of dressed leather. Eighteen broad-headed nails of pure gold adorned the circle of its boss. And then they brought him a stout lance and on it a standard of red satin finely embroidered.[2] [W.T., p. 59.]

Charles and Clarel.

And the Emperor Charles also rose up early. And he went for recreation[3] and to take the air along the banks of the river called Toon. And some of the high barons of his court were with him in privacy.[4] Roland was there, and Duke Neimus, and Oliver, and Otuel.

And thereupon Clarel asked them, while he was still standing in the stream, "Who of you will come from there? Is the hoary-headed Charles there with you?"

And the emperor replied, "Yes, prince", said he, "I am King Charles. And what dost thou want with me?"

"I will tell thee", said Clarel, "Alack the day thou wert ever born,[5] and may the curse of God rest upon the parents who caused thee to be born unto the world, for the greatness of the pain thou art continually inflicting upon those of our law, oppressing and despoiling them. That will not go unavenged upon thee. Now thy crown and all that appertains to it, and thy sceptre, will be given to the bravest knight that was ever born, namely, to Florient of Sulie. Henceforth he shall be king in France."

[1] "His creste was of a neddere hede." E. Sir Ott., stanza 101.

[2] The translator of the *Otuel-Song* in *Karl. Saga* evidently had the same original before his eye as the translator of the W. T. The description of the various equipments is almost word for word in both versions.

[3] "Ychware." For "chware" see Zeuss, p. 1056, Ox. i, (Ov.) 38[a]; Fr. T. "deporter".

[4] "Yn ysgyuaelach"; Fr. T. "O lui de ses privez", p. 47, v. 5; Lat. "secrete", W. T., p. 6.

[5] "Gwaethiroed duw eiryoet dy eni"; Fr. T. "Je maudi l'oure que tu fuz onques nez", p. 47, v. 14; For note on the words, see p. 120, note 2; cf. W. T., p. 30.

Said the king in reply, "Too much hast thou said, paynim, and well hast thou been taught to deride. Nevertheless the land, the brave men and the caparisoned horses are still mine. I have already taken fifteen kings, and have subdued them by my power. And I verily promise thee on my faith that these forces shall not leave me until I have taken Garsi, and both subdued and destroyed his city."

And then Clarel said, "The devils in thee caused thee [W.T., p. 60.] to utter these words. Thou canst never more do that. Too many already hast thou destroyed of them and forced to the faith. For thy head betimes is grey, and so also thy beard, and thou hast made an end of doing brave deeds. Henceforth no battle will be fought for thy sake, no shield broken, and what hast thou betimes but a breastbone? In sooth they ought to smite thee dead with an old pan."[1]

The king was very much mortified and angry at these words. And he looked at the Franks around him, and he bade Gaudin sharply to bring him his armour.

And then Otuel said to him, "Sire", said he, "moderate thy wrath, and for my love recall thy mind. For I have pledged my troth to fight with him. And I wish thee to listen to me. It is I who maintain that Mahomet ought not to be honoured. He hears not, he sees not. And if the devil is alive in hell, he is with the other devils. All his power and might are not worth three empty egg shells.[2] And to the devils commend I that dead body. And he maintains that neither our Christianity nor our baptism is worth more. And by the baptism I received and the faith I have embraced, unless thou wilt grant me this battle, I will henceforth never more love thee."

"By this glove", said the king, "I grant it thee." And he held out the glove to him. "And may He strengthen thee, Who for us suffered pain on the cross."

And then Clarel understood that their words were confirmed, and he said to him angrily, "O deceiver, why didst thou renounce Mahomet and the faith and the holy law which it was necessary for thee to observe, by whom

[1] Fr. T. "Pieça déusses estre à i pel tuez", p. 48, v. 8; "padell", from Lat. "patella".

[2] W. T., "tri wy piledic"; Fr. T. "Tot son pooir ne vaut, ii aux pelez", p. 48, v. 24.

he who serves him shall attain to the recompense of it—to the supreme joy of the place where we all shall go. And he who serves him well shall go to Paradise without let or hindrance. Your God whom ye call Jesus will be taken and cast into prison as a thief and traitor. And thou thyself shall be cast into the slough of hell,[1] where thieves are wont to lie. After that no escape will ever be possible to thee. Go, quickly, don thine armour, and I will call thee a thief, and one worthy of death."

"And I", said Otuel, "will defend myself against thee."

And the courteous Franks then led Otuel under an [W.T., p. 61.] olive tree to equip him. First, Roland put on him a good double coat of mail, and on his head he then placed the helmet of King Galier, who conquered Babilon in battle. Oliver girded his sword Curceus to his thigh, and placed a strong and beautiful shield on his neck. And Estut of Lengres brought him the lance and the banner of King Lear. The point of the lance was good and bright, and its shaft was of laurel wood.

Droon of Mont d'Eidyr fixed his spurs on his feet, and Belisent held his horse, and she kissed him thrice. And he then mounted his horse and addressed her: "O gentle lady,[2] I go now to avenge the blood of our Lord, and to uphold His faith, and to cover with shame and confusion the faithless paynims, and thy love shall they buy most dearly." "Sire", said she, "may God, Who can strengthen thee, be thy defence." And to the Archbishop he went to receive his blessing, and to be sprinkled with holy water.[3]

The Duel between Otuel and Clarel.

And then Otuel departed from his host, and he raised his lance on his shoulder and passed through the water. And Clarel came to meet him. And he addressed him with a loud voice in this wise, "Traitor and robber", said he, "renounce thy faith, and if thou wilt not, evil betide thee coming to me[4] into the field to be killed and cut limb from limb in a shameful manner. And after that thy people will avail thee nought."

[1] "Sybwll uffern"; Fr. T. "Souz Tartarie", p. 49, v. 10.

[2] "Unbennes uonhedic"; Fr. T. "Dame".

[3] "Dwfwr swyn"; Fr. T. "eve saintisme". "*Swyn*" from Lat. "signum". "Dwfr swyn" = water *signed* with the *sign* of the cross.

[4] W. T. "kam yw it kyrchu attaf"; Fr. T. "Mar i passastes".

"Dost thou still think that Mahomet ought to be called God, and that all the world ought to serve and honour him for ever and ever? And that he can never be put to shame on the cross?"

"I do so", said Clarel, "and as for Him to Whom thou hast gone, Who was born of the woman in Bethlehem, compared with Mahomet, He is not worth a spur."

"By Heavens",[1] said Otuel, "thou liest, infernal traitor, and I will fight and will vanquish thee and thus shew that Jesus has all the power, and that none save He ought to be called God. Dishonour and disgrace will come to Mahomet and all his crew, and to thee also for praying thus to Him. And by the Lord who suffered on the cross, if thou wilt wait for me, I will deal thee a blow with my sword Curceus, that thou shalt fall by it."

And then Otuel spurred the Arab horse that was under him, and Clarel likewise his horse, Turnevent,[2] and both dashed into the fray. Each smote the other through his shield and all his armour until their coats of mail stopped their lances. Time after time they charged at each other, and laboured angrily endeavouring each to smite the other down. Finally fixing themselves firmly in the saddle, they made a rush at each other, and each smote [W.T., p. 62.] the other so that their girths broke and their breast bands, and they both fell to the ground.

Roland thereupon smiled and said to Belisent, "So help me God, for amusement[3] not worse is this attack than a sweet melody sung, or played on harp or pipe."

"Lord God", said Belisent in reply, "how bitter and sad is my heart, fearing for him I love the best. To God and the Lady Mary do I commend him."

The paynims also rode up to them and cried with a loud voice, and prayed Mahomet to defend the paynim from the Christian. And then Clarel drew Melle his sword and Otuel likewise Curceus his sword, and they attacked each other furiously. And they dealt heavy blows on their helmets until fire flew from them and from their swords, and it kindled the grass in the field as if a big consuming fire[4] had been put under it. The Saracen

[1] "Y rof a Duw"; lit. "between me and God".

[2] Middlehill MS. "E. Clarel broche son destrier Turnevent." See Fr. T., p. 91.

[3] "Herwyd digrifwch."

[4] "Godeith"; Fr. T. "Li feus en saut sus l'erbe verdoiant", p. 51, v. 25.

was bold and very brave. He raised Melle on high and struck Otuel on his helmet. However, he could not break it in the least, because of its hardness. Nevertheless, so great was the blow that it brought Otuel down on his knees.

"O Lady Mary",[1] cried Charles, "protect thy gentle[2] knight, who is fighting to maintain thy law and uphold the Catholic faith."

Thereupon Otuel jumped up nimbly and held his shield in front before him, and dealt Clarel a consummate blow so that he smote off the fourth part of his helmet and hood of double mail and also his face, so that his teeth showed white in his mouth. And he said to him, "By God", said he, "thus ought a man to exchange, by giving a halfpenny for a penny and a heavy blow for a box on the ear.[3] Thou art now like a fellow grinning. Alphanie will no longer need thee and will not have thee, and thou wilt never more find a maid to kiss thee."

Then the Saracen knew that he had been shamefully [W.T., p. 63.] and severely wounded, and that never more would he be a peer in court. And Melle being in his hand with its hilt of gold, he dealt Otuel a blow with it. Would that God of His own goodness would defend him as Charles and all his barons besought Him!

Otuel, however, was not frightened[4] at that. More bold was he than a lion which had been bound nine meal-times without food. He put his shield on his head, and Clarel smote it like a madman,[5] and he cut through his shield and the helmet all of gold to the hood of mail.[6] And if that had not been so strong, never more would he be challenged to fight. Nevertheless, so much did he press on the hood of mail that the blood gushed out through the rings.[7]

"By my faith", said Otuel, "that blow went much too far. I see now that thou dost not love me at all. By the Lady Mary I will repay it to the same degree unless more

[1] Fr. T. "Sainte Marie".

[2] "Lletneis"; Fr. T. "cortois".

[3] Fr. T. "Dit Otinel: Issi doit on changier
Cop por colée, maille por denier."—p. 52.

[4] "Arneigio"; Fr. T. "espoentez", p. 52.

[5] "Ual dyn y maes oe synnwyr"; Fr. T. "Com hom desmesurez".

[6] "Ar helym ac aoed oll [o aur] hyt y pennlluruc." So amend the text after the French, "L'elme li fent qui est à or gemmez, Jusqu' à la coife", etc., Fr. T., p. 53.

[7] Fr. T. "Parmi la bouche li est le sanc volez", p. 53, v. 5.

be acceptable; and, unless thou defendest thyself, more still, so that no doctor can doctor thee."

And then Otuel rolled his eyes with rage, and he dealt him a heavy blow with Curceus and smote him through the helmet, all his armour, and his body, and right through his heart. And the sword up to the embossed parts[1] came in contact with the earth. And the body, in that it could no longer stand, fell down dead, and his soul went to hell, crying and cursing Mahomet, his lord.

And Otuel said, "Monjoie, my fame will henceforth spread abroad.[2] Because of my love for Belisent, woe be to the paynims."

For that encounter, joyful were the victorious Franks, and sad and sorrowful the Saracens.[3]

Garsi enters the list and is made prisoner.

The tidings came immediately to King Garsi that the Saracen Clarel had been vanquished and slain, and thereupon he was filled with anger. Never before felt he so sad. And he made lamentation for him, "O Clarel, what a sad thing it is for me to lose thee. And he who slew thee hath made me sad at heart. O Alfanie, my child, never shalt thou find such love as his. And if I will not avenge him, then regard me as not worth a straw."[4]

And he took his horn Duceloi and blew it mightily, and seven thousand other horns[5] responded to it. And by means of those horns twenty thousand[6] of the paynims were brought together, and with these they formed the vanguard,[7] and of those in the rear no reckoning was ever [W.T., p. 64.] made nor of those behind them.[8] And they were all threatening the hoary-headed Charles, and Roland and his companion Oliver.

And then Charles also assembled his host, and as one

[1] "Cloynneu."

[2] Fr. T. "Monjoie escrie hautement en oiant", p. 53, v. 21.

[3] The Otuel-Story in both *Karl. Saga* and *K. K. K.* ends here.

[4] Fr. T. "Si ne te venge, ne me prise un festu", p. 55, v. 3.

[5] "Seith mil o gyrn"; Fr. T. "Plus de iii^{m}".

[6] "Ugein mil"; Fr. T. "xxx^{m}".

[7] "Y vydyn vlaen"; Fr. T. "premerain".

[8] "Ar *Iarll* a vei yn ol o hynny ny riuit vyth yn *iarll* wedy hynny." This gives no meaning in this connection. For "*iarll*" read "*lleill*" —"ar lleill a vei yn ol o hynny ny riuit vyth na'r lleill wedi hynny"— as Fr. T. "Del *cels* derier n'i a *conte* tenu. Tant en i a ainc tant n'en fu véu."

well versed in fighting he put them in battle array, and formed them in columns. They were, at the least estimate, twenty thousand strong.[1] And Roland was set in command of the van, the column composed of Franks, men who would fight of their own accord, and would subdue the paynims in a right worthy fashion.

After the emperor had arrayed his forces, and had equipped each man as he himself could wish, he mounted a high and swift[2] horse, and fixed himself firmly in the saddle. And he called Neimus, and said to him, smiling,[3] "Gentle duke", said he, "bring me my lance. A hundred such services hast thou rendered me. And I will repay thee according to thine own desire. I will give thee the horse upon which thou hast for so long set thine heart, and I will make thee lord of seven strong castles which I give thee by this glove.[4] And as witness for thee in this matter take Earl Guinemant, Rotolt of Berche, and Geoffrey of Normandy."

"Sire", said he, "I accept it, and accept it in such a way that thou shalt not lose anything by it."

Thereupon the Franks set out in columns as they were. And Otuel went and equipped himself anew. And Belisent brought him a new helmet and shield. Gerin of Saint Omer, Fromont of Artois, and Guarin of Montcler, went with him to put on[5] his armour.

Thereupon he remounted his horse and took a lance with a conspicuous banner in his hand to encourage the Franks, and he called on all to blow their horns. And this they did, both loud and clear, and they began to march towards Atalie.[6]

The paynims also assembled their forces and came to meet the Franks. No one, however, could estimate their number, save that at the least they numbered a hundred for every one of the Christians.[7] And Garsi raised his

[1] Fr. T. "A xx$^{m.}$ homes est la menor esmée", p. 55, v. 18.

[2] "Ymdeithic"; Fr. T. "corant".

[3] "Dan chwerthin"; Fr. T. "en oiant", not as usually, "en riant".

[4] "Gan y *vanec hon*"; Fr. T. "par *cest gant*", p. 56, v. 2. The glove was employed in olden times as a symbol. To throw down the glove was a challenge. To tender the glove was a sign of submission. To extend the glove was to put anyone in possession of property, office, or mission.

[5] "Wrth" = Lat. "ut".

[6] "Parth ac *Atalie*"; Fr. T. "Vers la *bataile* commencent à aler."

[7] Fr. T. "A i des noz en puet on iii conter", p. 56, v. 24.

standard on high. And the paynims said, "Let us go and break our lances on their shields and joust with them."

[W.T., p. 65.] And in front[1] went the esquires[2] of France, young and active,[3] and as many as wished to hold land there were to acquire it at the points of their lances and swords. Then could all of them make manifest their bravery and their prowess. And they said, "The field is ours. Easily can we vanquish them."

And for a short time before the encounter they all, both Franks and Saracens, rode furiously. A Saracen of Turkey, called Marchides, came forth out of the host[4] and asked leave[5] of King Garsi to kill with the first blow Roland, or Oliver, or Otuel, whichever he met first. None other would he seek. He was mounted on a jet black horse as full of spirit as the knight could wish. He was fully equipped with costly armour.[6] And his robe of honour[7] was similar to that of Ordivant. All his armour, and his horse Aligot, were covered all over with black sendal so that nothing of them was visible. Fastened to his arm was a brass staff,[8] which the daughter of Corsabres,[9] a king from the East, gave him that morning with a smile. And for love of the maiden, he entered the fray with such daring and energy that he lost his life ere the midday horn was sounded in the city. In his hand he grasped a straight and firm lance, tipped with a broad, keen, glittering head, and with its glorious pennon streaming in the air, secured to the lance with four silver nails. He pricked his horse with his spurs, and came towards the Franks. And he raised his voice on high, and said, "Where art thou Roland? To-day, again, will I make thee very sad. I will fight with thee, provided there be only I and thou, and thus shew that Frankland belongs to us, that Garsi is duly king of it, and of all kings, and

[1] "Racdu"; Fr. T. "avant".

[2] "Ygweisson yeueinc"; Fr. T. "bacheler"=those who have not yet been knighted.

[3] "Amysgawn"; Fr. T. "legier".

[4] "Neilltuwys . . . . y wrth y llu"; Fr. T. "de l'ost se part", p. 57.

[5] "Erchi . . . . y uanec"; Fr. T. "a demandé le gant", "he askede leue at Sir Garcy there." E. Sir Ott., stanza 114.

[6] "Arueu mawrweirthawc"; Fr. T. "de chieres armes".

[7] "Cwnsallt"; Fr. T. "drap de soie".

[8] "Ffon bres oed wrth y vreich"; Fr. T. "D'une manche ot i gofanon pendant", p. 57.

[9] "Verch corsabres vrenhin"; Fr. T. "La fille al roi Garsande".

that Charles will not have any part or parcel of it. And come thou quickly to defend it against me if thou canst."

When Roland heard this he was moved with rage, and his countenance changed.[1] And he lifted his lance on his shoulder, put his shield in front, and spurred his horse against the Turk. Doubtless then there would be an encounter between the two knights. The forces on both sides were coming together. The most timid of the Franks wished to be in the front to witness the combat.

Thereupon Marchides made an attack on Roland and [W.T., p. 66.] pierced him with his lance through the boss[2] of his shield, and through all his armour and apparel as far as his shirt, and so that he lost the stirrup of his right foot,[3] and he put his mark on him.[4] Nevertheless this availed him nought, for he snapped his lance. And Roland smote him with his full force above the front saddle-bow,[5] so that neither the staff he had for love, nor his coat of mail, nor any other part of his armour, availed him a single straw. The lance pierced his breastbone and clave his heart asunder, and he fell down dead. And Roland cried loudly, "Monjoie!" and tersely remarked, so that the paynims could hear, "I knew thee for certain", said he, "and I knew that never in France wouldest thou hold a court.[6] Charles is rightfully king, and to him belongs the land, and thou hast lost it."

"By Mahomet", said Moafle, a paynim, "we have lost this knight also, and may I be killed unless I avenge him."

And Moafle made an attack[7] on Oliver, and the Count spurred his horse Fauel towards him. And the Saracen dealt him a heavy blow, so that his shield was bent and broken, and he smote off at least a hundred rings of his double hauberk and caused the blood to run down to the ground out of his side.

And thereupon Oliver, in pain and anger, smote him, and neither shield, nor coat of mail, nor any other part of

[1] "Symudwys annwyt a lliw o lit"; Fr. T. "si taint de mautalant", p. 58.

[2] "Bogel"; Fr. T. "la boucle".

[3] Fr. T. "Le destre estrier li a du pié tolu", p. 58, v. 18.

[4] "A dot not arnaw ynteu"; Fr. T. "enpaint le bien".

[5] "Y goryf vlaen"; "Coryf". For derivation see Loth *sub voce*; Fr. T. "desouz la boucle".

[6] "Cynhelit dadleu." For "dadleu" cf. "dadleudy" (court of justice). Fr. T. "plet tenu", p. 58.

[7] "Dwyn rhuthr"; Fr. T. "s'eslesse", p. 59, v. 3.

his armour, availed him the value of a penny, and thus he fell down dead.

"Monjoie!" he cried, and bade his fellow knights henceforth deal noble blows.

And then the Franks, the men of Lamer, of Loringes, of Almaen, of Puer, of Normandy, of Firks, of Flanders, and of Berner, measured their swords with the paynims. And the Christians had great joy, and caused tumult in lowering the banners of the faithless.

The daring young esquires of free choice sought the front. No need was there then for the craven-hearted. They pierced the shields and tore the coats of mail, and made their lances red in their blood. Both barons and knights fell down dead. And their horses coursed furiously along the mountain. And the discreet young esquires caught plenty of them, and found them afterwards when their need of them was most urgent.

[W.T., p. 67.] And then, when the two armies joined in battle, forthwith they snapped their lances. They then drew their swords and dealt hard blows, and broke the glittering helmets and the gold-embroidered[1] coats of mail. And they fell down, some writhing, desperately wounded, and shouting and lamenting bitterly, others dead, lying with mouths open, a thousand at least of them, having their heads separated from their bodies so that no man ever could put them together again.

Then from the standard of the Saracens a thousand men of Barbary advanced,[2] not one of whom but had on a double hauberk, a shield on his shoulder, a helmet on his head, and in his hand a costly banner of purple—red, or white, or blue. And Prince Alphan, of Palestine, commanded them, and he had on him the ensign of King Lepatin. Against this battalion Angevins and the men of Poitou advanced. And the Saracens shot at them with cross-bows, with poisoned arrows, diamond headed and barbed. Thus also did the men of Garsarin, with the result that the faithful suffered great loss.

Thereupon Otuel fixed himself firmly in his saddle and brandished his lance, attached to which was a red pennon.

[1] "Llurugeu *saffreit*."

[2] "Than kynge Alphane come in hye
With twenty thowsande of Barbarye,
That wele couthe wapyns bere."
E. Sir Ott., stanza 121.

And to anger[1] King Lepatin he smote his cousin[2] Alphan through his shield, his coat of mail, and all his other armour, and also through his very body, so that he fell down dead. And with him Geoffrey le Morin, Hugo de Sois, and the two sons of Guarin attacked with spears. Geoffrey killed the unbelieving paynim who was attacking Ovaratrin. Hugo de Sois killed Blansadrin, his own opponent.[3] And Do wreaked vengeance upon the paynim who killed Guinemant of Suline. With one blow he smote him down dead in the presence of Lepatin. "Monjoie!" he cried, and called out to the men of Poitou and said to them, "Neither Saracen nor paynim", said he, "will fight against us now."

And thereupon King Corsabret came down the slope of the mountain, having with him ten thousand foot-soldiers[4] under the command of Barbed, a Saracen. And Earl Alaen advanced against them, having with him four hundred regular Bretons. And Hoens of Nantes advanced fully equipped to support them. And Mallo said to him, "O gentle knight, have no respect for them, rather deal heavy blows all round."

Gui of Gustange came to them with seven hundred [W.T., p. 68.] javelin men. Troians, a Breton, attacked Malfront, a paynim, with a spear. This man had four pairs of winged darts, and the best pointed of these he hurled with his full force, and pierced his shield, his coat of mail, and his old armour, and pierced him in his thigh, so that the dart went through him in its flight. And Troians, a man of proven worth for daring and valour, dealt him a blow that no shield, or coat of mail, or any other part of his armour, could hinder his lance from passing through him. And so he fell down dead over his horse's crupper.

[1] "Ac *afregi bod* y lepatin vrenhin." For the force of *af-* compare *af*lan, *af*lawen, *af*lafar. "Regi bod"=rhyngu bodd. "*Rhyngu bodd* Duw" (Heb. xi, 5, 6)=*placere Deo* (Vulg.), cf. "ac ef a *reghi bod* idaw ef a anuones kwynwyr drwy holl roec", *Ystorya Dared*, *Bruts*, p. 11 (Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans). ("Et *placuit* ut per totam Graeciam conquisituri mitterentur." Daretis Phrygii *Historia*, cap. xi.)

[2] "Sir Otuell that noble man,
To his awenn cosin he ran."—*E. Sir Ott.*, stanza 121.

[3] "Y *gythreul* ynteu", from Lat. "contrarius".

[4] "And the Kynge Cursabolee
With thritty thousande of Turkee,
And alle one fote thay were."
E. Sir Ott., stanza 121.

And thereupon King Corsabret saw this engagement, and he came across and attacked Troians. And he smote him under his breast right through, and clave his heart asunder. And the knight fell down dead. And may God receive his soul, for the end is come.

Thereupon came Earl Alaen full of wrath and bitterly lamenting Troians. This was no wonder in his case, seeing that he was his nephew, a son of his sister. And he would have avenged him fully upon Corsabret had not Barrett, a Saracen, appeared on the scene and gone between them. And the noble earl gave the reins to his horse and went towards him. And he brandished his diamond-headed lance and smote him through his shield set with precious stones and many golden nails, and through all his equipment, and through his body, so that he fell down dead. And he said to him, "Take that", said he, "it would have been better for thee hadst thou stayed in the rear."

Favourable was that day to them, and had not the dust and sand risen up after midday, and darkened between them and the air, the Christians would have prevailed. The Saracens were then riding furiously, and they blew their horns and beat loud-sounding drums, and with earnestness of mind[1] rushed into the fray and pressed the Franks back a good bow shot.[2] And not a shield-bearer among them, during that time, could look back even once.

Then Lambert of Venges was killed, and Roul of Belueis was wounded by two winged darts, and he did not [W T., p. 69.] live long. And then were killed Pestru, Gui of Custance, and Cubaut Orne, and many others with them, so that their loss to the Franks was never afterwards made good.[3]

Thereupon a squire of the Franks, named Amiret, came. He was a rich young knight, the son of the rich Troun of Paris, and his father was now dead. During the winter he had mustered together a hundred young knights, the oldest of whom was only fifteen years of age.[4] They took

[1] "O dihewyt eu bryt", cf. "ac ufudhau aoruc y brenhin oe holl *dihewyt* y hynny"; *Ystorya Brenhined, Bruts*, p. 179. ("Paruit itaque rex *diligentem* que *animum* adhibuit"; Geoffrey's *Hist. Brit.*, Lib. viii, cap. 19, p. 117.)

[2] "Ane alblastire shott and mare."—*E. Sir Ott.*, stanza 122.

[3] The Welsh text on pp. 67, 68, 69 is very uncertain, and the translation consequently reflects it, there being no other printed text with which to compare it.

[4] "Five hundred men with him he broughte
Nas non *twenti* winter old."—*E. Otu.*, vv. 1447, 1449.

the armour of the slain and armed themselves with it. And of their fine linen they raised pennons.[1] And when they saw the Franks fleeing recklessly they met them and raised a shout all together, and made them return. And with very great force they compelled the paynims to retreat four times the space of a bow shot. And they smote them down brainless and dead, so that the field was full of them.

And King Corsabret was then resting near an old wall.[2] And he raised his battle cry, and bade the paynims rally to him. He put his shield in front and made for the Franks. And with all his might he fixed himself firmly in his saddle. His intention then was to cause great havoc among the Franks. Thereupon Amiret smote him on the top of his shield, and the blow glided off on the helmet and bent it in until it pressed on his eye and caused it intense pain. Indeed it nearly came out. And from the pain of the blow he became quite helpless.[3] And seeing that there was no one to help him, he gave himself up. Thereupon Amiret quickly took him, and called to him three young esquires, Gaudin, Sachet Unan, and Baldwin of Aigremont, and he said to them, "Noble esquires", said he, "take this king, and see that he be neither killed nor treated with disdain. And take him as a present from me to my lord, Charlemagne."

"Sire", said they in reply, "we will do what thou commandest with pleasure."

There were the Franks, who previously had been unhorsed, jousting bravely against the Saracen foot soldiers. A hundred of them, by the aid of the reinforcement, found their horses again. And then Hugo of Nantes turned his attention to Poldras.[4] The daring [W.T., p. 70.] of this paynim was boundless, and he had come of a nation crafty and great in strength. He and all his fellows were come from the land called Damasgun. He inspired all the Saracen maidens who saw him with love for, and with desire towards him. Much evil did he also

[1] "Of thaire clothes pensalles thay made."—*E. Sir Ott.*, stanza 123, v. 1474.

[2] "Magwyr", from Lat. "maceria".

[3] "Llibinaw", cf. W. T., p. 106, "yn llibin"; Fr. T. "estonez".

[4] Poldras is not found in any version except W. T. and E. Otu., *vide* Dr. Sachs' *Beiträge*, p. 31. "Poidras of Barbarin," E. Otu., v. 1487.

that day to the Franks. However, lamentation bitter enough was made for him that night in the city. Hugo smote him with his sword on his helmet, and clave through all his armour and his body also, right to his shoulders.[1] And he then fell down dead, and all his pride and daring ceased. And Hugo called aloud his war cry, "Walso", and all the Bretons came back. Would to God that Otuel had been then with him! For had he been, he would have sought the standard of the men of Barbary, and the fighting in that direction of the field would have ceased with that. He was, however, not found there. For he was among the Turks, and thrice he went as far as their standard, and he smote off the heads of four kings in seeking it.[2]

Then King Garsi said to Heraperant, a paynim for whom God had no love, "My dear brother", said he, "I am very sad and sore for my barons whom Otuel killed, mine eyes beholding him slaying them. I shall die of anger and anguish unless I can hang him on high. Charlemagne does me wrong in taking possession of my land and my wealth against my will, and in exercising kingly authority without my consent. And unless to-day I overcome him and his army, never more will I desire to be in Frankland."[3]

"Sire", replied Heraperant, "threaten him well.[4] Behold he is here nigh to thy hand, and his people are pressing us beyond measure and almost vanquishing us, and we are in very great fear of his nephew Roland. I saw to-day, at the outset of the battle, where he struck Balant on the top of his helmet so that his sword clave through it and all his armour, and smote him to the ground. And I myself had such fear of him that I fled the whole field from him."

Then the king called Beldnit of Aquilant and bade him, saying, "Take, if thou canst, a hundred Turks, and guard them lest any of them flee. Whosoever of them fleeth see [W.T. p. 71.] thou that he has neither honour nor heritage among the paynims while he lives."

[1] "And smot Poidras of Barbarin
That there he lay as a stiked swin."—*E. Otu.*, vv. 1501-2.

[2] See Fr. T., p. 62, vv. 7, 8, 9, 12, 13.

[3] Fr. T. "Jamès en France ne doit clamer .i. gant", p. 62.

[4] "Bygythya dithau ef yngwbyl"; Fr. T. "C'alez vos menaçant", p. 62.

Thereupon was heard the tumult of men and horses. Heavy were the blows dealt, and severe was the fighting. Then Roland went along the host to cut down the Saracens and to break their ranks with Durendal, and to pay evil recompense to whom such was due. Then was much brave smiting done with their sharp swords by the men of Bavier, of Ymund, of Almaen, of Burgundy, of Flanders, of Normandy, and of Frankland.

The Saracens also dealt blows immeasurably great, and kept their standards flying, having neither thought nor intention of fleeing, and having regard for no truce, nor peace, nor agreement. Whosoever fell among them or was killed, evil was his fate.

Thereupon Otuel came riding by, and he saw Guinemant, having been cast to the ground by three opponents,[1] Saracens from Persia. And they were about to kill him, when he spurred his horse towards them. Two of them he killed, and the third betook himself to flight. And he took a swift and well-fed destrier which belonged to one of the slain, and gave it to Guinemant. And the earl nimbly mounted it without putting his hand on the saddle-bow, and said to him, "Sire", said he, "great kindness and strength hast thou displayed in my case. It was an evil day that the paynims ever knew thy prowess. May God bless thee for thy horse. I was in a narrow strait when thou didst defend me from them." And he drew his sword, whose hilt was of silver, and with the first blow smote off the head of a Saracen Turk.

Then Otuel called "Monjoie!" and went among the paynims. And he smote them and clave them as the moonlight cleaves the air or wind.[2]

And then there met together Roland, Oliver, Estut, Engeler, Guarin of Normandy, Geoffrey of Anjou, and Rocold the Almaen,[3] each ever fighting as before. "O God, the Father Almighty", said Otuel, "how I found these companions I went to seek!"

When the valiant knights had assembled together, they battered their enemies' arms and broke them in pieces, [W.T., p. 72]

[1] "Cythreul", from Lat. "contrarius".

[2] Fr. T., p. 64, v. 21, etc.

[3] "Olivier trove et Turpin et Rollant
Et Engiller et Gautier le Normant,
Jefrei d'Anjou e Hernaut l'Alemant."
Fr. T., p. 64, vv. 26-28.

which could no more withstand them than if they were dry stalks.[1] And they dealt such blows on their helmets that one could not hear with his ears the thunder[2] of heaven, because of the loud clashing of the weapons.

Thereupon the men of Arabia, of Persia, of Mehans, of Turkey, and of Africa became mightily afraid of them. And King Garsi was in their midst riding from place to place continually.

Then the Emperor Charles went up to the top of a bank to see his bodyguard hastening[3] the death of the faithless.

Were it not for Ogier the Dane there would have been no one but joyful there. He was bound with chains in the Saracen prison. His hands and his feet, however, were free, and he was bound round his waist, with seven knights watching him secretly. And then Ogier said to the knights, "Sires, I pray you, slacken these chains a little, for they cause me intense pain about my heart, and shame be to him who is merry." "Only a fool would speak thus", replied the knights, "and by Mahomet, if thou speakest another word, we will bind thy hands and thy feet so that afterwards thou shalt nevermore be free as long as thou livest. For we know thou art not to be trusted, never a day in thy life."

And when Ogier heard this threat he became very much enraged. And having found a big plank[4] of wood he rose up and with that, at one blow, he killed four of them. And the other three he cast over the high tower that they broke their necks when they reached the ground. And he broke the chains around him and freed himself. Having done this he went to the stable as quickly as he could, and saddled for himself the finest horse he saw there and bridled it. For he had no squire to attend on him.[5] And having found trusty arms he donned them until he was

[1] "Calaf", from Lat. "calamus".

[2] "Tyrueu", from Lat. "turba"; Fr. T. "Dieu tonant", p. 65, v. 6.

[3] "Dyfrysdyaw", from "dy" and "ffrystio", cf. "frystie", *Ystorya Dared, Bruts*, p. 33, and "maturo"=to hasten, accelerate; *Daretis Phrygii Hist.*, p. 47, vide W. T., p. 54.

[4] "Ystyllen", from Lat. "astilla", vide *Loth*, p. 134; E. Sir Ott. "a nastell schide", v. 1547.

[5] The English "Otuel" (stanza 197) tells us that Ogier had "a noble skuier", who, "brougte Ogger . . . his swerd and his armure brigt"; Fr. T., however, reads as W.T., "n'i ot autre escuier", p. 68, v. 9.

fully equipped[1] and he then mounted his horse. And he said with a loud voice, "I go now to the battlefield to support my companions and you may follow me the best way you can. You may, however, ask me that in fairness I should return to-morrow, if God defends me from evil until then."

And he spurred his horse out through the gate and followed the road to the field of battle. And when he reached the field he immediately found Roland, Gwalter of Orleans, Duke Neimus, Otuel, and Garnier. And the earls welcomed him with great joy, and each embraced him. And Ogier told them that he felt quite well and [W.T., p. 73.] lively, and that he never was in better condition to deal a knight a blow.

And when these valiant jousters had met and shewn their joy for Ogier, they increased the clamour and the tumult. They entered the fray and fought anew as if they had thrown off their weariness. And they immediately killed a hundred of the paynims and sent them to hell in pain and sorrow.

And when King Garsi saw this, and that he had no one to support him, he knew that no plan could be adopted to bring him success, and that he could not hold his present position, so he fell back and betook himself in flight, as best he could, towards the city. And as Otuel was riding in a wide valley with his shield on his back, and his sword Curceus in his right hand, he saw Garsi fleeing secretly.[2] And he rode towards him. And when he came nigh him he said, "Sire king", he said, "art thou going to feed all these Franks to-night? Art thou going now to put some fat bacon to boil for them with pease? They will not eat such food as that for a thousand marks[3] of gold. Seek some other dishes,[4] for that is the food of rustic drovers."[5]

The king thereupon became very angry because of

[1] "Aruev diogel . . . yn gyweir"; Fr. T. "Armez s én est à loi de chevalier", p. 68.

[2] "Ynffo yndirgeledic"; Fr. T. "s'en fuit à celée", v. 8.

[3] "Uorkeu"; Fr. T. "mars" (marks).

[4] "Anrheg"=a dish or mess of meat; Fr. T. "*mès*".

[5] Middlehill MS. "Pur De, dit il, dite mei, sire reis:
Devez anuit conréer ces Franceis?
Alez vos querre or le cras lard as peis?
Nel mangereient por mil mars d'or keneis;
Altre mès feites, ço est manger à burgeis."
Fr. T., p. 91.

these words. And he spurred his horse towards him with the intention of avenging these words fully, when his horse fell, and, willing or unwilling, he fell clumsily down to the ground and broke his right arm in two pieces. And ere he could regain his feet Roland approached him and took him by the hands. And never was he as glad as that for anything.

And the king said to them, "Sires, barons", said he, "kill me not I pray you. Behold, I surrender to you. Spare me my life."

[W.T., p. 74.] Then Roland and Otuel took him and brought him as a present to Charlemagne. And he sent him in advance, to prison in Paris. The Franks never after forgot him nor the battle. Ere vespers were ended or the sun had gone to its chamber,[1] they had won the field and taken the city into their possession.[2]

THE SONG OF ROLAND.[3]

And when Garsi had been taken and had been sent to prison in Paris, Marsli took the government of Spain. To him sixteen kings of the faithless paynim people were subject. And when Marsli perceived that he could not withstand Charles, he thought with all his ingenuity how he could be at peace with him. He sent to Charles asking him to send two men of judgment to report to him the terms of the peace he would make with him.

And on this embassy[4] Charles sent to him two noble brothers, Bazin and Bazil, and bade them tell Marsli to

[1] "Yn y hadeu."

[2] Fr. T. "Ainz qu'il soit vespre ne soleil resconsez
Les ont vaincuz et prise la citez"; p. 72, vv. 26, 27.

[3] The Song of Roland, as found in the Hergest MS., is an early version of the romance, and is one of the finest of the versions, fuller in life and interest than any other, the speeches being longer and description of battles shorter. The Welsh Text contains only Part i of the French song, viz., "The treason of Ganelon", stanzas i to cxlii. The first portion of the story, as found on p. 74 of W. T., does not correspond with the version of the *Chanson de Roland* (stanzas i to xiii) as published by Stengel and Gautier. The latter is more closely followed in the Hengwrt MS. The Hergest MS. relates there the story of the embassy of Bazin and Bazil, not found in the French *chanson* nor in the Hengwrt MS. But from stanza xiv to stanza cxlii the two versions are in the main identical, episode for episode, though the variants are very numerous.

[4] Vide *Karl. Saga*, p. 46, and *K. K. K.*, p. 17.

renounce Mahomet and all their gods, as they were not worth a single garlic, and to come to him and receive baptism, and accept the Christian faith,[1] and he would give him one-half of Spain free and in peace, and the other half to his nephew Roland, free for ever, to him and his heir, and that Marsli should come and place his hands within Charles' hands in a state of homage for it.

Then the messengers went to Saragossa,[2] where Marsli was, having with him one hundred thousand[3] equipped knights. And having come into the presence of Marsli, they delivered their message[4] as Charles had commanded them. And Marsli, having heard, became exceedingly[5] angry with them, and had them put to death in a most cruel manner. And when the news was reported to Charles that Bazin and Bazil had suffered a most cruel death at the hands of Marsli, he led his hosts to Spain, seeking Marsli.

One day, as Beligant was marching with Marsli, he said to him, "Lord Marsli", said he, "seeing that we cannot withstand Charles and his forces by our power, we must think of some new trick by which to oppose him."

"Tell me, then, thy plan", replied Marsli. As the highest and wisest[6] under Marsli, Beligant said, "My [W.T., p. 75.] Lord, Charles is old and feeble, as his grey hair testifies. And the older a man is, the more covetous he is naturally of present gains. And if we could by our ornate eloquence promise peace so that he would return to France, he would never more in his lifetime trouble himself to acquire the land of Spain. And therefore, my Lord, as we have precious stones, gold, white lions, and white bears, let us send valuable presents to all the Franks in common. For it is greed that inclined them towards this worthless

[1] Cf. "Quod baptismum subiret, et imperiis Caroli subjaceret et urbem amplius ab illo teneret." *Turpin*, chap. xix. And Ch. de R.

"Si recevrez la lei de chrestiens,
Ses hom serez par amur et par bien,
Trestute Espagnie tendrez de lui en fiet."
vv. 38-39a (Stengel).

[2] "Sesar Augustum"; "Saragossa", from "Caesar Augusta".

[3] Ch. de R. "Envirun lui ad plus de *vint* milie humes", v. 13; *Karl. Saga* "ok umhverfis hann 100 thusunda manna".

[4] "Neges", from Lat. "negotium".

[5] "Odieithyr mod"="beyond measure", cf. W. T., p. 2; Lat. "ultra modum".

[6] "Henaduraf", from "henadur", cognate with Lat. "senator"; Ch. de R. "Blancandrins fut des plus saives paiens", v. 24; *Karl. Saga* "Hann var hinn vitrash mathr".

strip of land which belongs to us. And in addition, let us send them hostages, of the sons of our noblemen,[1] that they may trust in us without any misgiving. For it is incumbent upon us to buy our lives in every way we can find."

And then Marsli said, "To thee commit I that message. For thou wilt be able to convey it to the King of France in a most wise and plausible manner." And he gave into his possession the staff of gold which was in his hand. And then Beligant bowed his head and said, "By the help of Mahomet, I will fulfil that message as far as my ingenuity and skill will allow me, so that the land of Spain is set free from the everlasting bondage of the Franks."

Then went Beligant, a man of high degree, as envoy from Marsli to Charles, to say that he would come and receive baptism and submit to his sovereignty. And then Charles asked his council, "Doth it seem right to you to receive Marsli, who promises by Christ and Michael to receive baptism, and henceforth to hold his kingdom under me?"[2]

And when the king had ended his discourse, Roland rose up to reply to him according to his knowledge.[3] "Whosoever deceives once", said he, "will, if he can, deceive a second time. And he who trusts a second time in a deceiver deserves to be deceived. O king, great and noble, trust thou not in Marsli,[4] who has proved himself long since to be a deceiver. And has the treachery already escaped thy memory which he did thee when thou first camest to Spain? Many mighty kingdoms didst thou then destroy, and much of Spain didst thou acquire for thyself. And the same message[5] did Marsli send to thee then. Thou didst, at that time, send to him two of thy[6] barons, Bazin and Bazil, to receive an explanation of it from him, and the false king had them put to death. What is more just than that he should not be trusted now, while the massacre of these men is still unavenged? Let us go to Saragossa[7] while our forces are with us, and

[W T., p. 76.]

[1] "Andylyedogyon", "dyledog" (=noble); Ch. de R. "les filz de noz muilliers", v. 42. "Muilliers", from Lat. "mulieres".

[2] Ch. de R. "Chrestiens iert, de mei tiendrat ses marches", v. 190.

[3] "Herwyd y gwydat ef"; Hengwrt MS. "herwyd y dyall".

[4] Ch. de R. "Ja mar creirez Marsilie", v. 196.

[5] Ch. de R. "Nuncièrent vus cez paroles meismes", v. 204.

[6] "Deu oth wyrda"; Ch. de R. "Dous de voz cuntes", v. 207.

[7] "Cesar awgustwm."

let us not refrain from spending our life in defence of it. And disgrace should be our portion if we allow his infamy to go unavenged. And it is no easy task to believe that he is a faithful Catholic who is a false[1] paynim."

And[2] when Roland had finished his speech, Charles made no reply, but stroked[3] his grey beard which fell along his breast. And none of the Franks either assented or dissented, save Gwenwlyd.[4] He got up to oppose the counsel. "The counsel", said Gwenwlyd, "which inclines to haughtiness,[5] and hinders what is good and courteous, is not praiseworthy. And it is not well to reject anyone who desires peace and concord. He holds our blood and our death as worthless who urges[6] the rejection of Marsli from the faith of Christ and our own agreement. And the proposal he makes is without guile, seeing that he promises us hostages. For it is difficult to believe that a father would despise the life of his son,[7] though[8] they be paynims. Why does Roland remind a penitent of his deeds when he is coming to the right? God does not reject a penitent."

And after[9] Gwenwlyd's speech, Neimus[10] rose up before Charles. His grey hair, age, and gravity[11] showed that he was a man of judgment, and his scars and wounds proved that he was brave. "To suggest a course that makes for what is good and courteous", said he, "is worthy of praise and acceptation. Thou thyself, O noble king, hast heard Gwenwlyd's counsel, who seems to us to be advising what is good and courteous. Let a man of high degree be sent as messenger to Marsli, one of thine own barons, who is eloquent and clear-headed, to discuss with him and to bind him to his promises by sufficient hostages. If he con-

[1] "Ennwir"; Hengwrt MS. "yn wir".

[2] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 15.

[3] "Ymodi blew y uaryf lwyt"; Ch. de R. "Si duist sa barbe afaitat sun gernun", v. 215.

[4] Ch. de R. "Franceis se taisent, ne mais que Guenelun", v. 217.

[5] "Syberwyt", from Lat. "superbus"; Ch. de R. "Cunseilz d' orgoill", v. 228.

[6] "Ennyg" from "annog"; cf. "enfyn" from "anfon"; Ch. de R. "Ne li calt, sire, de quel mort nus moerium", v. 227.

[7] "Y neb"; Hengwrt MS. "y vab".

[8] "Kynn", vide *Zeuss*, p. 730.

[9] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 16.

[10] "Neimus", O. Fr. "Naimes". He is the Nestor of the *chansons*. He is always represented as old, prudent, and wise.

[11] "Prudder", from "prud", Lat. "prudens".

cedes that, it is right to trust in him and in all of them who wish to come into faithful agreement[1] with us." And by that advice they abode.[2]

[W.T., p. 77.] And then[3] the king asked what man of valour[4] and of judgment it would be most becoming to send there as envoy for that business. "I will go on that embassy", said Roland, "and I shall be most pleased if I am not denied to go."

Then Oliver said, "Roland", said he, "thy nature is too impulsive for that embassy, and thy pride could not brook the haughty words of Marsli without causing bloodshed. And, I pray thee, allow me to go on that embassy", said Oliver, "for my mind is more gentle than that of Roland to bear Marsli's words."

"Let neither of you beg[5] to go on that embassy", said Charles. "None of the twelve peers shall go on that mission."[6]

Archbishop Turpin[7] stood up and asked to go. And he said, "Lord King", said he, "I will go on that errand, and I will carry it out with readiness and intelligence, and let thy barons rest. For they are weary, having been carrying on war in Spain for fourteen years."[8]

"It does not become an archbishop", said Charles, "to undertake such a mission as that. But let him render service in masses and godly counsels. And let not anyone of you interfere with another's office. But[9] choose me a man of doughty deeds and of noble birth[10] whom it best becomes to bear the weight[11] of this mission."

Then Roland recalled to mind that Gwenwlyd had

[1] "Ynduun a ni", W. T., p. 93; Hengwrt MS. "yn dyhun a ni".

[2] Ch. de R. "Dient Franceis: Bien ad parlet li Dux", v. 244.

[3] Ch. de R., stanzas 17, 18.

[4] "Wr prud"; O. Fr. "prudhome"="prod", from Lat. "prodesse", and "home", from Lat. "homo".

[5] Ch. de R. "ambdui vus en taisiez", v. 259.

[6] Ch. de R. "Li duze Per mar i serunt jugiet", v. 262.

[7] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 19.

[8] Ch. de R. "Bels sire reis, laissiez ester voz Francs
En cest pais avez estet *set* anz."—vv. 265-6.
Vide W. T., p. 78, "seith mlyned yr awrhon".

[9] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 20.

[10] Cf. Ch. de R. "Kar m'eslisez un barun de ma marche", v. 275.

[11] "Godef *pwys* y neges hon", cf. Ch. de R.
Qu a l' rei Marsilie me portet mun message
Se mestier est e bien poisset combatre."
vv. 276-6a.

slighted his counsel, and he said that the mission would suit no one better than Gwenwlyd. Roland's idea commended itself to all. And they spake of Gwenwlyd as Roland had spoken.

And[1] Charles then said, "Let him go on this embassy. To fail on a mission commended by all would be a strange thing." "Roland", said Gwenwlyd, "caused me to go on this mission, and he is seeking to destroy me. And from this time forth I shall be his enemy[2] as he shall know, and I will belittle him. And I promise, and will make it good, that this year will not entirely pass before the treachery is avenged on him who conceived this thought."

"Gwenwlyd", said Roland,[3] "thou art too easily provoked to anger. And it is not seemly for a man to be overcome by bad temper.[4] For a man should be superior to his passions. Carry out the mission entrusted to thee for the honour of him who committed it to thee. And while speaking to Charles, pay no attention to anyone [W.T., p. 78.] save to Charles himself."

"I will be obedient in that thou hast committed to me and biddest me perform",[5] said Gwenwlyd. "And I will go to Marsli. But I have no more hope for my life than Bazin and Bazil[6] whom that paynim put to death. And Roland it was who advised that also, because of his haughtiness and pride. And in the same manner, it is again Roland who is endeavouring to shorten my days also. For he hates me. And wherefore, sire, didst thou comply with his haughtiness to send me, at Roland's advice, to an almost certain death, as Bazin and Bazil, on account of his advice and counsel, were put to death. Thou hast[7] a nephew, a son of thy sister, who is a son of mine, and whose name is Baldwin. And judging from his youth, he is likely to be a valiant man.[8] And him I commend to

[1] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 21.

[2] Ch. de R. "Ne l' amerai à trestut mun vivant", v. 284.

[3] According to Ch. de R. it is Charles that taxed Gwenwlyd; Ch. de R. "Ço dist li Reis: trop avez maltalent", v. 288.

[4] "Drycanyan"; O. Fr. "maltalent".

[5] Ch. de R. "Or, irez vus, certes, quant jo l' cumant", v. 289.

[6] Ch. de R. "J' i puis aler; mais n'i avrai guarant
Ne l' out Basilies ne sis frere Basanz."—vv. 290-1.

[7] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 22.

[8] "Gwr grymus"; Ch. de R. "ki ert prozdoem", v. 296.

thee rather than Roland." "Thou art too faint-hearted",[1] said Charles, "and too effeminate. Moreover, it is a shame for a man to use such threatening words as those towards a son."

And thereupon,[2] being full of wrath and fear because he had to go to Marsli, he cast off the mantle he had on and disclosed a scarlet robe,[3] as all could see. And he looked at Roland with contempt for his honour, and poured out the bitterness of his soul in this wise, "Ah, Roland, supreme in haughtiness", said he, "what frenzy[4] and what evil spirit excite thee that thou canst not rest and wilt not let others do so. For full seven years by this hast thou detained all the barons of France in Spain, carrying on constant war, without regular sleep or meat and drink in due season, or doffing our arms either night or day. Their lives and their blood thou regardest as worthless. And until thy frenzy is satisfied thou heedest not how many of the nobles of France are destroyed. And though I am thy step-father,[5] a father's love would I have bestowed upon thee. But as thou didst shew thyself just now, thou wert worse than a stepson to me.[6] If God, however, will grant me to return to you,[7] a coming which thou dost not wish, I will requite thee for this journey. And if I am put to death, thou shalt find lifelong enemies."

"The sword, though one is threatened with it, does not kill unless one is smitten with it", said Roland, "and it is vain to threaten him whose mind is never turned by a threat. Go thou", said Roland, "on the mission entrusted to thee. And it grieves me that it was committed to such [W.T., p. 79.] a coward as thou art, and that I was not allowed to go myself."[8]

And then[9] all the letters were prepared and the mission to Marsli.

[1] Hengwrt MS. supplies "eb y charlymaen"; Ch. de R. "Carles respunt, trop avez tendre coer", v. 299.

[2] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 23.

[3] Ch. de R. "ses grandes pels de martre", v. 302.

[4] Ch. de R. "Tut fols, pur quei t' esrages ?", v. 307.

[5] Ch. de R. "Que jo sui tis parastre", v. 308.

[6] Ch. de R. "si as jugiet qu à Marsiliun alge", v. 309.

[7] Ch. de R. "se Deus ço dunget que de là jo repaire", v. 310.

[8] Ch. de R., stanzas 24 and 25 are omitted, stanza 26 comes in further on.

[9] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 27.

Charles then held out[1] the letters[2] to Gwenwlyd. And as the king was putting them in his hand, they fell down to the ground, his hand shaking. And when picking them up he sweated in every limb for shame that he was so awkward as that. And all perceived that in him, and foreboded from the fall of the letter a greater fall in the future. And to that Gwenwlyd replied in this wise, "That will be as the journey proves,[3] and I do not think that there is a cause[4] for your anxiety."

"I am[5] ready, sire, to go on this mission, for I do not see how to turn thee from thy purpose. Grant me thy leave, sire."[6] "Take thy leave", said Charles, "and may the God of heaven grant thee a fair and prosperous journey."

And Charlemagne lifted up his hands and signed him with the sign of the cross.

"Speak thou thus",[7] said he, "to Marsli, in addition to what the letter commands, Charles wishes thy future welfare, which thou shalt secure if thou wilt do what thou hast promised—that thou wilt follow him to France to receive baptism and the Catholic faith:[8] and pay him homage, and put thy hands between his hands:[9] and receive from him half thy kingdom[10] and hold it under him. The other half of the kingdom, held in Spain, belongs to his nephew Roland.[11] If thou wilt not do that willingly thou shalt do it unwillingly. And he will come and lay siege to thy city Saragossa,[12] and will not depart thence before he takes it. And he will bring thee against thy will, bound, to France with him. And there thou shalt be compelled[13] against thy will to do what he will now accept from thee in accordance with thy will."

And when the king had thus spoken to Gwenwlyd,

[1] "Ystynnu", from Lat. "extendo".
[2] "Llythyreu", from Lat. "litterae".
[3] Ch. de R. "Seignurs, dist Guenes, vus en orrez nuveles", v. 336.
[4] "Achaws", from Lat. "occasio".
[5] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 28.
[6] Ch. de R. "Sire, dist Guenes, dunez mei le cungiet", v. 337.
[7] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 26.
[8] "Quibus Carolus per Ganalonum mandavit ut baptismum subirent, aut ei tributum mitterent." *Turpin*, chap. xxii (Ciampi). Ch. de R. "E si receivet seinte chrestientet", v. 331d.
[9] Ch. de R. "Juintes ses mains", v. 331c.
[10] Ch. de R. "Demi Espaigne li voeill en fieu duner", v. 331e.
[11] Ch. de R. "L' altre meitiet avrat Rollanz li ber", v. 331f.
[12] Ch. de R. "Suz Sarraguce le siège irai fermer", v. 331h.
[13] "Cymhellir", from Lat. "compello".

Gwenwlyd set out on his journey. And one hundred of his own knights[1] escorted him out of the court.

And[2] to his tent[3] he came[4] and equipped himself with majestic and fine adornment.[5] A high horse, graceful in form, was brought him.[6] And the barons who were of his retinue served him and offered to go with him.[7]

"Be it far from me",[8] said Gwenwlyd, "to take anyone to peril of death from the paynims. For to lose one is a lesser loss than to lose a great number with me. And it [W.T., p. 80.] will be a lighter affliction to hear of my death than to see it. And when you return to France,[9] salute ye my wife[10] and my son Baldwin.[11] And as my love abides in you, after I am dead, I pray you keep company with them, and have masses and psalters sung for my soul,[12] and give clothes to the naked and food to the hungry."

Thus he took leave of his people and went with the ambassadors of the paynims. And the nobles bemoaned and bewailed his departure, fearing for him and sadly lamenting in this wise,—"Return, return to us well, O noble prince. Little loved he thee who sent thee on this mission, even thy step-son Roland, seeing that he selected thee for so dangerous a mission as this. The best that can happen to him is thy return in safety, and that no evil befall thee from the false Marsli. Thou art descended from so great and so noble a people that Charles cannot defend Roland from death, if thou wilt not return from this mission in safety."

From thence,[13] side by side with Gwenwlyd, rode

[1] Ch. de R. "Guene s' en part por sei apareillier
Apres lui vont *cent* de ses chevaliers."

[2] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 29. *Stengel*, vv. 341a, b.

[3] "Pebyll", not "plural"; from Lat. "papilio".

[4] Ch. de. R. "Guenes li quens s' en vait a sun ostel", v. 342.

[5] Ch. de R. "de guarnemenz".

[6] Ch. de R. "En Tachebrun sun destrier est muntez", v. 347.

[7] Ch. de R. "Enpres li dient, Sire, kar nus menez", v. 356.

[8] Ch. de R. "Co respunt Guenes, ne placet damne Deu", v. 357.

[9] Ch. de R. "En dulce France, Seignurs, vus en irez", v. 360.

[10] Ch. de R. "De meie part ma muillier saluez", v. 361.

[11] Ch. de R. "E. Baldewin, mun filz", v. 363.

[12] Ch. de R. "Por la meie anme messes faites chanter", *Stengel*, v. 359b; *Karl. Saga* "ef ther heyrit sagt i fra, at ek sé drepinn, tha verthit ther at minnast salu minnar i bœnahaldi ythru" ("and if ye shall hear that I am killed, then ye must remember my soul in your prayers").

[13] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 30.

Beligant, and he approached him craftily in this wise, "Great is the unrest of greed. For it knows no limit to its getting. The more possessions increase, the more the possessor covets. See what kingdoms Charles your king has sought and added to himself by might. And yet he will not rest from endeavouring to multiply kingdoms, though he is wallowing in old age.[1] He has acquired Constantinople, Calabria, Poland, Rome, and Spain, and why needs he turn to this worthless side[2] of it which we possess." "Greed", said Gwenwlyd, "does not always prompt to action, but only as long as prosperity lasts. The magnanimity of a vigorous mind will not rest, save in sickness. And Charles has no cause[3] to fight with the paynims save only that he seeks to bring them to a belief in the Christian[4] faith, and to subdue them to his sovereignty. And never has he found anyone who can withstand him. And so also are the twelve compeers, they have never met any who excelled them in inborn magnanimity, in praise, and in fame."

"It is not deemed praiseworthy but reckless bravado to expose oneself to ceaseless toil and dangers", said the paynim. "Why does Charles, at his age, leave the many barons who are in France, to interfere in these many dangers, when it is time for all of them to rest?" [W.T., p. 81.]

"One day",[5] said Gwenwlyd, "Charles was sitting under the shade[6] of a tree. And Roland came to him, and in his hand he had a red apple.[7] And he gave it to him with these words: Take[8] this as a pledge that I will subdue all the kingdoms of the earth. And thou hast already subdued many, and many shalt thou yet subdue. And there is hardly any part of the whole of Spain or of many other countries that has not submitted to thee. And the subjection of Babylon is promised to thee."

[1] "Yr y uot ynymdreiglaw yn heneint"; cf. Ch. de R. "Or est molt vielz, dos cenz anz ad d'ëage", v. 373a (Stengel); *Karl. Saga* "hann er nu ok gamall, sva at ekki ma a skorta thrju hundruth vetra" ("he is now also old, so that he is not far short of three hundred years").

[2] "Yr ystlys dielw"; Ch. de R. "la nostre marche", v. 374.

[3] "Achaws", from Lat. "occasio".

[4] "Ffyd grist."

[5] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 31.

[6] "Yggwasgawt", see Loth's *Vocabulaire Vieux-Breton*, under "guascotau"; Ch. de R. "Hier main sedeit l' Emperere suz l' umbre", v. 383.

[7] Ch. de R. "En sa main tint une vermeille pume", v. 386.

[8] Ch. de R. "Tenez, bels sire, dist Rolanz à son uncle", v. 387.

"It is wonderful",[1] said Beligant, "what confidence Roland has, or what power he has when he promised to subdue those many kings to Charles." "Roland's confidence", said Gwenwlyd, "is in the Franks, men who dare nothing less than they purpose, and can achieve nothing less than they desire, and there is nothing under heaven which they cannot subdue by their might, if they set their heart on it. And so much do all the Franks love Roland that they deny him nothing for which he has any desire. And Roland has not in his possession any goods at any time,[2] either adornments, or money, or horses, or arms, or jewels, but that he shares with every one. And hence he has the good will of all."[3]

And while[4] the conversation between Gwenwlyd and Beligant about Roland lasted, they conceived and planned his betrayal in the form and the wily way by which they could bring it to pass. And more amicably they afterwards rode until they came to Saragossa, into the presence of Marsli. Marsli sat there in a chair of gold,[5] and around him were one hundred thousand paynim knights, in silence, not a word spoken by any of them, wistfully waiting to hear the messenger of Charles.

Into the presence of Marsli they[6] came. And Beligant took Gwenwlyd by the hand and brought him before Marsli, and said, "May Mahomet, Apollo, and the other gods[7] whom we serve, save thee, O Marsli! By whose aid we have accomplished all thy mission to the King of France." Marsli, however, made no reply, save that he uplifted hands and face and thanked his God.
[W.T., p. 82.] "Behold here, this noble baron", said Beligant, "whom Charles has sent to inform thee the terms[8] of peace he will make with thee."

"Let him declare them then", said Marsli.

And then[9] Gwenwlyd said, "May He, O Marsli, who

[1] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 32.
[2] "Neb ryw da kyndrychawl ar helw Roland."
[3] Hergest MS. follows Digby MS. in omitting stanza 33.
[4] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 34.
[5] "Cadeir o eur"; Ch. de R. "faldestoel", v. 407.
[6] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 35.
[7] *Karl. Saga* "Maumet, ok Apollin ok Jubiter gæti thin" ("may Mahomet, Apollo, and Jupiter preserve thee").
[8] "Furuf", from Lat. "forma".
[9] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 36.

is the salvation of all men,[1] save thee. And may thy heart and mind be open to my teaching[2] to move thee to salvation. Charles sends his command to thee to receive baptism and the Christian faith,[3] and to put thy hands between his hands as a sign of homage to him, and to hold under him one half of thy realm. The other half belongs to his nephew Roland. If thou wilt do that willingly, he will accept it from thee. If thou wilt not do so, he will take thee against thy will to France, and imprison thee there until thou die of a shameful death."

Then[4] Marsli was moved to wrath and fury, and would have struck him with the golden staff[5] which was in his hand, had not the chamberlains[6] prevented[7] him. And Gwenwlyd drew his sword[8] half out of its sheath, and addressed it in this wise, "Oh sword, trusted and proven by me in many a dangerous pass, I need thy faithfulness now. For Charles shall never reproach me that I was slain here by mine enemies, without my striking a blow."[9]

And their men intervened[10] between them in their anger.

And[11] his barons[12] reproved Marsli greatly for his evil intention towards an ambassador. And they told him that it was a disgraceful thing to harm an ambassador before it be known fully what he had to say without disputation.

Then Gwenwlyd drew the cord of his mantle[13] over his head and laid his hand on the hilt of his sword.

[1] "Iechyd y bawb"; Hengwrt MS. "Iachawdyr pob peth".
[2] "Dysc", from Lat. "disco".
[3] "Ffyd grist."
[4] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 37.
[5] "*Cnwmp eur*"; *Roman de Roncevaux*, "un dart", v. 469; *Karl. Saga* "staf einun"; Ch. de R. "un atgier d'or", v. 437. A.S. Ategar, "in dextra *lanceam auream* quae linqua Anglorum *hategar* nuncupatur", Lat. text of Florence of Worcester; Hengwrt MS. "wialen eur".
[6] "Reolwyr."
[7] "*Achuppei*", from Lat. "occupo". *Acupet*, "il prévient"—Lux. gloss. Loth's *Vocabulaire Vieux-Breton*, p. 32.
[8] Ch. de R. "Quant le vit Guenes, mist la main à l' espée", v. 443.
[9] "Yn diaruot"; Hengwrt MS. "heb ymdiala".
[10] "Ethrywyn", from Lat. "intervenio"; Hengwrt MS. "ac ethrywyn a orugant y gwyr candeirawc".
[11] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 38.
[12] "Gwyrda", Hengwrt MS. "rei prudaf".
[13] "Y uantell"; Hengwrt MS. "y ysgin".

And[1] he approached Marsli, with evil intent, and spake to him in this wise: "Unless death debars[2] me, be it good or be it evil[3] in thy sight, O Marsli, I will tell thee as Charles commanded me. And in order that thy discomfiture may be the greater, O Marsli", said he, "Charles bids thee turn to the Christian faith[4] and renounce false gods, and put thy hands between Charles' hands and come on thy bended knees[5] to bind thyself to pay him homage. And unless thou wilt come of thine own accord, thou shalt be compelled to come. And thou shalt receive one half of thy realm, and his nephew Roland shall receive the other half. And if thou wilt not come willingly, thou shalt come unwillingly. And thou shalt be imprisoned as an evil person ought to be. And, behold, here is Charles' letter to thee, sealed and folded. And in the letter thou shalt see things similar to those I have said, or [W.T., p. 83.] what may be more shocking and difficult for thee to bear when thou hast seen them."

And[6] he broke the seal and looked at the letter for a long time.[7] And when he had grasped the full import of the letter, he stroked his hair and beard, and wept. And he stood up and told them in this wise the meaning of his tears, "My faithful people, listen to the insolence and haughtiness which Charles sends me in this letter, in addition to what his ambassador said apart from the letter. He still reminds me that Bazin and Bazil, his brother, were killed, and he bids me send my uncle the Caliph[8] to be put to death to-day for their execution at my advice. And he swears that unless that is done, there will be no peace between us, nor will my life be spared. And wherefore let us go and take counsel how we shall reply to him."

And then[9] he went under an olive tree,[10] which was close

[1] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 39.

[2] "Gwehyrd", from "gwahard"; cf. "cedyrn", from "cadarn".

[3] "Bo drwc bo da"; Hengwrt MS. "mynno na vynno".

[4] "Ffyd grist."

[5] "Ar dal dy linyeu." For "*tal*" see Loth's *Vocabulaire Vieux-Breton*, p. 218.

[6] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 40.

[7] "Edrych y llythyr yn hir"; Hengwrt MS. "leawd y llythyr yn un agwed ry ystudyei yn hir llyureu lladin".

[8] "Algaliff."

[9] Cf. Ch. de. R., stanza 42.

[10] "O dan olewyden"; Hengwrt MS. "dan wascawt prenn olewyd"; Ch. de R. "vergier", v. 501; *Roman de Roncevaux*, "une olive", v. 761.

by, and with him were a few men of valour, and of noble birth. And among that number were the Caliph, the king's uncle, and Beligant, the prime mover in this treachery.

"The most befitting thing we can do", said Beligant, "is to call to us the ambassador of the Franks, who plighted his troth to me yesterday to further our advantage in the future." "Let him be called", said the Caliph.[1]

And then Beligant brought him in by the right hand before Marsli.

"O good sir",[2] said the king, "do not harbour indignant and revengeful thoughts against us for the angry words spoken to thee a little while ago. I express my regret for mine anger. I will make amends[3] to thee with[4] my mantle, which is esteemed more costly than its weight in gold or precious stones." And he placed the mantle round the prince's neck.[5] And he put him to sit in an honourable place, on his right, under the olive tree.

And immediately[6] he further addressed him in this wise, "Gwenwlyd", said he, "do no longer hesitate, as long as I am alive, to bind thyself to me in true fellowship. And I will not henceforth hide[7] my counsel from thee. Let us, then, now speak of old Charles,[8] whose hoariness shows that he is wallowing in old age.[9] And we believe that he has passed two hundred years[10] of his life. And many kingdoms has he wearied by his enterprises, and many realms has he subdued, and many kings has he

[1] Ch. de R. "Co dist li Reis", v. 508.

[2] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 43.

[3] "Dienwiwaf"; Ch. de R. "Faz vus en dreit", v. 515; "faire en dreit"="to repair an injury"; Hengwrt MS. "dieniwaf".

[4] "Myn." For usual meaning of "myn", *vide* Zeuss, p. 675. Here the word seems to have the force of a simple preposition. "*Myn* vy mantell"; Ch. de. R. "*par* cez pels sabelines", v. 515.

[5] Ch. de R. "A l' col de Guene les pent li reis Marsilies", v. 517a.

[6] Cf. Ch. de R., stanzas 44 to 46.

[7] "Neilltuaw"; Ch. de R. "Nostre conseilz bien deit estre celez", v. 521a.

[8] "Ymadrodwn . . . am yr hen Chyarlys"; Hengwrt MS. "gyfrwch o heneint Charlyman".

[9] "Ymdreiglaw yn heneint"; Hengwrt MS. "yn oedawc".

[10] "Deucant mlyned"; Ch. de R. "dous cenz anz", v. 524; Charlemagne is represented in the *chansons* as a very old man. His age here, as well as elsewhere, is greatly exaggerated. At the time of the action of this *chanson de geste, i.e.*, during the expedition to Spain in 778, Charles was only 36 years of age.

[W.T. p. 84.] forced into captivity. It is time that he should rest now,[1] and spend the end of his life in joy and pleasure."

"Charles is not a man of that kind", said Gwenwlyd, "and he is not so old as to be terrified by any suggested enterprise, however prodigious it may be. And because of his youthfulness, might, and energy, there is no one who can withstand Charles. And there are more good qualities in Charles than tongue can express. And no one can conceive how much grace and how many gifts he has received from the Giver of all gifts. I will not, however, say that a great deal of his power could not be blunted, if the pride of Roland, who is Charles' right hand,[2] were brought low. What he conceives in his heart he performs in deed, and he does so with all his might and main. And his haughtiness is acknowledged and manifest. And wherever Charles and his host go, Roland, Oliver, and the twelve peers, with one hundred thousand armed knights, guard the rear[3] from any sudden[4] attack. And no one will dare contest Roland's prowess. For his fame and valour are acknowledged. And he will never allow himself to be beaten, as is known to his great credit everywhere."

"I have",[5] said Marsli, "four hundred thousand[6] paynims, and it is no easy task to find a knightly host finer, better equipped, and more valiant. And thinkest thou that I cannot withstand Charles and his host in battle?"

"It is very much beyond you", replied Gwenwlyd, "You cannot with your paynims withstand the trusty army that is there. And, therefore, try and overcome by craftiness where you cannot overcome by your powers. Give Charles hostages of your sons, and give him abundance of presents whereof the value cannot be estimated, and he will return to France. And as is ever his custom, he will leave in the rear Roland and the twelve peers with him, to protect those in front from treachery. If you will then attack them bravely, they shall not escape from your hands. And then Charles would cease from threatening you, if you could bring down Roland's pride."

[1] Ch. de R. "Ad Ais en France devreit il reposer", v. 528a.

[2] "Deheu y Chyarles"; Ch. de R. "le destre braz de l' cors", v. 597; Lat. text of Turpin, "O brachium dextrum corporis mei", chap. xxv.

[3] Ch. de R. "Funt les enguardes à vint mil chevaliers", v. 548.

[4] "Deissyvyt", from Lat. "de subito".

[5] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 47.

[6] Ch. de R. "Quatre cenz milie chevaliers pois aveir", v. 565.

And while Gwenwlyd was thus speaking, Marsli was kissing his face.[1] And he then bade his treasure to be opened for him to take as much as he liked of it. [W.T., p. 85.]

And[2] he addressed him in this wise, "An abundantly discussed counsel is inconclusive[3] unless it ends in a definite decision. And may thy action and thy exertion be, sir, as thy words are", said Marsli, "to see that Roland is left in the rear. And we will fight with him, when we shall meet him, so as to lay low his pride and his arrogance. And what I say in word I will make good in deed, that I will kill him, unless he kills me."

"Let it be as thou sayest", said Gwenwlyd, "I will see that he is in the rear. See ye to it that ye make good your promise."

And then[4] Marsli commanded that the book of the law, which Mahomet left to the paynims, should be brought on a shield of gold[5] to him under the olive tree. And Marsli and his barons, by oath on that book, confirmed their promise concerning the death of Roland.

And then[6] Maldebrum, a man of exalted position, called Gwenwlyd to him and said, "I will give thee a sword whose hilt is of the finest gold. And by that sword, than which a better never was on thigh or side, I bind myself to thee in fellowship. And in return I pray thee, noble sir, see that I be the first to meet Roland; and I swear to thee that I will kill Roland with my right hand, unless I am killed first."

And then[7] Cliborin[8] came to Gwenwlyd to present him with a helmet, and addressed him thus, "Accept, sir, this gift of which thou art worthy, and which befits a peer like thyself. It is the finest helmet that was ever put on a man's head, and the most costly. All its parts have been joined and bound together. On its nasal is a carbuncle stone adorning its front, and casting light, like the day, the way it travels, as the sun reveals as far as its rays extend. And do thou repay me so great a gift as

[1] Ch. de R. "Quant l' ot Marsilies, si l' ad baisiet el' col", v. 601.
[2] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 50.
[3] "Kyghor annosparthus"; Ch. de R. "Cunseilz n'est pruz", v. 604.
[4] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 51.
[5] "Taryan eureit"; Ch. de R. "desur un escut blanc", v. 610a.
[6] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 52.
[7] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 53.
[8] For "Eliborin" read "Cliborin".

this in this wise, namely, that I may meet Roland to lay low his pride."

"If I can", said Gwenwlyd", "thou shalt have thy desire in that respect."

And after[1] them came Breinunt, Marsli's wife, to Gwenwlyd, and spoke to him in this wise, "There is in thee token of noble birth so that Marsli and his men ought to show thee honour. And I, with this clasp,[2] will honour thy wife, whom I deem worthy to be honoured for thy sake. The gold of this clasp, precious though it be, is [W.T., p. 86.] as nothing in comparison with the stones that are set in it. And more costly is this clasp than all the jewels of the Christians. And all the wealth of Charles, your king, cannot be compared with this clasp and its virtues. And may this clasp, though it be costly, be the beginning of honour to thy wife. And be thou neither a stranger nor a sojourner, but henceforth well and kindly disposed towards us."

And Gwenwlyd accepted the clasp and thanked the queen greatly. And he promised her, if God would grant him life, that he would repay the honour shown and the gifts bestowed with much interest.

And among[3] them came the king's treasurer, bringing to the king his gifts[4] and the hostages that were to be sent to Charles. And not the least of the shares was that which was brought to Gwenwlyd as a reward of his treachery, namely, ten horses with their ten loads on their backs. And he addressed him in this wise, "Accept this, valiant duke, as the beginning of fellowship with thee. And accept again more when thou returnest here, or when thou sendest for it, if thou canst arrange time and place for us to lay low the pride of Roland."

"It is not necessary", said Gwenwlyd, "to trouble or

[1] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 54.

[2] "Kae hwnn"; Ch. de R. "dous nusches", v. 637; *Karl. Saga*, "2 nisti" (2 needles).

[3] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 55.

[4] "Tunc miserunt ei xxx equos ornatos auro et argento gazisque hispanicis, et lx equos vino dulcissimo et puro oneratos miserunt pugnatoribus ad potandum et mille mulieres Saracenas formosas . . . Ganalono vero viginti equos auro et argento et palliis praetiosis oneratos fraudolenter obtulerunt, ut pugnatores illorum manibus traderet ad interficiendum; qui concessit, et pecuniam illam accepit." *Turpin*, chap. xxii (Ciampi).

beseech or entice with words him who is more desirous to do what is commanded than he who commands it."

And again[1] Marsli addressed Gwenwlyd in this manner, "Take heed henceforth to be in agreement with us, and that our friendship never more be severed. And behold, here are the gifts I promised Charles by my ambassadors, and here are the twenty hostages,[2] and here are also the keys[3] of my city, Saragossa. And when thou art giving him these things, remember to weigh[4] them for me against the death of Roland, and see that he is in command of the rearguard. And if such be the case, he shall receive his death blow from my right hand."

"Let it be as thou sayst", said Gwenwlyd, "and every hour will seem to me like a year while Roland's death is delayed." And having spoken those words Gwenwlyd mounted[5] his horse and started on his journey, with the hostages and the gifts, until they came where Charles was.

And that[6] day, as every day, Charles was up at dawn. And when he had heard matins and mass, they pitched his tent[7] in a meadow, in a fine and extensive plain. And with Roland were countless nobles attending the king. And they knew nothing until Gwenwlyd came to them, and [W.T., p. 87.] with the cunning deceit[8] of a traitor he addressed Charles in this wise, "Oh Charles, thou mighty king, may God Almighty, who is the true salvation of all Christians, save thee. And behold, here are the keys of Saragossa, which Marsli sends thee; and this portion of his treasures, and twenty noble youths as hostages for the confirmation of peace with thee and of concord with him. And he entreats thee not to be offended about his uncle the Caliph[9] whom thou didst command to be sent to thee. Seven thousand men came and took him away before my eyes[10]

[1] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 56.

[2] "Ugein gwystyl"; Ch. de R. "De meie part lui livrez vint ostages", v. 656.

[3] "Agoryadeu saragus vyn dinas"; Ch. de R. "Tenez les clefs de ceste citet large", v. 654.

[4] "Kympwyssau", from Lat. "compenso".

[5] For "ystynnawd" read "ysgynnawd".

[6] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 58.

[7] "Pebyll", singular number; for plural "pebylleu" see next page.

[8] Yn gywreint dwyllwreid"; Ch. de R. "Par grant veisdie cumencet à parler", v. 675.

[9] Ch. de R. "De l' Algalife ne l' devez pas blasmer", v. 681.

[10] Ch. de R. "Kar à mes oilz vi treis cenz milie armez", v. 682.

from Marsli. And they went on ships[1] to sea, and renounced the faith. And they had not sailed more than two miles to sea before they were scattered by the tempest[2] and the raging of the sea. And it is not known whether they were not all drowned. If they had remained in Marsli's domain, he would have sent him here for thee to do thy will, though he might feel it sorely. And as Marsli has promised me well, he will make it good, he will follow thee to France[3] to receive baptism there and to accept the Catholic faith;[4] to pay thee homage, and to put his hands together unarmed.[5] And he seeks not of his domain save only what thou wilt grant him to hold in fief."[6]

"Thoroughly well hast thou carried out thy mission", said Charles, "and as long as thou livest thou shalt ever have glory and advantage, because of this mission."

And thereupon they forthwith gave the signal to start, and the bugles were sounded.[7] And when the host heard the signal they rejoiced greatly. They struck their tents, gathered the army together and their scattered cattle,[8] put their baggage[9] on their horses, and started on their journey towards their wished-for France.[10]

And they[11] had not gone more than two miles beyond the gates of Spain[12] when even came. And they had to pitch their tents on the open plain. And there were four hundred thousand paynim knights fully armed pursuing them, and that night they lay in hiding close to the host of France.

That night[13] Charles slept more wearily than other

[1] "Logeu", from Lat. "*longae* naves".

[2] "Tymhestyl", from Lat. "tempestas".

[3] Ch. de R. "Qu'il vus sivrat en France le regnet", v. 694.

[4] Ch. de R. "Si recevrat la lei que vuz tenez", v. 695.

[5] Ch. de R. "Juintes ses mains, iert vostre cumandez", v. 696.

[6] Ch. de R. "De vus tiendrat Espaigne le regnet", v. 697. "Rediit Ganelonus ad Carolum . . . . dicens quod Marsirius vellet fieri Christianus, et praeparabat iter suum ut veniret ad Carolum in Gallia, et ibi baptismum acciperet et totam terram hispanicam amplius pro illo teneret." *Turpin*, chap. xxii (Ciampi, p. 60).

[7] Ch. de R. "Par mi cele ost funt mil graisles suner", v. 700.

[8] "Daoed"; "da", from Lat. "dama".

[9] Ch. de R. "Funt lur sumiers trusser", v. 701; "Swmerau", from O.F. "sume".

[10] Ch. de R. "Vers dulce France tuit sunt acheminet", v. 702.

[11] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 59.

[12] "Pyrth yr yspain"; Ch. de R. "porz di Sizre"; Lat. "portus ciserei".

[13] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 60.

nights. And in his sleep the destruction of his men was made manifest to him. He saw himself in the gates of Spain, with a lance-shaft of ash in his hand. And he saw Gwenwlyd snatching the shaft and crumbling[1] it, until the shaft was in small pieces above his head. And though he was wonderfully impressed by the vision, he did not, however, wake up.

And[2] in the same sleep he saw himself holding a bear bound with two chains. And he saw the bear biting him on his right arm, mangling and gnawing him, and tearing his clothes. And thereupon he saw a leopard coming from Spain and attacking it fiercely. And thereupon there came a greyhound from his own court to defend his master, and it boldly attacked the leopard, and protected him from it. Notwithstanding what he saw, he slept on without ceasing until it was day. [W.T., p. 88.]

And on the morrow,[3] at day-break, Charles rose up and summoned his barons to consult with them who would remain in the rear to guard the host from pursuit or fear of treachery. "It becomes no one better than Roland", said Gwenwlyd. * * * * * * *[4]

"And no place[5] gives me less concern than to be in battle with Durendard in my hand, smiting mine enemies. And thou shalt see me to-day mowing them down so that they would rather their death than wait for their reaper."

"For the third time", said Oliver, "I would advise thee to sound the olifant to bring the king to us, lest the nobility of France, who have been left with thee here, perish, and lest those accursed people prevail over us, so that I be again reproached."

"God forbid",[6] said Roland, "that I should alarm a host which never could be made to fear. Roland shall never be reproached that he sounded his horn because he was afraid of the paynims. Roland shall never be

[1] "Phrydyaw"; Ch. de R. "il fraite e brisie", v. 723.

[2] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 61.

[3] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 62.

[4] There is a lacuna here in the Hergest MS. In a note at the bottom of page 88 W. T., Dr. John Rhys states that "Here a whole leaf is missing". Fortunately the Hengwrt MS. supplies what is lacking here. The lacuna comprises from stanza 62, v. 744a, to stanza 90, v. 1,065, of the *Chanson de Roland* (Gautier's edition), and is equal to 178 lines of the printed copy of the Hengwrt MS.

[5] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 90.

[6] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 91.

likened to a hunter as long as he can engage in battle. For a hunter need not sound his horn, save only to call wild beasts out of the forests. And as Roland ever did he will do again, he will deal hard and frequent blows with Durendard, cut horse and rider and the horse's harness all to pieces; break the ranks and smite them down; and tread in heaps the bodies left by Durendard. And do not again suggest so great a dishonour as that."

"I will not suggest it", said Oliver, "but whatever happens, either to us or to our companions, Oliver can never be reproached."

They[1] then approached their enemies. And their impending martyrdom moved them to tears, not because they were afraid of their death, and not because they were weak, but because of the kindly feeling and the attachment which either of them had for the other.

[W.T., p. 89] And Oliver addressed them, exhorting and rousing them to fight. "O ye flower of the barons", said he, "had I not in days gone by known by experience your faithfulness and your valour in many a battle, I would have reproached you for your tears, and would have said that they were caused by cowardice. And cease ye now from it. And let either of you forgive the other, if you have done any wrong, and have common friends and common foes.[2] And let not any one of you be afraid to meet his death while fighting for the heavenly country. For you will be leaving a brief life to enter into everlasting life."

And they all gave heed to what Oliver told them, and did fully as they were bidden. They were so elated with the glory and honour of fighting that there was not a single person there who wished not to meet death, provided that before death he might meet one of Christ's enemies.

And then Roland said to Oliver, "Now I know, beloved comrade, that thou art Roland's comrade, and art glorious with the pomp and circumstance of France."

And on a high mountain, facing the Franks, was Marsli, with four hundred thousand equipped knights. And he bade one hundred thousand of them advance against Roland's army. And they, encouraged by Marsli, attacked them valiantly. And those nobles descended the

[1] Welsh texts are unique here. See *Stengel*, p. 113.
[2] "Bydwch ungar unesgar."

slope of the mountain and came towards the Christians, with the twelve compeers in front in fine array.

And the foremost of them was Marsli's nephew, with his uncle Falsaron by his side. And they divided their army into twelve battalions, and so in proper form they came against Roland.

On the other side, Roland and Oliver put their battalions in battle array. For they were well versed in the severe battles and engagements of the Christian life. And when the paynims saw them so well arranged and so ready, great fear came upon them, thinking that they were more in number than they really were, as the timid are wont to do. And then those who were in the front rank wished through fear that they were in the body of the host. But Roland and his host were unconcerned whether they were in the front rank or in the body of the army. His bravery, his hope, and his assurance only increased, he being no more afraid of the battle than a [W.T., p. 90.] noble and fierce lion is afraid when he sets his gaze on gentle maidens. And he rushed among his enemies. And he said to Oliver, "Seeing that these nobles stayed behind with the intention of fighting, it is most right for them to fight. And whatsoever they will do, we shall fight and show them how to fight bravely in that we shall not betake ourselves to flight, in spite of any danger which may meet us. Let us show them our arms and fight them, that fear may come upon them and upon all who witness it."

The archbishop Turpin[1] went to the top of a hill close by him, and addressed the army in this wise, "O valiant barons",[2] said he, "remember that you are called Christians from Christ, and that it was for you that He suffered death. And so you ought to suffer death for Him, and thus have fellowship with Christ through your death. And as He prepared a fellowship for you through death, prepare yourselves to receive His fellowship for ever by fighting with His enemies. As many of you as will be killed shall be martyrs[3] and possessors of crowns in heaven. And, behold, we His vicars do absolve you from all your sins. And the only penance[4] imposed on you is that you do not flee, and that you deal many mighty blows."

[1] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 95.
[2] "A wyrda ffenedic"; Ch. de R. "Seignurs baruns", v. 1127.
[3] Ch. de R. "Se vus murez, esterer seint martir", v. 1134.
[4] Ch. de R. "Par penitence eur cumandet a ferir", v. 1138.

And then[1] the men mounted their horses. And through the boldness of the Archbishop's speech they were inspired with assurance and courage, that they wished for nought but battle.

And Oliver exhorted them in this wise, "Why do we", said he, "wait for them? Let us rather forthwith attack them, and let us deal them the first blow. For he who shows a brave face at the outset of the fray is usually acclaimed victor at the close. Behold, here is the Mount of Joy. Let us ascend to the summit of this hill and call for the ensigns of Charles."[2] And forthwith they did so, and they shouted loudly at the accursed people, and approached them till their lances' point was among them. But the paynims retreated not, but waited for them.

The foremost[3] of them was Falsaron, Marsli's nephew,[4] and he addressed the Franks in this wise, "O faithless [W.T., p. 91.] Franks", said he, "to-day you will joust with us. Ill has he kept you who ought to protect you, and Charles was a fool when he left you here to guard Roland to your own loss."

When Roland heard these words he could not endure it, but turned the point of his lance towards him and went for him as fast as his horse could go. And in his wrath he dealt him a blow with his spear with his full strength, until it pierced through all his armour and through his backbone. And he lifted him off the saddle and held him on his lance as an ensign suspended on high. And he threw him down dead and addressed him thus, "Perish, miscreant, and thine arrogance with thee. And Charles was not a fool,[5] nor I undeserving of the charge of his army. For he shall not to-day lose either his men or his glory. And, O ye mighty barons, fall upon the miscreants here. For God has given us the first victory over them. Break their ranks, pierce them, cut them in pieces, stone[6] them."

[1] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 96.

[2] Ch. de R. "A icest mot unt Franceis escriet.
Ki dunc oïst Munjoie demander", etc.—vv. 1180-81.

[3] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 99.

[4] According to Ch. de R., Marsli's nephew is called Aelrot (stanza 99), and Falsaron is Marsli's brother (stanza 100).

[5] Ch. de R. "Ultre, culverz! Carles n'est mie fols", v. 1207.

[6] "Llebydywch", from Lat. "lapido".

And then[1] was Marsli grieved[2] when he saw his nephew's death. And he summoned his army and advanced in front of his men with the standard of the paynims. And he said that France would lose its glory that day at the hands of the paynims. When[3] Oliver heard that, he turned his lance towards him and furiously attacked him. And while he was uttering his boastful words, he pierced him right through with his lance, and through all his armour, that he fell down dead. And he addressed him thus, "Take thou this reward of thy vain boasting. And by such blows as these do we sustain the honour of the Franks. Trusty barons", said he, "fear not these miscreants. For they cannot deal death, but only receive it."

And then[4] Corsabrin, a cruel paynim, exhorted the other paynims in this wise, "O barons", said he, "fight bravely with the Franks. For there is not such a host of them but that we can utterly destroy them.[5] Their Charles avails them little to-day."

And when Turpin heard that, he spurred his horse in rage and attacked Corsabrin and pierced him through with his lance, and through all his armour, that he fell down dead. And he addressed him thus, "Thy words are false",[6] said Turpin. "Our Charles is equal to-day to what he ever was at his best. And fall[7] ye upon them, our barons, and smite them down dead. For they are powerless. For the first blows promise you the victory. And in yonder [W.T., p. 92.] army there is nor might, nor strength, nor heart."

And thereupon Turpin shouted "Monjoie!"[8] as loudly as he could. And the whole army gloried in Turpin's words.

[1] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 100.
[2] "Doluryau", from Lat. "dolor".
[3] For "Aan" read "Pan".
[4] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 101.
[5] Ch. de R. "Ceste bataille bien la poüm tenir
Kar de Franceis i ad asez petit."—vv. 1238-39.
[6] Ch. de R. "Culverz paiens, vus i avez mentit", v. 1253.
[7] "Dygwydwch", from Lat. "decedo".
[8] "Ymoralw aoruc ar vryn llewenyd"; Ch. de R. "Munjoie escriet pur le camp retenir", v. 1260. Whether "munjoie" should be rendered "montjoie" (mons gaudii) or "monjoie" (meum gaudium) is a disputed point. In the W. T. the translator of *Roman d'Otuel* favours "monjoie": cf. W. T., p. 49, "galw ar eu llewenyd"; W. T., p. 53, "galw ar fy llewenyd"; W. T., p. 54, "galw ar ei lewenyd". On the other hand, the translator of *Chanson de Roland* favours "montjoie", both here and elsewhere in the text. Cf. W. T., p. 90, "Wel dy yma vrynn llewenyd"; W. T., p. 93, "ymoralw aorugant ar uynyd llewenyd".

And thereupon[1] Gereint and Gerard attacked Malcabrin and the Caliph, two valiant men of the paynims, as furiously as the feet of their horses could go, and neither armour nor anything availed them the least. They fell under the feet of their horses, and were trodden to death under the feet of the Christians. And in a short time armour was of no more use to the paynims to protect them from the blows of the Christians than linen single fold. And when Oliver saw that, he spake approvingly to his barons in this wise, "Our men are mighty. I know that those who cannot come to blows are eager to do so." And he[2] attacked one of the paynims and snatched him off the saddle and cast him to the ground dead as an accursed thing. And he addressed him thus, "Be thy trust in Mahomet. And thus does Mahomet protect him who trusts in him. He will recompense thee in hell for thy service to him here."

And immediately afterwards[3] he killed Estalmark, and cast him among the dead to render his soul to Pluto, whom he served.

And of the twelve paynim compeers[4] there were only two not slain, namely, Margarit and Cerub, and those were exhorting and encouraging their men. And each of them was a valiant knight.

And one[5] of them attacked Oliver and dealt him a blow on his neck with a lance. But it availed[6] him nought. Despite the blow Oliver was not shaken[7] off his saddle.

Nor did Roland rest from killing his enemies.[8] And he whom he wounded, or whose blood he drew, had no need of a second blow. And as long as his lance lasted, he made use of no other weapon. Fifteen blows he dealt with his lance, and at each blow he smote one dead. And when he snapped his lance, he drew his sword Durendard. And he attacked Cerub and dealt him a blow on his head

[1] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 102-3.

[2] Hengwrt MS. supplies here, "Ac ar hynny engeler o wasgwyn".

[3] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 106.

[4] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 108.

[5] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 109.

[6] "Ac ny dygrynoes idaw dim." Cf. "Ystorya Brenhined y Brytanyeit" (*Bruts*, p. 45); "Ac ny dygrynoes idaw namyn ychydic (sed parum profecit", Geoffrey's *Historia*, p. 7).

[7] "Ffrydyawd." *Karl. Saga*, "Ok kom hann tho Oliver eigi af hesti sinum" ("and he did not then bring Oliver off his horse").

[8] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 110.

that he clave asunder both man and horse in full armour down to the ground. And he addressed him thus, "Take that as the recompense of thine iniquity. It is thus that Mahomet is wont to give to him who serves him."

And then Roland,[1] with evil intent, pursued them, and with such dash galloped among them that they were seen falling by his sword as harvest corn falls at the hand of a skilful reaper. And none of the Franks ceased from killing the paynims, following, as best they could, the example of Roland. And the archbishop Turpin was glad at that. And he addressed the men and expressed his approval of them thus, "Worthy are these men of their French origin, men who regard not their life here for the sake of the life everlasting." [W.T., p. 93.]

And thereupon[2] Oliver pursued his enemies, having in his hand a piece of his lance, and with that he dealt Maustaron a blow on the edge of his helmet that it bent into his head, so that his brains and eyes were out of his head, and he himself fell down dead.

And next he dealt the paynim Torren a blow so that his lance-shaft was all in pieces. And Roland upbraided him for that, and said, "Not by the might of sticks are we to maintain the fight. And where is thy sword, Hauteclere?"

And thereupon[3] Oliver drew his sword, and said to him, "I needed only a stick to pursue the dogs."

And thereupon Oliver attacked them and dealt one of them a blow on the top of his head that the sword cut through him and all his armour and through his horse down to the ground in two parts, one on each side of the sword. And Roland said, "By such a blow as that know I that thou hast become my fellow. And for such a blow art thou beloved of Charles."

And with one accord they cried "Monjoie!" and all their men joined in the cry.

Then[4] Gereint and Engelier attacked Tunot, a paynim. And the one of them pierced his shield and the other his coat of mail, through his heart, that he fell down dead.

And next to that, the archbishop killed Fidorel, their wizard,[5] who by his incantations[6] betrayed them to death.

[1] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 111.
[2] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 112.
[3] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 113.
[4] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 114.
[5] "Eu dewin"; Ch. de R. "l'encanteur", v. 1391.
[6] "Y dewindabaeth"; Ch. de R. "par artimal", v. 1392.

And then they fought on both sides gallantly and fiercely. But the two armies were unlike in this respect, that the one army killed all they met, and the other army allowed themselves to be killed like sheep among wolves.

And then[1] Roland and the twelve compeers of France surrounded the paynims, killing them and smiting them, and compelling them to flight as best they could.

And when the paynims saw that they were vanquished [W.T., p. 94.] by the Franks, they shewed the Franks their backs and left the field. And the Franks pursued them until they had killed a countless number of them. And the Franks rejoiced in that they had the first victory. But their evil fate disturbed[2] their joy, mingling adverse things with their success. For the press of enemies came suddenly upon them anew, and they were attacked while they were wounded, weary, and dispirited, and their weapons broken. Oh, God! great and irreparable was the loss that came to the Franks in that place, the loss of so many of Charles' nobles who perished there. It was here afterwards that the losses that came through the unfaithfulness of Gwenwlyd were made manifest. Well was he paid for his treachery.

Of the[3] hundred thousand paynims who came out to fight the Franks, not one escaped except Margarit himself, who announced to Marsli the slaughter of his men. He, with his sword unsheathed in his hand, with a mortal wound in his head, and with four cuts in his body, had left the field in a miserable plight,[4] after all the army there had been killed. And he said, "And if thou hast a knightly host ready, sire, now is the time for thee to send them, while the Franks are weary, bruised, and hungry. And if ever they can be conquered, now is the time to do it. And many of their knights have been killed, and their weapons are damaged.[5] And while they are in that condition it is most just to avenge on them the blood of our men."

And thereupon the paynims quickly donned their armour and put themselves in battle array. And[6] Marsli pursued them through a woody valley. And marching

[1] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 115.
[2] "Cythrudyawd", from Lat. "contrudo".
[3] Cf. Ch. de R., stanzas 124, 125, 126.
[4] "Digeryd" for "digarad".
[5] "Amparedic", from Lat. "imparem".
[6] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 126.

in silence they came upon them unawares. "And[1] in this manner shall we attack them", said Marsli. "Let Grandon go with ten battalions on one side of them, and I", said Marsli, "will go on the other side with the ten other battalions. For Roland and his men are valiant, and it would avail us nought to fight on one side of them." And with that counsel they all agreed.

And[2] Grandon, with his ten battalions, went in front, and, at full gallop, they came upon the Franks and sounded more than a thousand horns. And that sound, foreboding their death, disturbed the Franks. And then they knew that Gwenwlyd was a traitor. And the archbishop emboldened them and cheered them. And he promised eternal life to all who would fight, and threatened hell to all who would flee. And all of them were encouraged by the words of the archbishop, and they preferred to suffer death than to flee. And having cried out "Monjoie!" they commingled with the paynims and dealt them blows. [W.T., p. 95.]

And Clibor,[3] who was the most valiant paynim there, thereupon came out from his fellows and attacked Engelier of Gascony, and his lance found no impediment either in his coat of mail or in his weapons, until it was right through him. And he fell down dead to receive everlasting life.

And then the paynim victor and his fellows cried out, and reviled the Franks, and bade them break their lines of battle.

And then[4] Roland said to Oliver, "Great is our loss in losing the young knight."

"The vengeance possible to me", said Oliver,[5] "I will exact." And he turned his horse's head towards Cliborin. And he lifted up Hauteclere, red with blood, above his head, and dealt him a blow with all his might, on the top of his helmet. And the sword found no impediment, till man and horse were in two parts on either side of it, on the ground. And he ceased not till he had killed seven to avenge one.

And then[6] Maldebrum, the most wicked paynim, who was reported to have betrayed Jerusalem in time past, and

[1] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 128.
[2] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 129.
[3] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 131.
[4] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 132.
[5] "Oliver" supplied from the French Text.
[6] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 133.

who committed murder in the temple—he, riding a fleet horse, attacked Samson and pierced both him and his armour through, so that he fell down dead, and his soul entered the everlasting life.

And the death[1] of Samson gave great grief to Roland. And he attacked his enemy, and, as they reap with a scythe, he dealt him a blow, cutting him, in his saddle, through his waist, following the girdle.

And thereupon[2] Malquidon, a paynim, killed one of the most valiant of the Franks, and his soul went to everlasting life.

And then[3] Turpin made an attack to avenge his man. And he struck off the paynim's head and left him in the saddle.

And thereupon[4] Grandon, the commander of the paynim forces, riding a fleet horse, attacked Gereint, and, with his sword, thrust through both himself and his armour, that he fell down dead, and his soul went to rest in heaven.

And then he killed Engelier,[5] his companion, that they might be companions in heaven, as they were in this world.

And then the paynims killed on the same side Brengar, and Gwimunt of Saxonia,[6] and with them Astorius.

[W.T., p. 96.] And then the paynims gave a shout triumphing over the Christians. And as with one mind they knew that the paynims were overcoming them.

And thereupon Roland was moved to wrath.

And when[7] Grandon saw him galloping his horse towards him, he took to flight. And Roland lay in ambush for him and dealt him a blow with Durendard, so that man and horse were cut in two parts, one on either side of Durendard. And that blow gave joy to the Christians and grief to the paynims. And when their commander-in-chief was killed, they fled. And[8] Roland and his men pursued them and left them in heaps. For those who were killed there were much greater in number than those who

[1] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 134. [2] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 135.
[3] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 136. [4] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 137.
[5] Ch. de R. "Gerier". Engelier has been already killed, *vide* stanza 131.
[6] "Gwimunt o Saxonia"; Ch. de R. "Gui de Seint-Antonie". "Saxonia"="Saint Antonie", *vide* Stengel *in loco.*
[7] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 139. [8] Cf. Ch. de R., stanza 142.

killed them. And thereupon the paynims became so discouraged that they could not hold their weapons in their hands. And then they sounded their horns, and with their horns they fought. And thus the battle was brought to a close. It was by the horns that they were wont to urge their men in battle.

And in this manner were the paynims killed. And the few of them that escaped fled to Marsli. Nor was there less fear of Roland and his host there than in their presence. And as long as Roland could see them he pursued them.

CHAPTER XXIII.

And[1] when he saw no one near him, he found a black and weary Saracen hiding in a grove, and he caught him. And he twisted four rods and made four withes. And he bound him securely to a tree. And having bound him, he went to the top of a hill near him, and from there he saw many of the Saracens together. And he returned to the Vale of Briars, where all went who wished to pass by the gates of Spain. And he then sounded his horn, and gathered to him there about a hundred Christians. And with these he went back to where the Saracen was bound. And then Roland swore his great oath, that he would cut off the Saracen's head unless he came and shewed him where Marsli was and pointed Marsli out to him. For Roland did not yet know Marsli. And immediately, lest he be killed, the Saracen came and pointed Marsli out to him. And, from afar, he pointed out his ensign, together with a great red horse on which he rode, and the round shield he had. And Roland set his mind on him and attacked his army boldly with what men he had with him undismayed. And Roland perceived among them a man taller than the rest. And Roland attacked him and killed him with one blow. And they betook themselves to flight, here and there, up and down. Roland followed after them, killed them, cast them down, and crushed them. And he perceived Marsli fleeing. And Roland pursued him and killed him. [W.T., p. 97.]

And not a single man of Roland's men escaped from that engagement. Roland alone escaped, and he, wounded by four lances, bruised with stones, and crushed. And

[1] At this point the compilator takes up the story as found in the Welsh translation of Turpin's *Latin History*, chap. xxiii, and follows it to the end.

when Beligant, the second king of the paynims, heard Marsli's shout when falling, he betook himself to flight and left the country.

Theoderic and Baldwin and some others of the Christians being terrified, were hiding in groves. And others had followed after Charles to the gates of Spain. And Charles had left the intricate and dangerous parts of the roads and had come to a safe place, without knowing anything of what was happening behind.

And Roland was exhausted by the press of the fight, in dealing heavy blows, and in receiving mortal wounds. And in that state Roland came through brambles and bushes to the lower end of the gates of Spain. And there he dismounted off his horse, under a shady tree in a fair meadow. And near the tree stood erect a huge marble stone. And he drew his sword from its sheath. Its name was Durendard, which is, by interpretation, "give a hard blow". And with words full of tears, he addressed his sword in this wise:—

"O, sword! the fairest and brightest, and the most comely in proportions, both in length and in breadth. Its hilt the whitest and fairest, made of whalebone,[1] and beautified with a cross of gold. And on its hilt is an apple of the fairest beryl, and its centre is of gold most precious. And written on it is the secret name of God, "Alpha et Omega",[2] the most victorious and most renowned point, endued with divine virtue. Who henceforth will handle thee? Who henceforth will be thy possessor? Who possesses thee shall never be vanquished, shall not be dismayed, shall not tremble for fear of anyone. He shall not be terrified by goblins' song or diabolic incantation, but will always, without anxious care, make use of divine power, being environed by power and spiritual aid. With thee shall be killed the Saracens who are not already killed. By thee the glory of God is exalted. O, how oft [W.T., p. 98.] didst thou avenge the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ by killing paynims and Jews! By thee are truth and justice decided. By thee are cut off the members of those who steal. O, sword, the easiest to trust in! O, the best and the keenest of swords! O, sword, whose equal was never

[1] "Asgwrn moruil"; Lat. T. "eburneo".

[2] "Alpha et O"; Lat. T. "A et Omega", Ciampi. Not found in Reuber. MS. 5714 "Alpha et Omega"; *Cod. Gall.* 52 "A. Omega".

found nor ever shall be! He who made thee made not thine equal, either before or after. No one whose blood was drawn by thee, however slight the blow, escaped alive. If a knight, desperately weak through fear, or a Saracen, or a miscreant should possess thee, great indeed would be my grief."

And having spoken thus, lest the sword should fall into Saracen hands, he struck it thrice on the marble stone, so that the stone was in pieces all over the ground, the sword itself being unharmed.

CHAPTER XXIV.

And then[1] he blew a blast on his horn to see if any of the Christians who were hiding in the groves would come to him, or if any of those who had gone to the gate of Spain would hear, that they might come before his death to receive his horse and sword, and pursue the Saracens. And thereupon he blew Olifant, his horn, so powerfully that he rent his horn in twain and burst two of his own blood vessels. And it is reported that he then broke the muscle of his neck. And an angel carried the sound of the horn to where Charles was, eight miles, according to the measure of that country, from the Vale of Briars, towards Gascony, where Charles was encamped. And Charles wished to return at once to help him. "Not so, sire", said Gwenwlyd. For he was privy to the death of Roland. "For know thou that the horn is sounded for a very little cause, and that he has no need of thy help. He is only chasing wild animals. And that is the reason why he blows the horn."

And at the advice of the traitor, nothing more was then said about Roland. And thereupon Baldwin, his brother, came to the place where Roland was crawling about and craving for water. And his brother could not find any anywhere. And then Roland besought his brother's blessing. And the brother then mounted Roland's horse lest it should fall into the hands of the Saracens. And he went where Charles was. And after Baldwin had gone, Theoderic came to him and heard his confession and instructed him to intercede with God. And Roland had received that day the Body of the Lord, and had made full confession to the priests. For that was [W.T., p. 99.]

[1] Ch. de R., stanzas 198-206, "The Death of Roland".

their custom the day they went to battle—to go to confession and to receive the Communion. And Roland turned his face heavenward and spake thus: "O Lord Christ, to maintain Thy law and Thy Christianity left I my country to come to a strange and alien land. And by Thy power and Thy aid, Lord, I have conquered many of the Saracens, and have suffered innumerable blows, buffetings, falls, wounds, jests, mockery, weariness, cold, heat, hunger, thirst, grief, and pain. To Thee, Lord, commend[1] I my soul. And as it was for me and all the Christians of the world that Thou didst deign to be born of the Virgin Mary, to suffer on the cross, to be buried, to die, to rise the third day, and to ascend[2] into heaven, which place Thou never didst leave without the presence of Thy power, so, Lord, vouchsafe to deliver my soul from everlasting death. I confess that I am a sinner,[3] immeasurably more[4] guilty than I can express. And seeing, Lord, that Thou art the most merciful Forgiver of all sins, and that Thou dost shew mercy to all, and that Thou seekest not,[5] Lord, from the penitent, save only to absolve him of all the demerit[6] of his sins in the hour he expresses contrition and returns to Thee, and that Thou didst pardon Thine enemies, and that Thou didst pardon the woman who was unfaithful to her marriage vows, and didst open the gates of Paradise to the thief confessing on the cross, refuse Thou not, O Lord, to forgive me my sins. And whatsoever sin I have committed against Thee, forgive it to me, and place[7] me in everlasting rest. For Thou, O Lord, art the Creator of all things, and Thou hast said that the life of a sinner is preferable to his death. I believe in my heart and will confess with my tongue, seeing that it is Thy will to take my soul from this life to the life everlasting. And the sense I now possess is so much better, as the substance is better than the shadow." And taking hold of the skin and flesh about

[1] "Kymynnaf", from Lat. "commendo".

[2] "Esgynnu", from Lat. "ascendo".

[3] "Pechadur", from Lat. "peccator".

[4] "*Eithyr mod* ual y mae kennat y dywedut"; Lat. T. "*Ultra quam* dici fas est".

[5] "*Ac ny cheissy di arglwyd*"; Lat. T. "et nihil odisti eorum quae fecisti"="ac ni chasei di dim ar a wnaethost" ("and hatest nothing that Thou hast made"). Cf. Collect for Ash-Wednesday.

[6] For "Gogonyant" read "goganyant", from "goganu"; Hengwrt MS. "Godyant".

[7] "A llehaa vi"; Lat. T. "refovere", Ciampi; "fouere", Reuber.

his breast, as Theoderic afterwards narrated, with wailing tears he spake in this wise: "O Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God and the Son of the Blessed Virgin Mary, I [W.T. p. 100.] confess with my whole heart, and I do believe that Thou art my living Redeemer, and that at the last day I shall rise from the earth, and that in this flesh I shall see God, the Saviour of every soul."

And thrice he repeated those words while taking hold of his flesh about his breast. And then he placed his hands on his eyes, and spake in this wise: "With these eyes shall I behold Him." And he opened his eyes and looked up to heaven. And he signed his breast and all his members with the sign of the cross, and said thus: "Henceforth of little worth regard I all things human. For now I behold what eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath entered[1] the heart of man, namely, what God hath prepared for him that loves Him."

Then he lifted up his hands in prayer for those of his companions who had fallen in that battle. And he prayed for them as for himself, "For they came into a strange land to fight the Saracens, to maintain Thy name and the Christian law, and to avenge Thy blood. And they are here lying, having been killed by the Saracens, while fighting for Thee. And do Thou, O Lord, blot out the spots[2] of their sins and deliver their souls from the pains of hell. And send Thy holy archangels around them, to defend them from darkness, and to bring them unto the kingdom of heaven, there to reign with Thy martyrs, as Thou reignest together with the Father and the Holy Ghost, without death, without end. Amen."

And then, as Theoderic was leaving him, in that confession and prayer, Roland's soul departed from his body, and angels carried it to everlasting rest, where for ever and ever he reigns with the martyrs as he deserved.[3] And he was in this wise lamented: "Worshipper of

[1] "*Esgynnod* yggallon dyn," cf. Latin Vulgate "in cor hominis *ascendit*" (1 Cor. ii, 9).

[2] "Mannau"; Lat. T. "maculas". Cf. "*Mann* geni" (birth mark). "A *man* oed ȝrwg y dwy ael, ac am hynny y gelwit hi Elen *uanawc*", *Ystorya Dared (Bruts*, p. 12).

[3] Ch. de R. "Deus li tramist sun angle cherubin
Seint Raphael, Seint Michiel de l' Peril
Ensemble od el seinz Gabriel i vint
L' amne de l' Cunte portent en pareis."—vv. 2393-6.

temples. Augmenter of nations.[1] Sure remedy for a country's woes. Hope of scholars. Defence of maidens. Food of the needy. Discreet in mind and disposition. Fountain of judgment. Prudent in counsel. Gentle[2] in mind. Bold in action. Lucid in speech. By him was every man beloved. As a brother to him was every Christian. And to [W.T. p. 101.] his fame let all that is fair in our knighthood minister."[3]

CHAPTER XXV.

And when the soul of Roland was departing from his body in the middle of June,[4] a godly archbishop was singing mass for the dead, before Charles, and he fell into a trance. And he heard a choir of angels singing, and he knew not what it might be. And when they had traversed the heights of heaven, lo, there passed behind him an army as of men returning from an invasion, bearing their spoils with them. And the archbishop addressed them and asked them what they were carrying. "We are taking Marsli to hell", said they, "Michael is taking your trumpeter to Paradise,[5] and a great multitude with him."

And when mass was ended, the archbishop in haste told Charles what had happened. "Be assured", said Charles, "that it is Roland's soul that Michael is taking to heaven, and many other Christians with him. And the devils", said he, "are taking Marsli's soul to hell."

And thereupon, lo, Baldwin, Roland's brother, came to Charles and told him all that had happened to Roland. And he had Roland's horse with him.

And forthwith Charles and all his host returned. And Charles was the first man of the army to find Roland where he was, with face upwards and with his arms in the form of a cross, on his breast. And he made his lamentation for him with sighs and groans. And he wept and pulled his beard and hair by the roots, and with a loud voice he spake thus: "O, the right hand of my body! The finest beard that ever was! The might of all the Franks, their boldness and their defence! The sword of justice! The lance that was never blunted! The unruffled

[1] "Ciwdod", from Lat. "civitatem".

[2] For "gwann" read "gwar".

[3] This is not found in MSS. 5714, 124, 1850, 2137; *Cod. Gall.* 52. It is found in Ed. 1835, as well as in the Latin texts.

[4] For "Mei ehun", read "mehefin". The action in the Vale of Briars took place on Aug. 18th, A.D. 778. See *Gautier*, p. xii.

[5] Ch. de R. "L' amne de l' Cunte portent en pareis", v. 2396.

coat of mail! The head-piece of joy! The helmet of warfare! Similar in glory to Judas Maccabeus, in prowess to Samson. Like in death to King Saul and Jonathan! The noblest knight and the mightiest in battle! The wisest[1] among the hosts! The destroyer of the Saracens! The patron[2] of scholars! The defender of Christians! The support of orphans and widows! The food of the needy! The augmenter of churches! Impartial in judgment![3] The companion of all! The commander of the hosts of the faithful! And in one word, the flower, the confidence, and the valour[4] of all Christendom against its [W.T., p. 102.] enemies."

"And why did we bring thee to these lands? How can I look at thee dead? Why am not I dead with thee? Ah me, miserable! What shall I do henceforth? Live thou henceforth with the angels and with the martyrs. And mine is the mourning, the longing, the weeping, and the sorrow for thee as David mourned for Saul, Jonathan, and Absalom. Thou hast gone, and I abide here in restless grief."

And with such lamentation did Charles mourn for Roland as long as he lived.[5] And he was thirty-eight years old the day he was killed.[6] And they pitched their tents that night where Roland lay dead. And Roland's body was embalmed with precious ointments, namely, myrrh, aloes, and balsam. And great obsequies were made for him, with songs, lamentations, and prayers, with wax tapers and with fires and lights through woods and groves, through all that night, in honour of Roland.

CHAPTER XXVI.

And on the morrow, when they had put on their arms, they went to the Vale of Briars where the battle was fought. And there they found some of their men lying dead, and others in a hopeless state, wounded unto death. And there lay Oliver, dead, with his face upwards, stretched out at

[1] "Doeth", from Lat. "doctus".
[2] "Mawr wr." Hengwrt MS. "mawred"; Lat. T. "murus".
[3] "Brodyeu", from "brawd". Cf. "brawdle".
[4] For "chovynt", read "ehovynt".
[5] "Tra vu dyd", "dyd" from "tyd"; Lat. T. "quamdiu vixit".
[6] This sentence is not in the Latin texts, but it is found in MSS. 5714, 124, and *Cod. Gall.* 52.

full length,[1] bound with four withes fastened to the ground by four stakes. And he had been flayed from his neck to his nails both of his feet[2] and of his hands, and pierced[3] through with all kinds of weapons.

To relate the lamentation and the mourning there is impossible. For they filled the valley with the voice of their weeping and wailing.[4] And then the king swore to the Almighty King that he would not cease from pursuing the paynims until he overtook them. And forthwith they left that place in pursuit of them. And then it was that the sun stood still for the space of three days. And he overtook them on the banks of the Abra, near Saragossa. And he went in among them like a fierce lion that had been long fasting.[5] And after he had killed four thousand of them, he returned to the Vale of Briars, and he had all the bodies he had embalmed brought [W.T., p. 103.] together and carried to where Roland's body lay.

And then Charles enquired if it were true that Gwenwlyd had caused the betrayal of Roland and others of his men. And forthwith two men were put to fight a duel to reveal the truth concerning the matter, namely, Theoderic[6] for Charles, and Pinabel for Gwenwlyd. And forthwith Pinabel was killed.

And then Charles had Gwenwlyd bound to four horses, the strongest in the army, with a horseman on each, to drive them to the four quarters of the world, each of them one against the other, and so Gwenwlyd met his death.

CHAPTER XXVII.[7]

And they then anointed the dead bodies of their famous men all with myrrh and balsam. Others were salted with

[1] "Ar y estynn"; Lat. T. "in effigiem crucis extensum".

[2] W. T. "Breicheu" (arms); Lat. T. "usque ad ungues pedum et manum".

[3] "Fenestru"; Lat. T. "perforatum".

[4] Ch. de R. "En Rencesvals mult grant est la dulur", v. 2417a.

[5] This sentence is not found in Ciampi, Reuber, MSS. 5714, 124, 1850, 2137; Ed. 1835. It is found, however, in *Cod. Gall.* 52, "Adout leur courut Charle seure aussi coume le lyon familleus a la proie et ses gens ossi".

[6] Caxton adds, "And amonge alle other Thyerry accused and appeled hym of treason, and that he wold fyght in the quarel. *For Thyerry had knowliche of the Sarasyn that Rolland had bounden to a tree.*"

[7] This chapter is shorter in Welsh than in Latin.

salt. And they were conveyed from thence. Some were buried there and some were brought to France.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

And there were two consecrated churchyards[1] of great dignity, one in Arles and the other in Bordeaux,[2] which had been consecrated by seven bishops. And in those were buried most of the dead bodies.

CHAPTER XXIX.

And Roland's body was carried in state[3] to Blaye, and was buried in the church of St. Romain, which he himself had built and to which he had appointed canons. And at his head was placed his sword, and at his feet his horn Olifant,[4] in a high place, to his honour, glory, and fame.

And this having been done, Charles gave twelve thousand ounces[5] of silver and the same quantity of gold byzants;[6] fine vestments; meat and drink without stint to the poor; the land and the territory for seven miles around the Church of St. Romain; the castle and the court and all that appertained to them; and the sea also. All these gave he for love of Roland. And he enacted that the canons of that place should not be subject to any secular service, save only that they should once every year, on the anniversary of his death, clothe and feed thirty poor people, on that night, for the repose of the soul of Roland; and that they should sing thirty psalms and thirty masses in honour of Roland and those who suffered martyrdom with him in Spain, so that they might be partakers of their crowns.[7] And they promised on oath to do so.

CHAPTER XXXI.[8]

And after that Charles came from Blaye to Vienna,

[1] "Vynnwent", from Lat. "monumenta".

[2] Supplied from Lat. T.

[3] "Yn anrydedus"; Lat. T. "super duas mulas tapeto aureo subvectum, pallis tectum".

[4] "Eliffant ei gorn." There is a distinction made in the *Chanson de Roland* between "le cor", which each knight had, and "l' olifant", which was Roland's peculiar possession. Cf. Ch. de R., v. 1059.

[5] "Vgeineu"; Lat. T. "unciis".

[6] "Vyssanneu"; Lat. T. "talentis". A byzant is a gold coin of the value of fifteen pounds sterling, so called because it was coined at Byzantium.

[7] "Y coroneu"; Lat. T. "ipsorum coronae participes".

[8] The Welsh version omits chap. xxx of Turpin's *Chronicle*, containing the names of the famous warriors who were buried at Arles.

[W.T. p. 104.] and there he rested awhile, applying remedies[1] to his wounds and sores. And thence he came to Paris. And then he held a council at St. Denis of his princes and his bishops, in the Church of St. Denis, to render thanks to God and the saint[2] for the power and might He had given him to subdue the paynims. And he then gave the whole of France in subjection[3] to St. Denis, as the apostle Paul and the pope[4] Clements had given, who in times past commanded[5] the kings and the bishops to obey that Church and to give four pence every year from every house to build the church. And he set at liberty every slave who paid that tax. And he who paid it quite willingly was called the Frank of St. Denis.[6] And it was from this that country was called Frankland, which previously was called Gaul. The meaning of the name Frank[7] is to be free from servitude to any nation. For they ought to be above all.

And thence Charles came to the place called Aix-la-chapelle,[8] towards Liege. And there he had baths[9] made, which were always sufficiently warm, the heat never ceasing and the temperature duly and skilfully apportioned.[10]

And the church, which he had built to the Blessed Virgin Mary, he embellished[11] with gold and silver and all church furniture. And he had all the stories of the Old

[1] "Medeginyaeth", from Lat "medicina".

[2] "Ar sant". Not found in Lat. texts, *Cod. Gall.* 52, MSS. 5714, 124, 1850. Found in MS. 2137, and Ed. 1835.

[3] "Yn darestyngedic"; Lat. T. "in praedio".

[4] Some of the old Fr. MSS. read "apostle" for "pope" (MS. 1850, MS. 2137, *Cod. Gall.* 52).

[5] According to the Latin texts and the old French translations, it is Charles who commands the kings and bishops to obey, and every householder to give four pence annually to build the church.

[6] The appearance of St. Denis to Charles is not recorded in the Welsh text. It is found in the Latin texts, the old French translations, and the old English translation of Caxton.

[7] On the origin of the name "Frank", *vide* Ciampi, pp. 131-138.

[8] "Dyfwr grawn"; Lat. T. "Aquisgranum".

[9] Canon Williams forgot the other meaning of "enneint" when he translated it here "ointment".

[10] Lat. T. "aqua calida et frigida temperata". "He delighted, too, in the steam of nature-heated baths, being a frequent and skilful swimmer . . . . This was the reason for building his palace at Aquisgranum, where he spent the latter years of his life, up to his death." Hodgkin's *Charles the Great*, p. 223.

[11] "Adurnawd", from Lat. "adorno".

Law written in it[1] on its walls,[2] in letters and characters of gold. And he had all that painted[3] in his own palace, and all of his battles in Spain, and, in addition to that, the seven arts.

The Seven Liberal Arts.[4]

Firstly, grammar[5] was written there. For it is the mother of the arts, and it teaches how many letters there are, and how every word should be written and how many syllables there are in it. And by that art readers in Church understand the meaning of the words they read. And he who knows not that art, reads the words and understands them not; like a man who has not the key, knows not what is contained in the vessel while the lock on it conceals it.

Music was painted there which teaches the art of singing. By it the service of the Church is embellished and the singers learn to play the organ.[6] And he who is not versed in that art, bellows like a bull. The tunes and notes [W.T., p. 105.] he knows not. But like a man drawing lines on parchment with a crooked ruler, so unskilful as that does he utter his voice. By means of that art was conceived all that ever was of songs for harp, violin, guitar and pipes. And yet it has but four lines and eight notes. And by these are signified the four virtues which appertain to the body, and the eight blessings of the soul. And it had its origin in the songs of angels at the beginning.[7]

Dialectics was depicted in the king's palace, which teaches a man to distinguish, and to express, the difference between the true and the false, and to argue about words and to understand them, if there be any ambiguity in them.

Rhetoric was there, and that art teaches a man to

[1] The first "ysgythru ymywn neuad" should be deleted.

[2] "Parwytyd", from Lat. "paretem" from "paries".

[3] "Ysgythru"; Lat. T. "depingo".

[4] This forms a part of the *Supplementa*, and is not found in the early Latin texts, but is found in all the old French translations, MSS. 5714, 124, 1850, 2137, *Cod. Gall.* 52, Ed. 1835. This supplement is found in Latin in Lambecius' *Commentaria de Augusta Bibliotheca Caesara Vindobonensis*, Bk. ii, p. 334. It is also quoted in the A.D. 1726 Edition of Reuber, pp. 121, 122.

[5] On "The Seven Liberal Arts", see West's *Alcuin*, chap. i, pp. 4-27.

[6] Lat. T. "Cantores . . . canunt et organizant".

[7] Lat. T. "Haec namque ars ab angelicis vocibus et cantibus divinitus in caelo edita fuit". Cf. Ed. 1835. *Vide* Job xxxviii, 7.

express himself fully, readily, and rightly. He who is skilled in that art will speak with eloquence and judgment.

Geometry was painted there, the art which teaches the measurement of the earth, the valleys, the mountains, the glens, the seas,—their dimensions[1] and their miles. And he who understands that art fully, when he regards the extent of a region,[2] will know how many miles, or how many furlongs, or how many feet it is in length and breadth. And so of any field, or place, or city, he will know how many feet it contains. And by that art the Senators[3] arranged the miles and the roads from city to city. And by that art the ignorant[4] husbandmen cultivate and measure their lands, vineyards, meadows, fields and groves.

Arithmetic was painted there, which treats[5] of the numbers of all things. And he who knows that art, when he sees a tower, however high it may be, knows how many stones there are in it, or how many drops of water there are in the cup, or how many pence there are in a heap of money,[6] or how many men there are in the army. And it is by that art, however ignorant they be of it, that stone-masons build to completion the highest towers.

Astrology was painted there. That is the science of the stars. By that art are ascertained fortunes and fates, future and present, good and evil, everywhere. He who is versed in that art, when going on a journey or desiring to do something else, will know how it will fare with him. If he sees[7] two men or two armies fighting, he will know which of them will prevail. By that science the Senators [W.T. p. 106] of Rome ascertained the condition of their men, in the ends of the world and the furthest regions.[8]

CHAPTER XXXII.

And shortly after that, the death of Charles was made known[9] to Archbishop Turpin. When he was one day

[1] "Ysbasseu"; Lat. T. "spatia"; O. Fr. "espaces".

[2] "Brenhinyaeth", cf. "Animal *kingdom*".

[3] "Amherotron"; Lat. T. "Sanatores Romani". All the old Fr. MSS. have "senateur".

[4] "Dissynnwyr"; Lat. T. "quamvis ignorantes".

[5] "Traetho", from Lat. "tracto".

[6] "Yn y das aryant"; Lat. T. "nummi in uno cumulo".

[7] "Gwyl", *vide* Zeuss, p. 508.

[8] The old French MSS., and the Latin *Supplementa*, have an additional chapter on "Nigromantia".

[9] Lat. T. is in the first person: "Caroli mors mihi (Turpino) demonstratur".

before the altar in Vienna, praying and intoning prime,[1] lo, he fell as it were into a trance. And behold, behind his back, an army of knights, countless in number, passed by him. And he perceived that they were going towards Lorraine. And when they had passed by, he saw one like a Moor[2] following the others with slow steps. And Turpin asked him where they were going. "We are going", said he, "to Aix-la-chapelle,[3] to be at the death of Charles to take his soul to hell". "And I command thee", said Turpin, "in the name of the Lord Christ, to return to me, when your journey is ended, and tell me what was the outcome of your journey."

And they made no longer tarrying than would just enable him to finish the psalm, lo, they returned in the same order as they went there. And Turpin then said to him to whom he had previously spoken concerning their commission, "What have you done?"[4] "The headless man of Galice",[5] said he, "brought so much stone and timber that were in his churches and placed them in his balance.[6] And the good weighed more than his sins. And therefore he took his soul from us to heaven."

And thereupon the devil vanished away. And so Turpin understood that Charles had entered his rest by the aid of the apostle James, to whom Charles had erected churches.

For they had promised, the day they separated from Vienna, to send either to other, whatever happened to them. And when Charles was ill, he remembered the promise he had made to Turpin. And when he perceived that he was dying, he asked his own foster-son, a young knight,

[1] "Dechreu awr"; Lat. T. "psalmumque *Deus in adiutorium meum* cantarem"; MS. 5714 "e si auoia comence un sauma *Deus in adjutorium*"; MS. 2137 "Sautier qui conmence: *Deus, in adjutorium*"; *Cod. Gall.* 52 "une psalme du psautier, qui coumenchoit ainsi".

[2] "Tebic i vlasmon"; Hengwrt MS. "tebic i vlewmon"; Lat. T. "Aetiopi consimilem", Ciampi; "Æthiopi consimilem", Reuber; MS. 2137 "plus noir d'un mor".

[3] "Dwfyr y grawn."

[4] Supplied from the Lat. T.

[5] "Y gwr or galis, heb af, heb penn arnaw"; Lat. T. "et daemon galletianus inquit: *Michael*", etc., Ciampi; "et Daemon Gallitianus inquit, *sine capite*", etc., Reuber; Old Fr. MS. 1850 "e il respondi; *Jaques de Galice*"; MS. 2137 "e il respondi; . . . *Jaques li apostres*"; *Cod. Gall.* 52 "il me respondi errant: *un Galiciien sans tieste*".

[6] "Taval", from Lat. "tabula".

to send the news to Turpin. And it was not sent for a fortnight after his death. And he was to tell him, also, that he had not been well either day or night since he came from Spain, and that they had honourably celebrated the obsequies of the martyrs who had suffered martyrdom there every year, while he lived, with gold, and silver, meat, and drink, and clothes, as was previously mentioned above, and also with masses, psalms, and requiem mass.[1]

And on the same day and hour that Turpin saw the vision, Charles died, namely four days before the Kalends [W.T., p. 107.] of February,[2] the eight hundred and fourteenth year of the birth of Jesus Christ. And he was honourably buried in the round Church of Lady Mary, which he himself built at Aix-la-chapelle, near Liège.

And it is reported that there were signs of his death for three years before he died—that the sun and moon were darkened for the space of seven days; that his name, namely "Charlemagne, the king of the Franks", which was written on the walls of the above-named church, was effaced of itself; that the great porch which was between the church and the palace above mentioned, on Ascension Day,[3] fell down of itself from its foundation; that a wooden bridge which had been then for seven years over the river Rhine, and which had entailed much cost and labour in its building, was burnt to the ground of itself; that one day Charles was going from one place to another, on a dismal and foggy day, lo, he saw a blue flame as of a destroying fire passing quickly before his face from his right to the left, and he was frightened by the fire, and he fell off his horse on the left, and the hawk[4] which was in

[1] "Gwasanaeth marw"; Lat. T. "vigilias"; cf. W. "gwylnos".

[2] "Chwefrawr", from Lat. "Februarius". The "chw" for "f" (="v." Welsh) is due to the influence of "s" in "mis" (month). "Misvebrar". "sv." (Aryan)="chw" (Welsh), cf. "chweg", cognate Lat. "suavis", Eng. "sweet"; "chwys", cognate Lat. "sudor", Eng. "sweat"; "chwaer", cognate Goth "svistar", Eng. "sister"; "chwech", cognate Lat. "sex", Eng. "six", old Celtic form "svex", cf. Jubainville's *Origine des voyelles et des consonnes du Breton moderne de France*, p. 19.

[3] "Diwren kyfarchafael"; Hengwrt MS. "*duwieu* gyfachauel"; Lat. T. "die Ascensionis". "Diwren"="Difieu", cf. "divyeu", Stephen's *Gododin*, p. 300.

[4] "Hebawc"; Lat. T. "arcum", Ciampi; arca, Reuber; MSS. 5714 and 124 "e una *ascona* que il portot en sa main"; MS. 2137 "par *la regne* qu' il tenoit d'autre part"; *Cod. Gall.* 52 "et *les resnes* qu' il tenoit en sa main"; Ed. 1835 "et *ung ymaige* quil portoit.

his hand fell on the other side, and forthwith his men took hold of him and raised him up.

And therefore we are fully persuaded that he is a partaker of the crowns of the martyrs aforementioned who suffered martyrdom, in that he suffered with them.

And therefore he is given as an example, by which we are to understand that he who builds churches prepares for himself the everlasting life. For thus was Charles liberated from the bondage of the devils, and was placed in the kingdom of heaven by the help of the saints to whom he had built churches.[1]

The Death of Turpin.[2]

And after the death of Charles, Turpin did not live but for a short time,[3] languishing, in Vienna, from his wounds, and pains, and bruises. And when he died he was buried there in a church near the city, on the further side of the Rhone. And there he was for a time. And in those days, bishops, clerks, and priests took the body of Turpin, in a coffin[4] honourably, vested in his episcopal robes, and brought him to a city the other side of the Rhone, and buried him in the church where he is still held in honour. [W.T., p. 108.] And he is receiving the crown of his kingdom in heaven as he deserved for his very many labours while he was on earth in avenging the blood of the Lord Jesus Christ. And his elegy is above his head in fair and becoming glass.

And so ends the history of Charlemagne, and his exploits in Spain and in many other kingdoms where he spent his temporal life for everlasting life, fighting against the paynims and the enemies of our true Lord Jesus Christ, Who prepared a place for him in heaven for his labour in the world. Amen.[5]

[1] Ciampi and Reuber (Edition, A.D. 1584), end here with these words:—"Explicit epistola Turpini ad Leoprandum. Qui legis hoc carmen Turpino posce juvamen ut pietate Dei subveniatur ei. Amen."

[2] Found in Lambecius' *Commentary*, p. 337; Old Fr. MSS. 5714, 124, 1850, 2137; *Cod. Gall.* 52; and Ed. 1835.

[3] All this is quite unhistorical; for Archbishop Turpin died some years before Charlemagne; according to some in 802, and according to others in 808.

[4] "Ysgrin", from Lat. "scrinium".

[5] Hengwrt MS. and *Cod. Gall.* 52 end here.

"Explicit istoria d'ni Sarlim regis francie de actibus in yspania contra paganos et inimicos IHU. Xpi."[1]

THE MIRACLE WHICH GOD WROUGHT FOR ROLAND.[2]

And among other things, it is worthy to recall to memory and to the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, the miracle which God wrought for Roland, while he was still alive, before he went to Spain. When Count Roland had come to the city of Granopolis, with an innumerable host of Christians, and had been before it for seven years, a swift messenger came to tell him that his uncle Charles was besieged in a castle in the uttermost parts of Germania, and that three kings and their hosts were surrounding him and his host. And he asked Roland to come to his aid and release him from the paynims. And then Roland was perplexed about the situation, and was at a loss what would be the best course to pursue, whether he should leave the city for which he had suffered so much sorrow and travail, and go to deliver his uncle, or abandon[3] his uncle and lay siege to the city. Alas,[4] that a man so praiseworthy in all things, so full of gentleness,[5] should be thus perplexed between two fates. Then[6] Roland and his host devoted themselves, for three days and three nights, to prayer and fasting, neither eating nor drinking, to ask for the help of God, in this wise: "O Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the Father Most High, Thou who dividedst the Red Sea in two parts and leddest Thy people through the midst of it, and heldest Pharaoh and his host in it, who leddest Thy [W.T., p. 109.] people through the wilderness, who destroyedst many of their adversaries, who slewest mighty kings, Sehon king of the Amorites,[7] Og the king of Basan, and all the kingdoms of Canaan, and gavest the land of their inheritance to the people of Israel. Thou destroyedst the walls of Jericho, without any human aid or skill, though

[1] "Here endeth the history of Charlemagne, king of France, concerning his exploits in Spain against paynims and the enemies of Jesus Christ."

[2] Found in Lambecius' *Commentary*, p. 337, the Old Fr. MSS. 5714, 124, 1850, 2137, and Hengwrt MS.

[3] "Dilyssu"; Lat. T. "dimitto".

[4] "Owi aduw"; "duw"="dydd", lit. "alackaday".

[5] "Gwarder", from "gwar".

[6] "Sef", see Zeuss, p. 398.

[7] "A morrei"="Amoriaid".

it had been besieged by armies for seven years without receiving any harm, destroy Thou also, O Lord, the might of this city, and smite its power with Thine own mighty hand and Thine own invincible arm, that the paynim people who trust in their own native ferocity and treat Thee with despite, may acknowledge Thee to be the Living God, the King of all Kings, the Almighty, the Helper and Protector of all Christians, who with the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, livest and reignest, one God, world without end, for ever and ever. Amen."

And three days after they had made their prayer, the walls of the city fell without human aid. And when the paynims had been vanquished and had fled, Count Roland and his host set out with joy to go to Tiester[1] to Charles, and there, by the power of God, he was delivered from the investment of his enemies.

Altumor of Cordova.[2]

Here, also, we will relate what fortune befell Galice, after the death of Charles. When Galice had been for a long time in peace, being prompted, a devil arose, Altumor of Cordova, who said that he would bring into subjection to himself, under the laws of the Saracens, Spain and Galice, which Charles formerly took from his ancestors.[3] And when he had assembled his army together, he devastated the country, here and there, as far as Santiago.[4] And all that he found within it he destroyed. And further, he destroyed the church, and the books, the (silver) tables, the almonries, and the vestments thereof, and took away from it its ornaments. And when the Saracens had come unto the church with their horses, they dared to relieve themselves on the altar. And wherefore some of them by divine vengeance died of diarrhœa, and others lost their eyes. And thus was their commander completely blinded. And, at the advice of one of the priests of the church, he began to call upon the God of

[1] "Tiester"; Lat. T. "In terram Teutonicam".

[2] Found in Lambecius' *Commentary*, in Old Fr. MSS. 5714, 124, 1850, 2137, and Ed. 1835. For the true history of what happened, see Watts', *Spain* ("Story of the Nations"), pp. 51, 52.

[3] "Rieni", cognate with Lat. "progenies"; an instance of the disappearance of the Aryan "p" in Welsh words.

[4] "Iago", from Lat. "Iacobus".

the Christians to help him, in these words: "O God of the Christians, the God of James, the God of Mary, the God of Peter, the God of Martin,[1] the Almighty God, I will renounce Mahomet, if I may receive from Thee my former health. And never more will I come to the church of Santiago to its dishonour.[2] O James, thou great man, if thou wilt grant health to my eyes and to my belly, I will restore whatsoever I have taken from thy house."

And then, after a fortnight, when all things had been restored two-fold to the church, Altumor recovered his former health. And he left the coasts[3] of Galice, promising that he would never come to the country to do wrong, and proclaiming that the God of the Christians was a great God, and acknowledging that James was a great man.

And then he went through Spain, devastating all the land, till he came to the town called Ornit, in which was the fine church of Saint Romains embellished with the finest silks and books, with crosses and with other relics of gold and silver. And Altumor went and despoiled[4] that church also and destroyed the town. And when they had encamped in the town, his commander-in-chief went into the church, and he saw the stone column, the finest in the world, supporting the roof of the church, and the capital of which was all of gold and silver. He, being goaded by the prick of covetousness, took an iron hammer and fixed an iron wedge between the base and the column, wishing to demolish it. And when he was thus striking the column, with the intention of demolishing the whole church, he, by the operation of divine judgment, was turned into a stone. And that stone is, to this day, in that church in the form of a man, being of the same colour as the tunic[5] which the Saracen then wore. The pilgrims who go there are also wont to narrate that that stone has a very offensive odour.

And when Altumor saw that, he said to his retinue, "Of a surety[6] now", said he, "great and glorious is the God of the Christians who has such beloved ones, that, having departed this life, they nevertheless avenge malignity of this kind on the living. James deprived me of my eyes

[1] "Duw marthin", not found in Ed. 1835, MSS. 1850, 2137.
[2] "Amreint", from "an" and "braint".
[3] "Teruynn", from Lat. "termina".
[4] "Yspeilaw", from Lat. "spolia".
[5] "Pais", from Lat. "pexa".
[6] "Diheu", from "di" and "gau".

and Romains has made my man a stone. James, however, is more merciful than Romains. For James had pity on me and has restored me my eyes. But Romains will not restore to me my man. And wherefore let us flee from these lands." And thence, in fear and confusion, that paynim and his host took to flight. And none afterwards, for a long time, dared to disturb Santiago or its coasts. Amen.[1]

CHAPTER XXII.[2]

Here we wish to recount that when the presents and hostages were sent to Charles through Gwenwlyd, that forty[3] horses laden[4] with wine, the clearest and best to drink, were sent to the warriors, and a thousand fair Saracenes for their use. And that was in return for his treacherous promise as you have heard above. The chief men[5] of the Christian warriors, though they made use of the wine, made no use of the women. It was the other warriors who made use of the women.

And wherefore in this place it may be asked, Why did God allow those who had made no use of the women to die then, with those who made use of them?

It may therefore be replied, Because God did not wish those who were in good health to return home again, lest peradventure they should sin there more grievously. For He would give them for their labour the crown of the kingdom of heaven through suffering. Those also who sinned by means of the women He allowed to die. For God would take away their sins through the suffering of the sword. And it is not credible that the most merciful God would not recompense each one of them for their labours, namely, those who, at their end, confessed His name by acknowledging their sins. For though they committed their sins, nevertheless in the end they were slain for the name of Christ.

[1] End of *Supplementa*.

[2] The translator gives here a brief summary of the first portion of the xxii chapter of Turpin's history.

[3] "Deugein meirch"; Lat. T., Reuber, "quadraginta"; Ciampi, "lx"; so MSS. 5714, 124, *Cod. Gall.* 52. Lat. T., Ciampi, "et lx equos vino dulcissimo et puro oneratos miserunt pugnatoribus ad potandum, et mille mulieres Saracenas formosas ad faciendum stuprum". The last three words are not found in Reuber, Old Fr. MSS. 5714, 124, *Cod. Gall.* 52.

[4] "Pwnn", from Lat. "pondus".

[5] "Gwyr mwyaf"; Lat. T. "Maiores pugnatores".

And wherefore from their engagement in[1] battle is made manifest how wrong and dangerous is the company of women. For certain earthly princes, in times past, namely, the mighty Darius and Antonius, both fell in the company of their wives. Alexander conquered Darius and the Emperor Octavius overcame Antonius. Wherefore it is neither becoming nor expedient that women should be among the hosts in their camps, where incontinence should be eradicated, which is an impediment to soul and body.

Turpin's Elegy.

Here lies Turpin, the Archbishop of Rheims. In heart, he was like a lion. No mean citizen of the faith was he. He was the flower, the glory, and the finest ornament of his country's affairs. In this Gallic tomb he lies, the honour of womanhood, a fit judge of the world, a very learned one. Death knew not that it took the finest among men. He was the home of counsel, and the pivot of the world. He, being faithful, entered into heaven on the Ides of April.[2]

[1] For "yny eu" read "ymywn".
[2] This elegy is unique. There is nothing like it in any other MS. published.

POSTSCRIPT.

I wish to acknowledge with deep gratitude, and in sacred memory, the invaluable help given me in proof reading and correcting, by my late wife and former fellow-student, Mary Louisa Williams (*née* Carter), B.A. London; Scholar, Associate, and the first Lady Graduate, of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, whose accurate knowledge of languages, and especially of mediæval French, was always at my service in comparing the Welsh text with other texts, and whose love for the old literature of Wales—though by birth and early education and connection she was English of the English—moved me to translate this book in order that she might the better enjoy it.

R. W.

THE

Cymmrodorion Record Series.

FIRST PROSPECTUS.

THE idea of the publication of Welsh Records, which had for some time occupied the thoughts of leading Welsh Scholars, took a definite and practical shape at the meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod held at Brecon in 1889. In the papers which were read at that meeting it was shown that a vast quantity of material necessary for understanding the history of Wales still remained buried in public and private Libraries, and also that such of the Welsh Chronicles as had been given to the world had been edited in a manner which had not fulfilled the requirements of modern scholarship.

As it appeared that the Government declined to undertake any further publication of purely Welsh Records, it was suggested by Sir John Williams that the Council of the Cymmrodorion Society should take the work in hand, and establish a separate fund for that purpose.

The Council are of opinion that a work of this magnitude cannot be left to private enterprise, although they thankfully acknowledge the indebtedness of all Welshmen to such men as Mr. G. T. Clark of Talygarn, the Rev. Canon Silvan Evans, Mr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, Mr. Owen Edwards, Mr. Egerton Phillimore, and Professor John Rhys, and they fully appreciate the valuable work done by members of the various Antiquarian Societies.

Private enterprise has enabled the Council to issue, without cost to the Society, the first number of the Series which they have undertaken. The edition of *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, two parts of which have already been issued), is the result to Mr. Henry Owen—a member of the Society's Council—of long and arduous labour, and of an expenditure of a sum of money which would enable any patriotic Welshman who follows that example to present similar numbers of the proposed Series to his countrymen.

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Vol. XXI. "Cared doeth yr encilion." 1908.

All around the Wrekin.

By Professor SIR JOHN RHYS, M.A., D.Litt.

Some two miles and a half to the south-west of Wellington is the Wrekin, a long and isolated hill which rises some nine hundred feet above the level of the country round, except on the north-east, where there is another and a more irregular hill, called Ercal. They are separated by a deep little glen, along which a very pretty brook winds its way; the line of the hills is, roughly speaking, north-east and south-west. The ridge of the Wrekin forms a sort of long street, except that there are no houses to obstruct the view on either hand, but here and there plenty of trees. The whole hill is an ancient stronghold, forming a double camp two thousand feet long; the fortifications are now somewhat effaced in parts, but enough remains to show that they consisted of a double vallum and fosse, with outworks. I take these details from the proof-sheets kindly lent me of the article on "Earthworks", in the first volume of the *Victoria County History of Shropshire*; for a full description of the hill the reader must be referred to the forthcoming volume, but I have given enough to shew that the Wrekin is one of the most remarkable fortifications in the British Isles. That is apart from the fact pointed out

by Mr. Davies in his *Handbook to the Wrekin* (Shrewsbury, 1895), that this hill is geologically one of our most primeval landmarks.

I now proceed to quote a passage from Miss Burne's *Folk-lore, Legends and Old Customs,* reprinted from her *Memorials of Old Shropshire* (Bemrose & Sons, London), as follows :—

> "Wrekin Wakes, held on the first Sunday in May, were distinguished by an ever-recurring contest between the colliers and the agricultural population for the possession of the hill. This is said to have gone on all day, reinforcements being called up when either side was worsted. The rites still practised by visitors to the Wrekin doubtless formed part of the ceremonial of the ancient wake. On the bare rock at the summit is a natural hollow, known as the Raven's Bowl or the Cuckoo's Cup, which is always full of water, supposed to be placed there as it were miraculously, for the use of the birds. Every visitor should taste this water, and, if a young girl ascending the hill for the first time, should then scramble down the steep face of the cliff and squeeze through a natural cleft in the rock called the Needle's Eye, and believed to have been formed when the rocks were rent at the Crucifixion; should she look back during the task, she will never be married. Her lover should await her at the further side of the gap, where he may claim a kiss, or, in default of one, the forfeit of some article of clothing—a coloured article, such as a glove, a kerchief, or a ribbon, carefully explained the lady on whose authority the last detail is given."

Having read this about the Wrekin Wakes some years ago, I had long wished to make closer acquaintance with the old camp, and on the 13th of September 1907, in the interval of two of the many meetings which Welshmen have to attend at Shrewsbury, I escaped to Wellington, and had a most agreeable walk to the summit of the Wrekin, though the latter portion of it was a pretty stiff climb. One can, however, break the climb at a conveniently situated refreshment place on the shoulder of

the hill, before you come in sight of the camp. The weather was dry, and I was disappointed to find the Raven's Bowl empty, but a rock hollow, not far off, held water still, which my companion's dog found most welcome. Perhaps that should have been the Raven's, and the other the Cuckoo's, separate provision being made for the two birds. The most probable view, however, is that the Cuckoo is to be discarded altogether as a mere intruder there as elsewhere. Glimpses of many counties may be caught from the top of the Wrekin, but I am more interested in a spot only some few miles away, namely, the site of the Roman fortress of Viroconium, in English, Wroxeter, on the Severn. For till I visited the Wrekin I could never understand why the Romans built a fortress at Wroxeter; but the moment I saw what the Wrekin camp is like I saw also that Wroxeter was meant to keep it in check, that is, until it could be made untenable by the conquest of all the surrounding country. The Wrekin would not be the sort of nest which the Romans would care to occupy any more than the Celts would have elected to fortify the site of Wroxeter on the level ground. In Roman times the inhabitants of the district would seem to have been the Brythonic tribe of the Cornavii.

I.

If you search the volumes of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for the years 1863 (pp. 134-56, 249-54, 334) and 1864 (pp. 62-74, 156-76, 260-62) you will find the record of a lively controversy between three men of eminence in the field of history and archæology, to wit, Edwin Guest, Thomas Wright, and Thomas Stephens: they have all passed away. The subjects of the discussion were Viroconium, or Uriconium as they called it, the Wrekin, and the Elegy to Cynḋylan in the *Red Book of Hergest*, a poem

which was subsequently published at length in Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. ii, pp. 279-91. The elegy consists of over a hundred stanzas, and it has been usually ascribed to Llywarch Hên. Stanza 80 mentions a place called *Dinlle Urcconn*, which Stephens understood to mean the site of Viroconium, the *lle* 'place' of its *din* 'fortress', for of course he regarded the fortress itself as a thing of the past. Guest and Wright took it to mean the camp on the Wrekin, and I have no doubt that they were right. Guest and Stephens agreed in their analysis of the word Dinlle: they regarded it as a compound, meaning, literally, a 'fortress place', which Guest interpreted as the place of an actual stronghold, that on the Wrekin, while for Stephens it was the place where a fortress had been at some time or other previously. It happens that they were both wrong: not only is their compound improbable in itself, but we have another Dinlle, the history of the name of which is clear and easy to understand. I mean the great mound known as Dinas Dinlle, on the Arvon coast to the west of the western mouth of the Menai Straits.

Now the *Mabinogi* of Math ab Mathonwy informs us that Nantlle, in the same county, took its name from Llew Llawgyffes, whose older name was Lleu;[1] but the Southwallian scribe of the *Red Book* was not familiar with that name or with the name of Dinlle; so when he found Nantllev and Dinllev in his original, he made them into Nant y lle6 and Dinas Dinllef,[2] though the pronunciation meant was Nantlleu and Dinlleu, or rather, perhaps, Nant Lleu and Din Lleu. In fact, it was the compression of the two words into one, with the accent on the first, that brought about the shortening of the final

[1] Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 398-400.

[2] Rhys & Evans, *Mabinogion*, pp. 71, 78; see also ed. note, p. 312.

syllable so as to make the present forms, Nántlle and Dínlle. This gluing together of two words under one accent is a favourite way of treating place-names in North Wales: take for example *Castéllmarch* and *Abérffraw*. The surmise as to the old pronunciation of the names in question is established by the rhymes in one of the Tomb Englyns given in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, i, 78[b], which, put into a somewhat normalized spelling, runs thus:—

Y bed yngorthir Nantlleu	The grave in the upland of Nantlle—
Ny 6yr neb y gynnedfeu	Nobody knows its properties:
Mabon fab Modron gleu.	It is Mabon's, son of swift Modron.

The relation between *Llew* and *Lleu* is obscure: possibly *Llew* was arrived at as the result of a popular tendency to change *Lleu* into a more familiar word, and *llew*, 'a lion', may have been regarded as quite satisfactory, though the story of Lleu never gives him the shape of a lion, but, for a while, that of an eagle. The old form of the name *Lleu* should be *Llou*, and we seem to meet with it in the Nennian Genealogies, contained in the British Museum MS., *Harleian* 3859; see the *Cymmrodor*, vol. ix, 176, where we have *Louhen map Guid gen*, that is *Llou hén* 'Ll the ancient', son of Guidgen. The latter name was probably the full compound name of Gwydion, the father of Lleu, *Gwydion* itself being the hypocoristic and secondary formation from the compound; the latter seems to occur as *Gwydyen* in an obscure passage in the *Book of Aneirin*, where we have *eryr Gwydyen*,[1] which, as meaning Gwydion's Eagle, would exactly describe Lleu his son. The name is

[1] Verse xl, Skene, ii, 75, Stephens's *Gododin*, p. 242. Since the foregoing was written Professor Anwyl has pointed out another instance of *Gwydyen* in the *Myvyrian Arch.*, i, 230[a], where one of the names with which it rhymes is the singular one of *Pobyen*; there is, he tells me, a Caer Bobien between Aberystwyth and Machynlleth. With Gwydion the *Book of Taliessin* (Skene, ii, 158) associates a certain Gwytheint; the name occurs as *Gwideint* in the Life of St.

further reduced to *Gwyden*, which occurs in the *Book of Taliessin* (Skene, ii, 190, 193). Further, the name Lleu has been usually identified by me with the Irish hero, whose name was Lug Lamfada, 'Lug of the long hand'. In Medieval Irish, to which Lug belongs, the genitive was Loga; and the Welsh *Lou*, to which *Lleu* has been traced, is the etymological counterpart of *Lug*, *Loga*.

We have other instances of vowel-flanked *g* yielding Welsh *u*, not *w*. The Latin word *pugillares*, meaning writing tablets, was borrowed into Welsh, where it appears as *peullaór*, used in one of the Taliessin poems (Skene, ii, 141) in the sense of 'books'. There is a still older form, with *ou*, namely *poulloraur*, as a gloss on *pugillarem paginam*; see the *Capella Glosses*, edited by Stokes, in Kuhn's *Beitræge*, vii, 393. The next instance I wish to mention is a native one, *meudwy*, 'a hermit': the word is to be analysed into *meu-dwy*, meaning 'servus Dei', from *dwy* for *dwyw*, 'god', and *meu*, which has corresponding to it in Medieval Irish, *mug*, genitive *moga*, 'a slave, a thrall'. The relation between *Lleu* and Irish *Lug*, *Loga*, is exactly the same as that between *meu* (in *meudwy*[1]) and Irish *mug*, *moga*. This is not proof direct of the identity of the former words, but if you calculate you will find that the chances against the identity being a mistaken one are overwhelming, and in matters of etymology you can seldom obtain a higher order of proof.

Having practically identified *Lleu* with the Irish *Lug* we know where we are and how to proceed further. For

Beuno in the Elucidarium Volume of the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, p. 124. It is there given to the donor of Celynnog Fawr, in Arvon, to the Saint; in the *Record of Carnarvon*, pp. 257, 258, it has been printed *Gwithenit*, which is probably less correct.

[1] It would be interesting to know whether the pronunciation *moudwy*, that is *moydwy*, is still to be heard in Dyfed or Morgannwg in case of the word forming a part of some obscure place-name.

the latter name occurred as that of Lugus in Gaulish;[1] he seems, in fact, to have been one of the most popular gods of the Continental Celts. Holder, in his *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, counts no fewer than fourteen towns on the Continent called after Lugus, from Lyons to Leyden, and probably dedicated to him as their special divinity. His citations shew that the oldest form of the city name was Lugúdūnon, but as Gaulish seems to have had a tendency, like that of Welsh, to lay the stress on the penult, it became Lugdúnon, written in Latin *Lugdunum*. Compare Holder's *Rothmāros* from *Roto-māros*, and *Mogitmāros* from *Mogitu-maros*, with *mogitu* = Welsh *moed* in *Gweithfoed*. *Lugudunon* is a compound meaning 'the Lleu fortress', 'the Lug town'; for *dūno-n* is represented in Welsh by *dīn*, of much the same meaning as its Welsh derivative *dinas*, 'a fortress, a town or city'; Irish had the related form *dūn*, genitive *dūne*, of the same meaning and use, as in Dungarvan, Dunlavin and the like, in Anglo-Irish topography.

You will have anticipated my next proposition, that *Din-Lleu* is nothing else than the compound *Lugu-dunon* resolved into a quasi-compound or syntactical arrangement, meaning 'the fortress of Lleu or Lug'. This resolution of the old compounds is characteristic of the later stages of Brythonic: thus an old compound like Gwyndy is rare in Wales as compared with the looser name of Ty gwyn, though they mean equally 'the White House'. So to the fourteen Luguduna on the Continent, we have practically two to add in this country, one on the Wrekin and one near the Menai Straits—I have quite recently heard of traces of a third. The compound equivalent to *Lugudunum* would be, in modern Welsh,

[1] For more notes on Lugus one may consult my sectional address at the third Congress for the *History of Religions*, recently held at Oxford: see the Transactions, vol. ii, pp. 218-24.

Lleudin, and I should not be surprised if it were to be discovered yet, say, in an obscure passage in one of the Welsh poets.

At the Lugudunum now called Lyons, the festival of Lug was probably held on the first day of August, the month called after the emperor Augustus. On that day also was dedicated there an altar to Rome and Augustus:[1] the identity of the day for the two festivals was doubtless not the result of accident, and the name of the emperor was presumably thereby helped not a little to the popularity which it acquired in Gaul. This day fell near a great harvest day in the Coligny Calendar, namely, the fourth day of the month of Rivros, approximately August, called after Rivos, the name probably of the harvest god, at any rate of the only divinity recognized in the fragments of that document, namely, twice within the month of Rivros. In Ireland, the feast on the First of August was called Lugnasad after Lug, Lunasda in Scotland, and Luanistyn in the Isle of Man; but in Wales Augustus has usurped the place of Lleu, so the feast is known as Gwyl Awst 'the feast of Augustus', for I venture to translate it so rather than as 'the feast of August'. The English for it is Lammas, which is explained in the *New English Dictionary* as derived from the Old English *hláfmæsse*, that is, literally, 'loaf-mass', for in the early English Church the first of August, "Festum Sancti Petri ad Vincula" in the Roman calendar, was "observed as a harvest festival, at which loaves of bread were consecrated, made from the first ripe corn". These indications seem to associate the god Lleu-Lug with the corn harvest.

A fabulous story about the founding of Lyons is given by the Pseudo-Plutarch, who introduces ravens into it; by itself it carries no weight, but coins occur on which

[1] Hirschfeld, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, XIII, i, pp. 227, 249.

the genius of Lugudunum is attended by a raven.[1] Irish literature represents Lug's son, Cúchulainn, commonly attended by ravens. This I am prompted to mention in connection with the Raven's Bowl, pointed out on the Wrekin rock, to which Miss Burne calls attention.

The mimic warfare for possession of the Wrekin hill seems to form a vivid reproduction of more serious struggles in the distant past between the Cornavii and their foes, whoever they may have been. What may be the explanation of its being fixed on the First of May I do not know; but that has always been an important day in the Celtic calendar. The year began on *Nos Galan-gaeaf*, 'Night of the Winter Calends', that is November Eve: second only in importance to this was *Nos Galan-mai*, 'Night of the May Calends', or May Eve. The third great day in the calendar was the First of August already mentioned; and the fourth should be about the First of February, for filling which Welsh folklore and literature do not seem to help. The Irish calendar, however, supplies Saint Bride,[2] "chaste head of Erin's nuns". Her attributes suggest that she represented an earlier goddess of fire; in that case the First of February was not badly chosen as the great day of her cult.

[1] See Holder, *s.v. Lugudunon*, ii, col. 313.

[2] Her name in Irish was Brigit, genitive Brigte, but she was almost singular in being also called *Sanct Brigit*, genitive *Sanct Brigte*: so when her cult was imported into Wales her name became *Sanffreid*: it appears so in Evans's Facsimile of the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, fo. 42a. In modern Welsh it is—or should be—*Sanffraid*, with the stress on *ffraid* as in *Llansanffraid*. *Sanffreid* seems to imply *Sancta Bregit* where the *b* had to be softened to *v* and the name to become *Sant Vreïd*: but the contact of the voiceless mute *t* with *v* made the latter also become voiceless. Thus arose *Sant Efreïd*, whence *Sanffreid*, *Sanffraid*. *Pymtheg* 'fifteen', often wrongly explained, is a parallel: *pempe-dec-* became *pymp-deg*, whence *pymp-theg*, *pymtheg*.

II.

It is now clear, I hope, that Dinlle Ureconn was not the Welsh name of Viroconium: Dinlle was a distinct name meaning Luguduno-n, the stronghold of Lug, in this instance the one on the Wrekin, *Ureconn*, more correctly *Urecon*, being added to prevent its being confounded with another Dinlle. *Urecon* it may be pointed out here was pronounced as a dissyllable *U̯recon*; in fact, had *Dinlle* not been treated as a feminine we should have had Dinlle Gu̯recon, with the *g* developed before *u̯* or *w* according to the usual Welsh rule, which, however, it is unnecessary to dwell upon at this point. In *Dinlle U̯recon* the latter name served as that of the district, and we have it in a slightly different form in a much older manuscript than the *Red Book of Hergest.*

I allude to a list of the Cities of Britain appended to the *Historia Brittonum*, usually associated with the name of Nennius. Those cities differ in their names and their numbers in the manuscripts; but one of them mentions a Cair Guricon, which appears in another as Cair Guorcon.[1] The spelling of this last is due to confusion of the representative of *u̯iro* with the prefix which in Gaulish was *u̯er*, as in *Vercinqetorix* and *Vercassivellaunos*: in Welsh it became *gwor* or *gwur*, modern *gor*, and in Irish *fer* and *for*. Now *Cair Guricon* should be the *caer* or fortress of *Guricon*, just as *Cair Ceint* in the same manuscript meant the Fortress of Kent. Such Cair Guricon, that is Cair Gu̯ricon, would more correctly be Cair U̯ricon, since *cair* was feminine. This was undoubtedly Viroconium, the site of which, near the village of Wroxeter,

[1] For both names see Mommsen's *Historia Brittonum cum Additamentis Nennii* (published in the *Chronica Minora Sæc. IV, V, VI, VII*), vol. III, i, 211.

is about three miles from the foot of the Wrekin and visible from the Dinlle on the top of that hill. Here I wish to mention that *Guricon* occurs as a woman's name in *Gurycon Godheu,* one of Brychan Brycheiniog's many daughters enumerated in the *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints,* p. 274;[1] the same lady is called Gwrgon or Gurgon in the *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 111, 120, 140.

From an early date in the sixth century vowel flanked tenues seem to have been mutated, and the pronunciation of these names was *Gwrygon* and *Gwrgon,* although one went on for centuries writing *c, t, p,* just as if they had remained wholly unaffected. This question is to be touched upon later; here it will suffice to state the conclusion that what we have taken as a district name turns out to have been the proper name of a man or a woman. Naturally the further inference is that the Cornavii of the locality considered themselves descendants of a common ancestor or ancestress, whose name was Gu̯ricon, Gu̯recon, or Gurcon. In that way the personal name became practically that of the district, which the local toast in our day describes comprehensively as: "All friends round the Wrekin". In the days of the Cornavii they may have called themselves in the plural, *Virocones*; at all events there is no trace of a formation like the Latin *Viroconium.* The case is different with the possibly related name of *Ariconium,* which may be related also to *Arcunia*[2] and *Hercynia (Silva).* It survives in Welsh as

[1] See the "Brychan Documents", carefully edited by the Rev. A. W. Wade-Evans in the *Cymmrodor,* xix, 26.

[2] Holder's article on this name, and Walde's on *quercus* (in his *Latin Dictionary*), require to be purged of the bogus Welsh words introduced into them: these latter have been discussed briefly by me in the *Arch. Camb.* Journal, 1907, pp. 87-8. As to *cychwynnu,* meaning 'to rise', add references to the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (Jones & Rhys), pp. 133, 135, 280.

Ergyng, and in English in the district name of *Archen*field in Herefordshire. The former is given in the *Historia Brittonum* as *Ercing*, and by Geoffrey of Monmouth as *Hergin*, while in the *Liber Landavensis* it has a variety of spellings from *Ergin* to *Ercicg*, all pointing back to some such a form as *Ariconio-n*, with an *i* in the second syllable and a *i* in the last.

In Dinlle Urecon and Cair Uricon we have a common element to equate with the Virocon- of the Latin formation Viroconium; for this seems to be the best attested spelling. To explain the equation it is to be noticed that the unaccented syllable *vir*, that is to say *uir*, was shortened into *ŭr*, reducing the whole into *Urocon-*. The next point to be noticed is that subsequent to the shortening into *Uro-con-*, this had associated with it, and eventually substituted for it, an alternative *Uri-con-*, perhaps also *Ura-con-*; for the thematic vowel of the first element in a compound was subject to much fluctuation. Thus our post-Roman inscriptions supply such instances as the following:—*Seno-magli* and *Sene-magli*, *Vende-setli* and *Venni-setli*, *Vendu-magli* and *Vinne-magli*. Compare such variants in Gaul as Augustodunum and Augustidunum, Orgetorix and Orgetirix, and others to be found in Holder's pages. This being so *Uriconium* may very possibly have been a real form of the Latin name, but not so old as *Viroconium*, or even as *Uroconium*, which may also have been one of its forms. The manuscripts of the Antonine Itinerary, and of Ptolemy's Geography, contain these and some more forms, which cannot be discussed here.

Other compound names, beginning with *viro* as their initial element, will be found given by Holder, but in all of them *viro* is the stem of the word for 'man', Welsh *gwr*, Old Irish *fer*, modern Irish *fear*, Latin

vir. Analogy suggests that *gwr* represents a Gallo-Brythonic *virós*, plural *vírī*, which should have given singular *wr*, plural *gwyr*. *Gwr* may, however, have obtained its initial *g* from the plural: in any case the English Wrekin for Gu̯ricon shows no trace of any sound before the *w*. So it would seem that the development of *u̯* into *gu̯* dates after the coming of the English into the district, or that, more correctly speaking, the sound was there but not such as to make itself perceptible to the English ear. For it is a feature characteristic not only of Welsh, but of Cornish and Breton likewise, in which our *gwr* is written *gour*: the severance of these dialects may be dated probably some time in the fifth century. The shortening here in question took place in an unaccented syllable; I gather that there was primarily another condition, to wit, that the vowel in the next syllable should be a broad one, *o*, *u*, or *a*.

In the instances mentioned it was *o*, as we have had only the one element, *u̯iro*, to deal with; that this extended to other words may be inferred from the fact to be mentioned presently more in detail, that unaccented *u̯i* or *u̯e*, followed by a narrow vowel in the next syllable, is reduced to Welsh *u*, approximately of the same sound as German *ü*, not to Welsh *w*. Once, however, *u̯iro* had become *gwr*, there might be a tendency to extend the latter beyond its etymological limits, but Welsh *Gwriad* for early *U̯iriatos*, where the second *i* was *i̯*, and not reckoned as a vowel, is not in point: compare the well-known Irish name *Ferad-ach*, later spelling *Fearadhach*.

In the *Liber Landavensis* a number of the compounds involving *u̯indo-s*, modern Welsh *gwyn* 'white, blessed', begin with *gun*, such as *Gunda*, from *U̯indo-tamos*, *Gunguas* from *U̯indo-u̯assos*, *Gunva* from *U̯indo-magus*, and the Bishop of Llandaff's palace is called St. Teilo's *Gundy*

(p. 120), as if it were *Ṭindo-tegos* 'White House'. Most names of the kind are liable in book Welsh to have the *y* of *gwyn* re-inserted. We have an instance which has resisted this kind of 'correction' in the name of the Cardiganshire church of Llanwnnws or Gwnnws, probably from *Ṭindo-gustus*, but the *s* of *Gwnnws* for *st* looks like a touch of Goidelic influence. One may here also quote from one of the MSS. of the *Historia Brittonum, loc. cit.*, p. 193, the name of Gwrtheyrn's grandfather, *Guttolion*, derived from *Vitalianus*, which occurs on one of the bilingual monuments at Nevern, in Pembrokeshire.

But this phonetic change is by no means confined to the vocables just mentioned; we have it in forms of great antiquity, representing the Indo-European perfect of one of our few strong verbs. The *Mabinogion*, for instance, have the following forms, *gwdom*, *gwdam* 'we know', *gwdawch*, *gwdoch* 'you know', *gwdant* 'they know';[1] since the Middle Ages they have *y* inserted after the analogy of the other forms of that verb, such as *gwyđwn* 'I knew', *gwybyđ* 'will know', and *gwybod*[2] 'the fact of knowing, knowledge'.

[1] I am indebted for a tabular survey of the tenses of the verb in question, which occur in the *Mabinogion*, to Prof. J. Morris Jones, one of whose pupils is preparing to publish on the verbal forms in those tales. I should add to them *gwdost*, 'knowest', which I cannot explain, Mod. Welsh *gwyddost*, in Breton *gouzoud*. The first person singular was *gwnn*, now written *gwn*, which looks like a contraction of the form which has yielded Breton *gouzonn*, rather than derived from a verb corresponding to Irish *finnaim* 'I find, I know'.

[2] This implies *u̯idi-bot-* or *u̯ide-bot-* with the thematic vowel dropped before the *d* and *b* were mutated; so *u̯id-bot-* yielded *u̯ipot-*, *gwybod*; but there was apparently a later compound with the consonants mutated and yielding *gwyđfod* 'immediate personal presence' —*yn ei wyđfod* = *yn ei ŵyđ* 'within his knowledge or consciousness as derived from his sense of sight, hearing, and touch'. The etymological equivalent in Breton seems to be *gouzoud* 'the fact of knowing'; and the compounds with the verb 'to be' are on the same level, for

The corresponding forms in the kindred languages make the structure of our *Mabinogion* verb at once intelligible: take Sanskrit vēda, Greek *οἶδα* 'I know', Sanskrit plural vidmá, Greek *ἴδμεν* 'we know'. Here the root part of the verb appears in its strongest form in the singular, while in the plural it is in its weakest; Sanskrit, moreover, represents the old accentuation, which explains the Brythonic *gwđom*, for instance, as standing for some such a form as *u̯id-o-mós*,[1] which was weakened into *udomós*, whence, when penultimate accentuation became the rule, *udómo* and *(g)údom*, *gwđom*. The treatment was the same in the second and third persons of the plural; and so in Breton, where the corresponding persons are (1) gouzomp, (2) gouzoc'h, (3) gouzont; in Cornish (1) gŏdhon, (2) gŏdhough, (3) gŏdhons; but, according to Jenner's *Handbook of the Cornish Language*, pp. 147-8, from which I copy, *godh-* has been spread almost over the whole of the conjugation.

This explains the etymological difference between the perfect *goruc* or *gorug*, and *goreu* 'did, *fecit*'. The former has by its side *gorugum* 'I did', and *gorugost* 'thou didst', but when this stem invaded the plural in such forms as *gorugam* 'we did', and *gorugant* 'they did', it was encroaching on the domain of *goreu-*, which, in its

instance *goufenn* 'I should know', probably for *gouz-venn*, and so in the case of *a(z)naout* = Welsh *adnabod* 'to be acquainted with', as to which see my *Celtic Inscriptions of France and Italy*, p. 9. The thematic vowel belonging to the first part of *gwybod* and *gwyđfod* was probably *i* or *e* which we have in the Latin cognate verb *vide-o*. It emerges as *i̯* in the Medieval Welsh form *gwyđywn* 'I knew, *je savais*', *gwydyei* (Skene ii, 69), and *gwyđyad* 'he knew, *il savait*': compare the Cornish *gŏdhyen*, *gŏdhya*, and see Norris's *Ancient Cornish Drama*, ii, 263, 267.

[1] As to some of the difficulties connected with the plurals of verbs of the perfect tense, such as the connecting vowel, the unmutated *m* and similar questions, see Brugmann's *Grundriss*, ii, 1205-7, 1212, 1245-9, 1354.

turn, should not have appeared in the singular, but only help to make up such a form as *goreuam* 'we did' for an early *u̯o-(u̯)rogomós*, whence *u̯o-rogóm*, *(g)u̯o-rogóm*, *guo-róuom*, *goréuom*, or *goréuam*. *Goreuom* and *goreuant* are not known to occur, for the reason, perhaps, that they have not been looked for. In the singular, not only was the root vowel lengthened, but the mute consonant was provected;[1] both are processes which were probably carried out under the stress accent. Thus, the third person singular set out from *u̯o-(u̯)rŏce*, whence *u̯o-rŏce*, *guo-rŭce*, *guorúc*, *górug*. The corresponding Old Cornish was *gwruk*, *wruk*, *ruk*, *rug*, later *gwrîg* 'did'. The present tense of this verb in Welsh occurs in the compound *cy-weiriaf* 'I put into working order', from the root *verg*, and is of the same conjugation as the Old Irish *do-airci* (for *do-vairci*) 'effects, prepares', Anglo-Saxon *wyrcan* 'to work, to build'.[2]

A shortening before the stress syllable, parallel to that of *u̯iró* into *uró*, has taken place in the name *Urien*, written *Urbgen* in the *Historia Brittonum* (*loc. cit.* 63), the same name most likely as that of the Helvetian *pagus* mentioned by Cæsar (i, 27) as *Verbigenus*. We have the Irish form possibly in the proper name Fergen, in case that represents Ferbgen. Another instance is Welsh *uceint*, now *ugain* 'twenty', which points back to *u̯icéntiu̯on*; the Irish was *fiche* 'twenty', genitive *fichet*. We seem to have a third instance in Welsh *ucher* 'evening', from *u̯ecséro-s* = *u̯eqséro-s*, for *u̯esquéros* of the same origin as Greek ἕσπερος and Latin *vesper* 'the evening'. The Old Irish was *fescor*, now *feascar* 'evening'. All these cases differ from the previous ones, in the contraction being not into *w*, but into the very

[1] For instances of such provection see a paper of mine in the *Revue Celtique*, ii, 331-3.

[2] See the *Grammatica Celtica*, pp. 591-3; Jenner, pp. 129-31; Stokes's *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz*—*s.v. verg* 'to work', p. 273.

different vowel *u*: the probable explanation is that here the accented syllable had the narrow vowel *e*, which exercised an umlauting influence on the foregoing syllable. None of these, it will be noticed, shows any trace of an initial *g* in Welsh.

III.

Before proceeding any further, I wish to say a word on early Celtic accentuation and desinence. The former is not infrequently assumed to have been the same in Brythonic as in Goidelic, but nothing could be more mistaken. In both, it is true, the accent, as far back as we can trace it, was a stress accent, but in Goidelic it was fixed on the first syllable in nouns and adjectives, while in Brythonic it had only the range of the three last syllables as in Greek. The older accentuation of Latin[1] appears to have been on the first syllable, as in Goidelic, but in the historical period it is found confined to the last three syllables, as in Brythonic, which was probably the case also with Gaulish. Within the three-syllable limit, Brythonic —also probably Gaulish—tended to drive the accent to the penultimate, and by so doing to put an end to both oxytones and proparoxytones. The former would, in any case, be probably few, containing among their number the *viró-s* 'man' already mentioned. The latter were common enough in Gaulish in such names as the following, where the position of the accent is practically indicated by the forms taken in French by such place-names as *Argentó-magus* 'Argenton', *Claudió-magus* 'Clion', *Novió-magus* 'Nyon and Noyon', *Rotó-magus* 'Rouen', *Cambó-ritum*

[1] Did the Umbro-Samnites, the neighbours of the Romans, accent their words only within the last three syllables? and, if so, had their influence anything to do with the change of accentuation in Latin?

'Chambort', *Novió-ritum* · 'Niort and Nort'.[1] In Brythonic we have instances in such names as *Brigó-maglos*, *Briámail*, *Briáfael*, and the like to be mentioned presently.

Some of the proparoxytones might have penultimates with long vowels: take, for instance, *Catú-rīges* and *Bitú-rīges*, whence the French place-names *Chorges* and *Bourges*. But such a form as *Bitú-rīges* may have had a tendency to become *Bitu-rígès*, which seems to be re-echoed in the province name *Berry*.[2] Similarly *Lugdúno-n*, if it was Gaulish, must have superseded the longer form, which was probably accented *Lugú-dūno-n*, and later *Lugu-dúno-n*, before the pretonic part of the word was curtailed. A good instance of this occurs in the case of the Gaulish preposition *are*, in Welsh *ar* 'on, upon, at, *παρά*, *παραί*', as a prefix in the Gaulish *Aremorica*, probably *Aremórica*, reduced early to Armórica —the manuscripts of Cæsar *de Ballo Gallico* show no trace of the pretonic *e*. The same shortening is attested by the Gaulish man's name *Atpomarus*, as compared with the more usual form *Atepomaros*, to be mentioned again presently. Holder, in his *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, i, 224, has an *Artegia*, which is now *Arthies* in the department of Seine-et-Oise: this stands for *Are-tegia*, where *tegia* represents *tégiha* = *tégisa*, the neuter plural of *tégos* 'a house or hut', Old Irish *tech*, Welsh *ty* 'house'. With the Gaulish preposition translated into Latin *ad* we have *ad tegia* and *ad teia*, which appears to have entered the place-name* *Adtegia*, now called *Athies*, in the department of the Somme, and a common noun *attegia* 'a hut or tent', not to mention that *tegia* survives, for instance, in the Tyrol as *thei*, *tai* 'an

[1] See Meyer-Lübke in the *Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, cxlii, ii, 40, 44; see also the separate names in Holder's *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, which is arranged alphabetically.

[2] See, however, Meyer-Lübke, *loc. cit.*, p. 10.

Alpine hut', with which compare the Welsh *tai* 'houses', Med. Welsh *tei* for *tegia* from *tegesa*.[1]

One or two other instances will help to illustrate the difference between Irish and Welsh with regard to accentuation. One of the words in point is the Old Irish neuter *dorus* 'a door', from some such a stem as *duorestu-*, in Welsh *drws* from *duorostu-*, which must have been accented *duoróstu*, otherwise the first syllable could not have been reduced to the consonants *dr*: compare Gaulish *Duró-casses*, yielding in French the place-name *Dreux*. In Irish this could not have happened, as the stress accent would there be on the first syllable. A similar instance offers itself in the name of the Denbighshire church and town of Llanrwst, that is the *llan* of *Gurgúst*. When the second *g* of that name was dropped, the pronunciation became monosyllabic *Gwrúst* or *Gurúst*, which, when preceded by the feminine *llan* = *landa*, became *Llanurúst*, whence the modern pronunciation of *Llan 'rúst*. The original compound was *Uiro-gustu-s*, which made *Uro-gustu-s*, and, subject to the tendency of the accent to rest on the penultimate, became *(G)uro-gústu-s*, and later *Gurgúst*. For Irish the compound was *Vira-gustu-s*, but being accented on the first syllable the resultant form is the well-known name Fergus.

The next instance to be mentioned is one in which I cannot vouch for the correct sequence of the phonological modifications involved: Old Irish had a neuter noun *aithesc*, which comes from *áti-sequa-n*, which became *áthesqua-n*, *áithesc-n*. For Brythonic this would

[1] See Mayer-Lübke, *loc. cit.*, pp. 12-13, who has been improved on by Holder in several respects; but from not knowing that *tegia* was etymologically a plural itself, he has suggested *ad tegia(s)* and *are tegia(s)*, with an *s*, which the authors of most of the old documents to which he refers did not think necessary. See also Walde's *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s. v. *attegia*.

be *ate-hepo-n*, probably *até-hepo-n*, whence *ade-hépo-n*, *ade-hép*, *ad-hép*, *átep*, *áteb* 'answer'. We have possibly traces of this word in Gaulish: Holder gives two proper names, *Atepomāros* and *Ateporīx*. They are usually explained with some trouble, with the aid of the Gaulish *epos* 'a horse'; but we have so much 'horse' in Gaulish nomenclature that it is a relief to find something else. Should the conjecture that *atépo-n* (for *até-hepo-n*) enters into those two names, the compounds must have meant respectively, 'One who is great in his replies' and 'One who answers like a king'. It is needless to say that those great names had shortened and hypocoristic forms: one of these Holder gives as *Atepilos*, and from Latin contexts *Atepa*, *Atepatus*, *Atepiccus*, *Atepilla* and *Atepo*, genitive *Aleponis*. A Gaulish parallel to *atepo-n* would be *arépo-n*,[1] from *aré-hepo-n*. I have no proof of its having existed, but in Irish we have its counterpart in *airesc* 'a saying', in Welsh *di-areb* 'a proverb', now pronounced *dihareb*, plural *diarhébion*.

There is no need to dwell in general terms on the connection between the case endings of a word and the accent which falls in that direction, as it did in Brythonic.

1. One of the points of principal importance to notice is the fact that the endings of the nominative case in the vowel declensions *ŏ-s*, *ŭ-s*, *ĭ-s*, fell away so early that they have not perceptibly affected our mutation system in Brythonic.

[1] This reminds me that Holder has *are-po-s* suggested by the reversible words: SATOR AREPO TENET OPERA ROTAS They will be found in the Berlin *C. I. L.*, xii, 202*, where it is suggested that they are not earlier than the seventh century. Holder mentions two translations which have been proposed of the puzzle; they are: *ὁ σπείρων ἄροτρον κρατεῖ ἔργα τροχούς*, and "Le laboureur Arepo tient avec soin les roues".

2. There is no apparent reason why this remark should be limited to the nominative endings just mentioned: it is probable that their history was bound up with that of the other short-vowel endings; that is, they were all swept away by the same phonological tendency, and in the same period. The principal endings in point would be the vocative singular *ĕ* of the *O* declension, the *ă* of the neuter plural in the nominative and accusative of all declensions, the *ŏ-s* of the genitive singular of the consonantal declensions, the *ĕ-s* of the nominative plural, masculine and feminine of the same declensions, and the *ĕ* of the nominative and accusative dual in the same.[1]

3. On the other hand, the long-vowel endings are supposed to have lasted longer, so that while the others were wholly dropped the long vowel was only curtailed, not completely dropped, for some time later. Thus, while in the masculine *u̯índo-s* became *(g)u̯ind, gwynn, gwyn* 'white', the feminine *u̯índā* only became *u̯éndă*, whence later *(g)u̯end, gwenn, gwen.* At all events the feminine ending *ā* as *ă* remained long enough to leave its mark permanently on our mutation system. Take a common instance like the feminine *llaw goch* 'a red hand', derived from *lāma cocca,* the *c* between the two vowels being mutated to *g* by the influence of those vowels. Other instances would be the genitive singular of the *O* declension, which ended in *ī* like the Latin *dominī*, the *ō* (or *ū*) of the dative of that declension, like Latin *dominō*, and the nominative plural in *ī* like Latin *dominī*. To these should be added the ending *ō* of the nominative, vocative, and accusative of the dual in the *O* declension, and of the genitive dual in all the declensions. The vowels in question

[1] A glance at Stokes's *Celtic Declension,* especially his tables, pp. 100-04, or those in Brugmann's *Grundriss,* ii, 736-59, will make all this clear.

were probably reduced to *ĭ*, *ŏ* or *ŭ* before they ceased altogether to be pronounced, which took place late enough for them to have affected the mutation system. Why they did not do so in the case of the plural is explained by the endings: there was a lack of unanimity to establish a mutation: the nominative plural of the *O* declension, for instance, ended in *ī*, while the corresponding feminine had *ās* and the consonantal declensions *ĕs*. Not so with the dual, which, though comparatively little used, has left the soft mutation to mark its presence in the background even in Modern Welsh: witness, for instance, the Welsh wording of the Church of England's bans of marriage, where we have *y ḋeuḋyn hyn* 'these two persons': here the softened *d*, in both instances, is due to the ancient dual. For that number had a vowel termination in all the cases except the dative, which had a dissyllabic ending: this is not quite certain. But the others agreed in leading up to the soft mutation, and a remarkable instance offers itself in the elegy, already mentioned, to Cynḋylan, stanza 28, where we have the following lines:—[1]

Stauell gyndylan yspeitha6c [?] heno
g6edy ketwyr uoda6c
Eluan kyndylan kaea6c.

"Cynḋylan's chamber, it is desolate to-night:
Gone the two contented warriors,
Elvan and torque-wearing Cynḋylan."

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[1] See Skene's *Four Anc. Books of Wales*, i, 452, ii, 282, 445. In his notes Skene writes as follows:—"The first 57 stanzas of this poem have been carefully translated by Dr. Guest in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, ix, p. 142, and the translation has been, with his permission, adopted. The reader is referred to the notes by Dr. Guest on this part of the poem. The remaining stanzas have been translated by Mr. Silvan Evans." In this instance, Skene's process of 'adopting' Guest's translation involves changing the latter's "contented" into "contended", and misrepresenting the sense of the original; for Guest was practically right here, though he was not by any means

The words in question more particularly are *ketwyr uodaóc*, which seem to point back to an early combination *catu-u̯írō bodócō* which, as regards the case ending of the dual, might be nominative, accusative, or genitive. The preposition *guedy* 'after' should decide, but it is not known what case it governed. In Old Welsh it is found as *guetig* and *guotig*,[1] but the etymology is obscure. If it involves a nominal element it probably governed the genitive; of the three cases, the only other one which the sense would seem to admit is the accusative, which appears less likely than the genitive.

We may now examine the alternative forms *Guricon* and *Gurcon* from the point of view of their etymology, so as to shew in what sense they are entitled to be regarded as equivalents. It happens that we have the exact equivalent of *Gurcon* or *Gurgon*, in the Irish name *Ferchon*, which is nought else than the genitive of a compound which is in the nominative *Ferchú*,[2] to which corresponds exactly the Old Welsh *Gurcu* in the *Liber Landavensis*, later *Gurci*, sounded *Gwrgi*: it is matched by *Gurcon* in the same manuscript, which supplies a number of other similar instances, such as *Elcu* or *Elci*, and *Elcun* or *Elcon*, *Guidci* and *Guidcon*. But though those ending in *con* or *cun* were, etymologically speaking, the genitives of those ending with *cu*, *ci*, they are there treated as distinct names. This would have been impossible here in

equal to the task he had undertaken. If Silvan Evans had translated the 57 stanzas we should have had a correct rendering of the portions then intelligible to a man well trained in literary Welsh. Skene, however, does not appear to have known enough Welsh to help him to judge correctly as to their respective merits in the matter of translating.

[1] See the *Grammatica Celtica*, p. 688b.

[2] See Windisch's *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, 2,893, 2,914, and *The Book of the Dun Cow*, f. 82b.

Old Irish, as *Ferchon* would at once be associated with Ferchú, *cú*, genitive *con*, being words familiar to all who spoke Irish. It was different in a language where, as in Brythonic, the system of case-endings had gone to pieces. So we find the same thing happening in other instances: take, for example, the Latin word for city or state, *civitas*, genitive *civitatis*; in Welsh the one yielded regularly *ciwed* and the other *ciwdawd* or *ciwdod*. Here the language has utilized both; *ciwed* has now the sense of 'a rabble', and *ciwdod* that of the people or population of a city. We have another instance in *trined* and *trindod*, from Latin *trinitas*, genitive *trinitatis* 'a trinity'. Here the language, having seemingly found no special use for *trined*, lets it become obsolete. Lastly, we have a native instance in *Gwyneđ* and *Gwyndod* (for *Gwynđot*), from an early *Venedos*, genitive *Venedotos*, which occurs in a Latin inscription as *Venedotis*, to wit, at Penmachno in Carnarvonshire. *Gwyneđ* is the form in ordinary use, while *Gwyndod* is left to the poets, and to be the base for *Gwyndodes* 'a Venedotian woman', and *Gwyndodeg* 'the Venedotian dialect of Welsh'.

Similarly, the accent has left us a certain number of compound proper names with two forms each, as *Urbagen* or *Urbeghen*, and *Urbgen*,[1] later Urien; *Tutagual* and *Tudwal*; *Dumnagual* and *Dyfnwal*; *Dinogat* or *Dinagat* and *Dingad*. The early nominatives of these last were *Toutóvalos*, *Dubnóvalos* or *Dumnóvalos*, and *Dūnócatus*, to which may be added *Brigómaglos*, which became later *Briámail*, *Briáfael*. This accentuation has been proved in the case of names of similar composition, and the same number of syllables in Gaulish; see p. 17 above. But, as

[1] See the *Historia Brittonum*, *loc. cit.*, 206-7; Nicholson's "Filius Urbagen" in Meyer & Stern's *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, iii, 104-11.

in our instances the endings *-ŏs* and *-ŭs* were discarded early, the nominatives became, for example, *Toutóval* and *Dŭnócat*, which provided a stable position for the accent. That is proved by the later forms being *Tutágual* (or *Tudáwal*) and *Dinógat* (or *Dinágat*), without any shifting of the accent. This would apply probably also to the corresponding Brythonic accusatives, *Toutovalon* and *Dūnocatun*; but when we come to case-endings with a long vowel, which would remain longer intact, a shifting of the accent probably took place: thus the genitives *Toutó-valī* and *Dūnó-catōus* or *Dunó-catōs*, became probably *Touto-váli* and *Duno-cátos*, whence resulted *Tout-u̯áli*, *Dun-gátos*, whence *Tudu̯ál*, *Dingát*, and later, *Túdwal*, *Díngad*. The resulting forms in the dative, ablative, locative, and instrumental would, if they existed, be probably identical. One of the steps here guessed, namely, that from *Toutó-valī*, let us say, to *Tout-u̯áli*, recalls a Gaulish proper name already mentioned as *Atepilos*, that is probably *Atépilos*. We seem to meet with its genitive variously written *Atpili* and *Atpilli*, which were accented, probably *Atpíli*, *Atpílli*. See Holder s.v. *Atpillos*, *Atpilos*, nominatives for which, be it observed, he cites no authority.

The foregoing instances belong to the *O* declension *(Toutovalos)* and the *U* declension *(Dunocatus)*; when we come to the consonantal declension it is not so clear what has happened, but the same general rules of accentuation may be assumed to have applied. The results, however, differ conspicuously from those in the vowel declensions, for here we may have not two forms but three. Unfortunately the names to our purpose are only two: they have both been already partly discussed, *Gurcu* and *Mailcu*. The nominatives must have been *U̯irocū*, *Maglocū*, accented probably on the *cū*; this would lead to the elision of the *o* immediately preceding the stress

syllable, and, with the consonants softened previously, we should have [*G*]*urgú* (written [*G*]*urcu*), *Gurgí*, *Gúrgi* (written *Gurci*). Similarly with *Mailcu*, *Elcu*, and the like. Next comes the genitive, which should have been *U̯irocunos* or *U̯iroconos*, reduced to *Uroconos*, with optional forms *Ureconos* or *Uriconos*. These fall into the same accentuation as *Brigómaglos*, *Toutóvalos*, and the like, yielding accordingly *U̯réconos* or *U̯ríconos*, and, when the short-vowel case ending went, *Urécon* or *Urícon*, whence the attested forms *Uréconn*, *Gurícon*, *Gurycon*. There remains *Gurcon*, which may be explained in one of two ways. (1) The *gur* of Gurcon may be due simply to the analogy of *Gurcu* in the nominative, and the formation may have been meant as a genitive, which in due course superseded *Guricon*. (2) It is, on the whole, more probable that it represents another case, say, the dative. So we set out from *Uróconī* with a final *ī* as in Latin *hominī*, and assume that it would take longer time for the *ī* to be dropped than in the case of a short-vowel termination. So we may set down *Urgóni* as the next stage, whence one arrives at *Urgón*, *Gurgón*, *Gúrgon* (written *Gurcon*).

One would reason similarly as to *Mailcon* or *Mailcun*, and we have a trace of the genitive as *Meilochon* in *Brude mac Meilochon*, the name of more than one Pictish king: the father of the first of that name has sometimes been supposed to have been Maelgwn, king of Gwyned. It is remarkable that *B. mac Meilochon* comes in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, iii, 4: in Irish annals it is more usually *mac Mailcon* or *mac Maelchon*. In *Meilochon*, as well as in *Maelchon*, the *ch* is an Irish touch, which must be due to the scribe who first wrote it in this name being aware of the fact that in Brythonic the original *c* was mutated to *g*, whether written so or not, and that the corresponding Irish mutation was to *ch*, which he accord-

ingly used in his spelling of this genitive, *Meilochon*: that is to say, he knew that the Brythonic pronunciation was *Mailogon*, probably *Mailógon*; we have possibly the same formation in Breton, to wit, in *Maelucun*, which occurs in the Cartulary of Landevennec, published by MM. Le Men and Ernault. Gildas, addressing Maelgwn in the vocative, calls him *Maglocune*, which suggests that he would have used *Maglocunus* as the nominative in Latin. With this agrees the bilingual inscription lately discovered at Nevern, in which the Latin genitive is *Maglocuni*, though the Goidelic genitive is *Maglicunas*.[1] It is interesting to find Geoffrey of Monmouth producing a faint echo of the purely Brythonic declension of the name in his *Malgo*, genitive *Malgonis*, accusative *Malgonem*.

On looking back at our conclusions, which have been drawn from the foregoing instances, we seem at first sight to have a difficulty in the fact that the longer forms *Dinócat*, and *Tutágual*, appear to have been nominatives, and the short ones *Dingat*, *Dingad* (as in *Llan Dingad*) and *Tutgwal*, *Tudwal* (as in *Ynys Tudwal*) to have been, let us say, genitives, while *Gurícon* or *Gurécon*, and *Meilochon*, that is, *Mailógon* must be genitive, and the shorter ones, *Gurcu*, *Gurgi*, and *Mailcu*, *Elcu*, nominatives. There is no real difficulty; it has been shown practically that the former belong to the vocalic declensions and the latter to the consonantal ones. The discrepancy between them was connected with the break up of the older and fuller inflection of the noun. In fact, this difference of declension was possibly one of the things which helped to accelerate that result. The state of things which this indicates may be appositely compared to what happened in Old French when the Latin declensional system broke up. There one finds, for example, the *cas régime* of the mascu-

[1] See the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1907, p. 84.

line singular identical in form with the *cas sujet* of the plural, and often enough the *cas sujet* of the masculine singular with the *cas régime* of the plural.[1] The question how the declensional system in Brythonic disappeared is one of great difficulty, owing chiefly to a great scarcity of data; but, in fact, the few data available have never been studied and forced to give up their latent evidence.

The Nevern Ogam, with the genitive *Maglicunas*, proves beyond doubt that the second element is the word for 'dog', nominative *cū*, genitive *cunas*, dative *cuni*, which in Brythonic were probably *cunos*, *cuni*. In Celtic names this word had the secondary meaning of guardian, champion, or protector: so *Ṿiro-cū*, *Gurcu*, Irish *Ferchú*, would mean, literally, a 'man guardian' or 'man protector'. In the other compound, the one with *maglo-s*, Modern Welsh *mael*, and Irish *mál* 'a nobleman, a prince, a king', that vocable is supposed to come from the same root as Greek *μεγάλη*, Gothic *mikils* 'great', and Scotch *mickle* 'great, much'. In Irish annals the name should appear as *Málchú*, genitive *Málchon*, but I have no note of meeting with an instance except in the Nevern Ogam. The name should mean a 'prince guardian' or 'king protector'. This use of the word for dog or hound in Celtic personal names is very remarkable, and is borne out by Celtic history: the Gauls, for instance, used dogs in their wars, and Strabo tells us that dogs fit for hunting and for war used to be exported to Gaul from this country. The Irish word *cú* is epicene, and in Welsh names it is not restricted to men: witness Gwrgon and Gurycon as the name of one of Brychan's daughters already mentioned, to which may be added from the *Book of Llan Dâv* a *Leucu* (Hiugel's wife), p. 236, later *Lleuci*.[2] So with *y Weilgi* 'the wolf-dog', as a

[1] See Nyrop's *Grammaire historique de la Langue française*, ii, 184-9.

[2] D. ab Gwilym, poem clxvi, has *Lleucu*, however, to rhyme with

poetic term for the sea, which, though of the same composition as the Irish man's name *Faelchú*, is a feminine.[1]

IV.

A word must now be said of the English forms of the name in question, and here I am very pleased to acknowledge my complete indebtedness to the kindness of Mr. Stevenson, the learned editor of Asser's *Life of King Alfred*. According to him *Wrekin* derives directly from *Wreocen*, which he treats as a Mercian modification of an original *Wrekun* or *Wrikun*, the form taken in Old English by *Wrikon*, that is the Celtic *Ṷricon*. The name Wrocwardine is, in its first part, of the same origin, and represents what must have been in Old English Wreocenweorđign "Wrekin village or Wrekin farm". This became successively what is found written *Wrokewurdin* or (with Norman *ch* = *k*) *Wrochewurđin*, later *Wrochwurđin* or *Wrocwurđin*: that is, Wreocen is first reduced to *Wroke*, and then to *Wroc*, in the compound. The case of *Wroxeter* must have been partly similar. For, setting out from *Wreocen-ceaster*, we get a form written *Wroccecestre*, and French influence makes *cestre* into *sestre*, so one arrives at *Wrockesestre*, which readily becomes *Wroxeter*.[2]

The English form *Wrekin*, and the others derived from the same Celtic original, suggest conclusions as to that

Dyddgu, in which the second syllable possibly represents *cu* 'dear, beloved'. But in any case one is tempted to ask why *Lleucu* is not modified into *Lleuci*, *Lleugu*, or *Lleugi*. The same is the case with *gwenci*, a feminine, which is the word in North Cardiganshire for a weasel.

[1] See the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, f. 38b., and Skene, ii, 40. In the curious passage about the river fabled to have once separated Britain and Ireland, *y teyrnassoed* should be emended into *y theyrnassoed* 'her realms': see the Oxford *Mabinogion*, p. 35.

[2] As Mr. Stevenson's monograph is rather too long for a footnote, it will be found printed at length at the end of this paper.

original which are of interest from the point of view of Brythonic phonology. Setting out from *U̯irocon-*, we know that before it was adopted by the English *u̯iro* had not only become *ŭro*, but *ŭro* and its alternative *ŭri* or *ure* had further become monosyllabic, *u̯ro*, *u̯ri*. This latter process of shortening may be dated as near as you like to the conquest of the Wrekin district by the English, provided it be treated as dating before that conquest and not after it. The antecedent change of *u̯iro* into *ŭro* occurs beyond Welsh in the Breton language, where the word spelt in modern Welsh *gwr* 'a man, *vir*' is written *gour*. In other terms we may probably regard *uro* for *u̯iro* as common Brythonic, and an accomplished fact before the separation of Welsh and Breton, say some time in the fifth century. In the other direction it had not taken place at the time when the Romans first became acquainted with the Cornavii of the district. This can hardly have been later than the presence in this country of the Roman general Ostorius Scapula, who received command here in the year 50, and proceeded, among other things, to maintain a boundary extending from the Severn to the basin of the Trent. It may be guessed to have reached from the site of Viroconium to that of Pennocrucium. In fact it is possible that Ostorius it was that selected the former site and began to fortify it.

The next point of importance to be mentioned is that when the English borrowed the word which became Wrekin, the Brythons had not as yet mutated the vowel-flanked *c* into *g*, otherwise the Old English Wreocen would not have *c* or *k*, but *g*, or else a sound derived from *g*. One naturally asks next when did the English first become familiar with the district and its name: no certain answer has ever been given that question. It is true that an entry in the *Saxon Chronicle* has been supposed by some

to supply it. Under the year 584 we read to the following effect:—"In this year Ceawlin and Cutha fought against the Britons at the place which is named Fethanleag, and Cutha was there slain; and Ceawlin took many towns and countless booty; and, wrathful, he thence returned to his own." The difficulty is to identify Fethanleag; some have suggested a place in Gloucestershire, in which case the entry would be irrelevant here; but Dr. Guest argued for its identity with a place now called Faddiley, near Nantwich, in Cheshire. In that case Ceawlin, marching up the Severn valley, could hardly avoid having to do with the people of the Wrekin district: he could not have ventured further north without getting possession at least of Viroconium, or of effecting its destruction, that is to say if its destruction had not happened some time or other previously.

This is, however, not a very satisfactory way of trying to date a phonological change, so I would now turn to Bede. It has already been suggested that the *Meilochon* in his *Ecclesiastical History* seems to imply that the name had, in Brythonic pronunciation, been modified from *Mailocon* into *Mailogon*. But the same work contains other names in point, such as that of *Caedmon*, the first Northumbrian poet. He died in 680, and his name is a form of that which Welshmen went on writing for a long time afterwards as *Catman*, now *Cadfan*. Similarly with *Caedualla*, both as the name of the Venodotian king, called in Welsh *Catguollaun*, later *Cadwallon*, who was blockaded in the Isle of Glannog, or Priestholme, by the English in 629, and as the name of a West Saxon king who, according to Bede, gave up his throne in 689. The early Celtic form of the name must have been *Catuvellaunos*, the plural of which is attested as the name of the Catuvellauni, one of the most powerful tribes in Britain in the time of Cæsar. Bede

mentions, also, a Welsh king Cerdic: his words are "sub rege Brettonum Cerdice", and Mr. Plummer, the editor of Bede's historical works, rightly suggests that this was probably the Ceretic whose death is given in the *Annales Cambriæ*, A.D. 616. The same name occurs also in the shorter spelling *Certic*, given in the *Historia Brittonum* to the king of Elmet, expelled by Edwin of Northumbria. That is, there were two Brythonic forms, *Ceretic* and *Certic*, parallel to such pairs as *Dinogat* and *Dingat*, *Tudawal* and *Tudwal*; and the shorter form *Certic* had reached Bede, with the *t* reduced in pronunciation to *d*; so he wrote *Cerdic*.[1]

Here it may be asked, what about the unmutated *c* in this name; but the rule as to vowel-flanked consonants does not apply. Mr. Plummer kindly informs me that it was Bede's habit to place the proper name in apposition to the appellative accompanying it, which means here that the ending *e* of *Cerdice* has to be regarded as the Latin ablative case termination supplied by Bede, the name as he got it being *Cerdic*. Now a final consonant was not subject to more than half the mutational inducement which was exercised on a consonant not preceded only, but also followed, by a vowel. As a matter of fact the consonant proves to have resisted much longer, and this persistence has left its impress on the spelling down to the late Middle Ages: witness the final *t* and *c* (less often *p*) regularly retained in the spelling usual, for instance, in the Mabinogion in the *Red Book of Hergest*. The same remarks apply to Bede's "in silva Elmete": he had the name as *Elmet*,

[1] See Plummer's *Bede*, i, 255 (book iv, 23), ii, 247, and the *Historia Brittonum*, *loc. cit.*, p. 206; see also p. 177, where Vortigern's interpreter's name is variously given as *Ceretic* and *Cerdic*. Still more remarkable is the debût in the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 495, of a prince whose name *Cerdic* or *Certic* suggests intermarriage with Celts even earlier than can be implied by the case of Caedwalla.

which in Welsh is now *Elfed*, in English *Elvet*, as the name of a district containing the parish church of Cynwyl Elfed, so called to distinguish it from Cynwyl Gaeo, both in Carmarthenshire. It is this Elvet, probably, that I seem to detect in the bilingual inscription at Trallwng, near Brecon, where the Ogam version reads *Cunacennivi Ilvveto* 'the Grave or Place of Cunacenniu of Elvet': this shows the Welsh reduction of *lm* to *lv*, for *lm* would have persisted had the word been purely Irish. The Latin version of the inscription will be mentioned later. *Elmet, Elfed* was possibly not a very uncommon place-name: Bede's instance survives in 'Elmet Wood', near Leeds.

Bede gives a still simpler instance, *loc. cit.*, i, 82, namely, '*Dinoot abbas*', the abbot of Bangor, who met Augustine in one of the first years of the seventh century. In later Welsh the name was *Dunawt*, now *Dunod*, being the Latin *Dōnātus*, borrowed and pronounced at the time to which Bede refers, probably as Dūnŏ́t, with *u* tending to the unrounding characteristic of the pronunciation of Welsh *u*. When exactly the mutation of Welsh final consonants took place in our Welsh texts has not, as far as I know, been carefully studied. It is relevant to mention that the sister dialects of Welsh, namely, Cornish and Breton, appear never to have carried this mutation through. If one consult Le Gonidec's Dictionary of Breton, one finds, for instance, such alternatives[1] as *tat* and *tad* corresponding to Welsh *tad* 'father', *bet* and *bed* to Welsh *byd* 'world'. So with many more, including words where Le Gonidec

[1] I take the forms ending with the tenues to be the older, but the rules as to the use of the two sets do not seem to have been exhaustively studied. Professor Joseph Loth has kindly referred me to an article in which he has touched on them: see the *Annales de Bretagne*, xviii, 617, also x, 30, where one of his pupils has discussed an aspect of the same question.

suggests no option, such as *oanik* 'a little lamb', Welsh *oenig*; *troadek* 'having feet, having big feet', Welsh *troediog* 'having nimble feet, active on one's feet', which is the common meaning given the word in Gwyneď; *hévélep* 'equal, similar', Welsh *cyffelyb* 'similar', partly of the same origin as the Breton adjective. It is possible that we have some instances in Welsh itself: they would be short-vowel monosyllables of which there is no lack in Welsh; but most of them, when examined, prove to be English loanwords.

The foregoing notes on the proper names, preserved by Bede, suggest two questions: the first is, when did the English become familiar with the Brythonic names which he gives as *Caedmon*, *Caedualla*, and *Cerdic-e*: perhaps *Aebbercurn-ig* 'Abercorn' should be added to them: see Bede, i, 12. The *Annales Cambriæ* carry us, in the case of Cerdic, probably back to 616. We do not know for certain when Cædmon, and Cædwalla of Wessex were born, but before they were called by those names, time enough must be allowed to have elapsed for intermarriage or other processes of race amalgamation to render it possible for Brythonic names to have had a chance of emerging among the conquerors. On the whole the opening of the seventh century appears by no means too early as the approximate date of the earliest acquaintance of the English with those three names. If that should prove tenable one might, roughly speaking, lay it down that the mutation of vowel-flanked tenues was an accomplished fact by the year 600. The absence of that mutation in the name Wrekin and its congeners does not enable us to fix on a very much earlier time for the change, at most, perhaps, half a century: so let us say 550, or thereabouts. Nevertheless, the subtle and imperceptible beginnings of the tendency to mutate the consonants, to slacken the contacts made in pronouncing them, must date earlier,

since the same mutation system is characteristic of all the Brythonic dialects.

The other question is, when did the mutation of final tenues take place in Ceredic, Dunaut, Elmet, and similar vocables. It will be found on enquiry that the tendency to make that change had probably exhausted itself before the period when the mass of English loanwords in colloquial Welsh found their way into Wales; for in them this mutation is seldom found carried through. The following may serve as instances, to which many more might be added: *adargop* or *adyrgob* 'a spider', a word in use in the Vale of Clwyd, and derived from Old English *attercoppe* 'a spider', also Welsh *copa, cop* or *cob* from *coppe* 'a spider': the more common term for spider is in Welsh *copyn* or *pryf-copyn*. Another instance is *clwt* 'a rag or clout', from some English form other than *clout*, which, in the sense of a blow, has yielded the Welsh *clewt* 'a box on the ear'; and, lastly, *llac*, from English *slack*, the meaning of which it retains; *whap* 'a blow, stroke, or slap' (D. ab Gwilym, poem 196), more frequently used as an adverb meaning 'with the suddenness or quickness of a blow', pronounced in Cardiganshire *whap*, and in Glamorgan *wap*, while the verbal noun in the former county is *wabio* 'to beat'. The origin is to be sought in the dialectal English *whap, wap* 'to strike sharply or with a swing; a blow, a knock, a smart stroke': see Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary*.

There remains to be mentioned one of the most common words in South Wales (except North Cardiganshire), one that has always struck me as not of Welsh origin: it is the word *crwt* 'a lad, a small boy', with its derivatives *crwtyn* of the same meaning, and the feminine *croten* 'a lass, a little girl'. To recognize the origin of these words one has only to turn to Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary*, and, in its proper place, one finds the word *crut* explained

as meaning "a dwarf; a boy or girl, stunted in growth". The word is there stated to belong to Northumberland, Yorkshire, and Pembrokeshire, and the reader is referred further to *crit* and *croot*. Of these, *crit* is explained as having, among other meanings, those of 'the smallest of a litter' and 'a small-sized person', while *croot* is given as the form usual in Scotland, meaning 'a puny, feeble child; the youngest bird of a brood; the smallest pig of a litter'. All this raises the question when and whence *crwt* was introduced into Welsh: it looks as though it was from Little England below Wales. When, in that case, one bears in mind the former hostility between Wales and that isolated England, it will not surprise one that the word is not admitted into Welsh prose.

Similar questions attach to most examples of this class, and few of them are regarded as literary words to be found in Welsh dictionaries. An exhaustive and carefully classified list of them is much wanted. When made it would probably throw much needed light on the intercourse between the Welsh and the English from the time of King Alfred down. An excellent beginning was made some years ago, in his own dialect, by Prof. Thomas Powel in the *Cymmrodor*; but search requires to be made in all the Welsh dialects, as they have not always borrowed the same words. This would form a good subject for research work by one or more of the scholars trained by the professors of Celtic at our University Colleges in the Principality.

V.

Reference has been made to the bilingual inscription on a sepulchral stone at Trallwng, near Brecon: the Latin version has been misread by me, and, I believe, by others. What I make of it now, on the strength of a photograph given me by the late Mr. Romilly Allen, is the following:—

CVNOCENNI FILIV[S?]
CVNOGENI HIC IACIT

That is to say: "The grave or the cross of Cunocenn: the son of Cunogen lies here." In the Ogam the equivalent for *Cuno-cenni* is *Cuna-cennivi*, and one perceives that there was here a decided wish to keep to family names with the same initial element *Cuno-*, Goidelic *Cuna-*, which has already occupied us. In other terms, the two names *Cunocenn* and *Cunogen* have to be carefully distinguished: the former became in Welsh *Concenn (Concen)* or *Cincenn*, and later *Cyngen*, pronounced *Cyng-gen*, while the latter became successively *Congen*, *Cingen*, with a soft spirant, *gh*, which might either become *i̯* or else disappear. In the former case we might expect *Cinyen*, which I have not met with, and in the other *Cinen*, which would have, however, to be written *Cinnen*, as the first vowel remained a blocked one and the later pronunciation and spelling were *Cyn-nen*,[1] not *Cy-nen*. The *Book of Llan Dâv*[2] carefully distinguishes *Concenn* from *Congen*, as in the names of the three abbots: "Concen abbas Carbani uallis, Congen abbas Ilduti, Sulgen abbas Docguinni." Substantially this is also the case with the oldest MS. of the *Annales Cambriæ*, and with the Nennian Genealogies, both published (from the British Museum *MS.*, *Harleian* 3,859) by Mr. Phillimore in the 9th volume of the *Cymmrodor*. There they are *Cincenn* (or *Cincen*) and *Cinnen*, but some of the later MSS. of the *Annales Cambriæ*, by retaining the *g*, which had ceased to be heard, and writing *Cyngen* or *Kengen* (for Kennen), appear to have misled not only Williams Ab Ithel, but even more recent writers. The personal name enters into

[1] It is possible that *Cennen* is a variant of this name, to wit, in Carreg Cennen, 'Cennen's Rock', on the top of which the ancient Carmarthenshire castle of Carreg Cennen stands. At the foot of that remarkable site flows the river Cennen.

[2] See pp. 152, 154, 155, and others duly given in the Index.

that of a farm called *Cynéinog* and *Cynéiniog* at the top of the basin of the Eleri in North Cardiganshire. It analyses itself into *Cyn-ein-i-og* = *Cuno-gen-i-āco-n*, and compares with *Rhufoniog* from *Rhufawn*, *Rhufon*, 'Roman -us', *Peuliniog* from *Poulin*, *Peulin*, 'Paulinus', and *Anhunyawc*, *Anhuniog* from Anhun 'Antonius'.

The *Cunocenni* of the Latin of the Trallwng bilingual has corresponding to it *Cunacennivi* in Goidelic, and from Dunloe, in Kerry, we have a related form *Cunacena*, where the final *a* is all that remains of a genitive ending which was probably *ias*. Later in the language one meets with a feminine *Conchenn* or *Conchend*, genitive *Conchinni* or *Conchinne*: the masculine also occurs, to wit, as *Conchend* or *Coinchenn*, genitive *Coinchinn* or *Conchind*,[1] corresponding exactly to *Cunocenn-i*, Welsh *Concenn (Concen)*, *Cincenn*, *Cyngen*. The element *cuno*, Goidelic *cuna*, in these names has already been discussed, and the question remains what we are to make of the other, *cenno*, Goidelic *cenna*. I am now disposed to regard it as representing an earlier *quenno*, Irish *cenn*, *ceann*, Welsh *penn*, *pen*, 'head or top, the end in any direction'. We have another—probably an earlier—instance of simplifying a medial *qu* into *c*, namely, in the Carmarthenshire bilingual, which has *Voteporigis* in Latin for *Votecorigas* in Goidelic. If this conjecture proves admissible we can equate *Cunocenn-* with the Gallo-Roman *Cunopenn-us*, cited by Holder from Brescia, in North Italy, *C. I. L.*, V, 4216. The name would mean 'dogheaded', or more probably, 'a head who is a dog', that is to say, dog in the sense of a champion or protector, as usual in Celtic names of this kind.[2]

Historically, the most important bearer of the name

[1] See the *Rev. Celtique*, xiii, 290; *Ó Huidhrin*, note 597 to p. 109; *Book of Leinster*, ff. 325[f], 325[h], 326[e], 351[d].

[2] See the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1895, pp. 307-13; 1907, pp. 85-9.

J. Percy Clarke, Llangollen.

Pillar of Eliseg, shewing the Concenn Inscription.

Concenn or Cincenn was one mentioned in the Nennian Genealogies in the British Museum MS., *Harley* 3859: see Phillimore's Pedigree xxvij (*Cymmrodor*, ix, 181), where he is called Cincen, son of Catel, also spelt Catell, later Cadell. This latter is probably to be identified with Cadell king of Powys, mentioned as Catell Pouis in the *Annales Cambriæ*, which record his death under the year 808, while the names of two sons of his occur under the year 814, Griphiud and Elized. Now a monument of capital importance, known as the Pillar of Elisseg, was erected by Concenn in the neighbourhood of Valle Crucis Abbey, not far from Llangollen. The Pillar had been broken and fragments of it had been lost some time or other before the inscription was examined in 1696 by our great antiquary and philologist, Edward Llwyd. In a letter written that year he sent a facsimile of what remained of the writing to a friend, the letter and the copy are now in the Harleian collection in a volume which is alphabetical and numbered 3,780. Since 1696 what Llwyd was able to read has become nearly all illegible: so it has been deemed expedient to have a photograph of Llwyd's copy submitted: see pages 40, 41. This was rendered all the more necessary owing to the astounding carelessness with which Gough, Westwood, and Hübner have treated Llwyd's text; but I cannot go into details at present, as this paper has already grown much longer than was intended.[1] It should be

[1] Gough printed both Llwyd's letter and his text in his Camden's *Britannia* (London, 1789), vol. ii, 582, 583, plate xxii. The letter was printed also in the *Cambro-Briton* in 1820, pp. 55, 56, and recently a copy of it has been included in Mr. Edward Owen's *Catalogue of the MSS. relating to Wales in the British Museum*, part ii, 410. That part, even more than the previous one, reflects great credit both on the compiler and those who have the direction of the Cymmrodorion Record Series. The letter is reproduced for reference' sake at the end of this paper.

(1) ✝ conceuu filiur catteli catteli

(2) fil ✝ iur brohcmail brohcmail filiur

(3) elires elires filiur guoillauc

(4) ✝ conigeuu itaque pronepor elires

(5) edificauit hunc lapidem proauo

(6) ruo elires ✝ ipse ert elires qui necr

(7) ot heredtatem poyor-ipc-- mort

(8) cat'tem per uim-- e potertate ecclio

(9) ——————iu gladio ruo partaiu isue

(10) ——————imque recituerit mauercr-p

(11) ——————=m det benedictionem rupe

(12) ——————n elires ✝ ipse ert conceuu

(13) ——————tur—c--emeiuugc-mauu

(14) ——————eadregumrouum poyor

(15) ——————=ern iubaui-pe quod

(16) ——————i-r=auipucaue

(17) ——————————————

mentioned that Llwyd some ten or eleven years later endeavoured to give in printed characters a facsimile of lines 23-28 of the inscription. They are to be found in his *Archæologia Britannica* (Oxford, 1707), i, p. 229[c], where he uses among other letters a Greek μ for N, and several letter-forms now used only in writing Irish. Put into ordinary English letters, the lines in question run as follows, differing slightly from the copy in 1696, which has here been submitted in photography :—

. . . . bened . . . . Germanus quē
. . . . peperit ei se . . ira filia Maximi
regis qui occidit regem Romano
rum ✠ Conmarch pinxit hoc
chirografū rege suo poscente
Concenn ✠ &c.

The Llwyd copy, reduced to what is intelligible at a glance, but extended by the insertion of individual words suggested by the context, and of certain formulæ of a well-known description, will stand somewhat as follows :—

(1) †Concenn filius Cattell Cattell (i)
(2) filius Brohcmail Brohcma[i]l filius
(3) Eliseg Eliseg filius Guoillauc
(4) †Concenn itaque pronepos Eliseg (ii)
(5) edificavit hunc lapidem proavo
(6) suo Eliseg † Ipse est Eliseg qui . . . . . (iii)
(7) . . . . hereditatem Pouo[i]s . . . . . .
(8) . . . per viiii[1] [an*nos*] e potestate Anglo-

[1] After I had made repeated attempts to understand the text, my friend Professor Sayce kindly came to my assistance, and he has carried the interpretation further than I could. Thus, for instance, at the end of line 6 and the beginning of line 7 he would read *nactus erat*; and here, I believe, I owe to him the reading *viiii*, for Llwyd's dots seem only to suggest *vim*. Before leaving for the Soudan he gave me to understand that his emendations would be

(9) [rum] in gladio suo parta in igne
(10) [†Quic]umque recit[a]verit manescrip- (iv)
(11) [tu*m* lapid]em det benedictionem supe-
(12) [r anima]m Eliseg † Ipse est Concenn (v)
(13) manu
(14) ad regnum svum Pouo[i]s
(15) et quod
(16)
(17) montem
(18) (One line wanting, perhaps more) (vi?)
(19) monarchiam
(20) Maximus Brittanniae
(21) [Conce]nn Pascen[t . . . .] Maun Annan
(22) [†]Britu a[u]t[e]m filius Guarthi (vij)
[*read* Guorthi]
(23) [girn] que*m* bened[ixit] Germanus que*m*-
(24) [qu]e peperit ei Se[v]ira filia Maximi
(25) [re]gis qui occidit regem Romano-
(26) rum † Conmarch pinxit hoc (viij)
(27) chirografu*m* rege suo poscente
(28) Concenn † Benedictio d*omi*ni in Con- (ix)
(29) cenn et s*vos* i*n* tota[*m*] familia[*m*] eius
(30) et in*n* tota eagione*m* [*read* in tota*m* ea*m* regione*m*] povois
(31) usque in [diem iudici]

To check the lacunæ, more or less, we have Llwyd's spacings, but they cannot be relied on so much as the number of letters to the line. Up to line 25 inclusive, the lines that permit of being counted make an average exceeding 28 letters a line. From line 25 onwards the

published in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* as part of his address to the Monmouth meeting of the Cambrians in September last. The October number has been issued, but does not contain the account of that meeting: it will probably be in the January part.

inscriber has taken more room, and the average falls to 24. The whole inscription was divided into paragraphs, with a cross placed at the beginning of each. The third of the paragraphs begins with *Ipse est Eliseg qui*, etc., a very Celtic construction, meaning 'It is Eliseg who' did so and so. The paragraph seems to relate how Eliseg added to his dominions by wresting from the power of the English a territory which he made into a sword-land of his own, 'in gladio[1] suo'.

Paragraph v is mostly hopeless, but it seems to summarize the achievements of Concenn himself, especially as regards the additions which he made to his realm of Powys. Then followed probably a paragraph stating that Eliseg's mother was Sanant, daughter of Nougoy (or Noe), descended from Maximus (Ped[s]. ii and xv), and closing with a sentence giving the names of five sons of Maximus. I am not clear how the sentence ran, but possibly thus:—"Priusquam enim monarchiam obtinuit Maximus Brittanniæ, Concenn, Pascent, Dimet, Maun, Annan genuit." *Concenn* is a mere guess: perhaps *Maucann* would be better, but any name in *nn* is admissible. *Dimet*, which in the Pembrokeshire bilingual inscription at Trefgarn Fach is *Demet-i*, seems to fit the lacuna, and a bearer of that name

[1] The full term in Irish appears to have been 'to clean or clear a sword-land', or 'to make a land of the sword' of it. The land itself was called *claideb-thir* or *tír claidib*, which came to be called simply *claideb* or *cladeom* 'sword'. Possibly in the case of the two Pembrokeshire rivers Cleddau 'sword', the word originally meant the districts drained by them, and seized by the Déssi as their sword-lands in Dyfed. See *Celtic Britain*, p. 195, Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and the Scots*, pp. 10, 319, 329, and the *Book of Leinster*, f. 333[a], 333[b]. Compare also Meyer's "Expulsion of the Déssi" in the *Cymmrodor*, xiv, 116, 117, where we meet with the phrase *do aurglanad rempu* 'to clear (the land) before them' of its inhabitants. *In igne*, meaning 'with fire, by means of fire', is a literal rendering from Celtic: see the same story, pp. 114, 115.

is mentioned as a son of Maximus in Pedigree ii, which makes Dimet an ancestor of Concenn through Eliseg's mother Sanant. Maximus is said to have been a native of Spain, but Dimet's name is of importance as indicating a connection between Maximus and Dyfed, the country of the ancient Demetæ, perhaps through his supposed British wife, the Elen Lüyđog of Welsh legend. Add to this the fact of that legend associating him with Caerleon and Carmarthen, and, above all, calling a Dyfed mountain top[1] after him *Cadeir Vaxen* 'Maxen or Maxim's seat'. *Annan* is probably to be corrected into Aunun, given as Anthun son of Maximus in Ped. iv. It is the Latin *Antonius*, with the *nt* reduced into *nn* as in *Maucann*, by the side of *Maucant* in Ped[s]. xxii and xxvii: it is otherwise spelt Annhun or *Anhun* as already mentioned. The MS., Jesus College xx, gives Maximus (*Cymmrodor*, viii, 84, 86, 87) three other sons all with their names derived from Latin *Owein*, older spelling *Eugein* = *Eugenius*, *Custennin* = *Constantinus*, and *Dunaôt* = *Dōnātus*.

The next paragraph runs as follows, beginning in a Celtic fashion without a copula:—"Britu autem filius Guorthigirn, quem benedixit Germanus quemque peperit ei Severa filia Maximi regis qui occidit regem Romanorum." For *Sevira* is doubtless a spelling of *Severa*, but whether a daughter of Maximus of that name is mentioned anywhere else I cannot say. To put this important statement right

[1] See 'Maxen's Dream' in the Oxford *Mabinogion*, p. 89: the Pedigrees give the name as *Maxim*, but even that is not really ancient: the old form would have been *Maisiv*, later *Maesyf*, which must be supposed superseded by the book form *Maxim*. It is a difficulty; and there is another, namely, how *Maxen* came to supersede *Maxim*. The former recalls *Maxentius*, without, however, being correctly derived from that name. Mr. Wade-Evans, in the *Cymmrodor*, xix, 44, note 4, suggests that our man was a Maxentius, and not the Maximus who became emperor in the West.

with the Nennian Pedigrees, the latter have first to be corrected in certain particulars. One of the foremost things to attract one's attention is the fact that they never[1] mention Guortheyrn or Vortigern. For his name they substitute "Cattegirn, son of Catell Durnluc": this seems done partly for the sake of Catell or Cadell, the pet convert in the story of St. Germanus's miracles as given in the *Historia Brittonum, loc. cit.*, p. 176. There the Saint is made to tell Cadell, one of the servants of Benlli, that he, Cadell, would be king, and that there would always be a king of his seed. The story proceeds to exaggerate the prophecy as follows:—"Juxta verba Sancti Germani rex de servo factus est, et omnes filii eius reges facti sunt, et a semine illorum omnis regio Povisorum regitur usque in hodiernum diem." So the Nennian Pedigree xxii ends with "map Pascent | map Cattegirn | map Catel dunlurc", though the Fernmail Pedigree in the *Historia Brittonum, loc. cit.*, p. 193, has "filii Pascent filii Guorthigirn Guortheneu", without a trace in any of the MSS. of either Cattegirn or of Catell. Pedigree xxvii, however, emphasises Ped. xxii, as it ends with "map Pascent | map Cattegir[n] | map Catel | map Selemiaun". Here the father of Cadell seems to have been an unnamed man belonging to Cantrev Selyv, in Brecknockshire. This looks ingenious on the part of the scribe, as Cadell was described in the Germanus legend as *rex de servo factus.* The difficulty is avoided in the MS., Jesus College xx (*Cymm.*, viii, 86), where we have words to the following effect:—Cassanauth Wledig's wife was Thewer, daughter of Bredoe, son of Kadell deernlluc, son

[1] In studying these pedigrees I have found Mr. Phillimore's edition of them in the *Cymmrodor*, vol. ix, invaluable, and next to that Mr. Anscombe's "Indexes to Old Welsh Genealogies" in Stokes & Meyer's *Archiv für celt. Lexikographie*, i, 187-212. See also p. 514, where he has anticipated me as to Severa.

of Cedehern (= Cattegirn), son of Gwrtheyrn Gwrtheneu. This makes Cadell grandson of Gwrtheyrn or Vortigern. The *Bredoe* of this pedigree I take to be the same name as *Brittu* in the Nennian Ped. xxiii, which ends with "map Brittu[1] | map Cattegirn | map Catell". Making here the correction found necessary in the other cases we get "map Brittu | map Guorthegirn". That this hits the mark is proved to a demonstration by the "Britu autem filius Guarthigirn" of the Elisseg Pillar.

If we try to look now at the inscription as a whole we perceive that the object which Concenn had in view was the glorification of himself and Eliseg (1) on the score of their own achievements, and (2) by reference to their ancestors, the Emperor Maximus and the King Gwrtheyrn or Vortigern. The Powys dynasty was Goidelic, and probably the Welsh epithet in *Gwrtheyrn Gwrtheneu*, which Williams ab Ithel, at the beginning of his edition of *Brut y Tywysogion*, has rendered into English as 'Vortigern of Repulsive Lips', simply meant that Gwrtheyrn spoke a language which was not intelligible to his Brythonic subjects, or at least that he spoke their language badly. Here one cannot help realizing that the inhabitants of what is now Wales could not then have had any collective name meaning men of the same blood or men who spoke the same language. They could hardly adopt any name in common, which was not comparatively colourless. So there eventually became current an early form of the word *Cymry*, which only meant dwellers in the same country. In fact Cymry connotes the composite origin of our Welsh nationality. By the beginning of the ninth century, however, the dynasty had practically become Welsh,

[1] The name occurs in one of the Tomb Verses, no. 36, in *Ryd Britu* 'Britu's Ford', so the modern pronunciation should probably be *Rhyd Bridw*.

which possibly made it all the more necessary in the opinion of Concenn and his Court to place on record what they considered a true account of Gwrtheyrn's position with regard to Maximus and to St. Germanus, as contrasted with the ugly stories which the Brythons associated with his name. There is, therefore, no hope of reconciling the testimony of the Pillar of Elisseg with the legends in the *Historia Brittonum* in so far as they concern Gwrtheyrn's character.

The *Historia*, however, throws a ray of light on Gwrtheyrn's origin; for in Fernmail's pedigree he is said in two of the MSS., one in the Vatican and the other in Paris, to have been the son of Guitaul, son of Guitolion or Guttolion;[1] but those names are simply the Welsh adaptations of the Latin *Vitalis* and *Vitalianus*. Most of the MSS., it is true, have instead of *Guitolion* the form *Guitolin*, but this was a different though kindred name derived from the distinct Latin name *Vitalinus*. In fact *Guitolin* occurs later in the *Historia Brittonum*, namely, in sec. 66. Most of the scribes have,

[1] See the readings given in Mommsen's edition, *loc. cit.*, § 49 (p. 193), § 66 (p. 209); and for his account of the MSS. see pp. 119-21. The Vatican MS. was published by Gunn (London, 1819): for its reading of the Fernmail pedigree see p. 78. It is remarkable for combining such old spellings as *Embres* and *Tebi* with such a comparatively late form as *Teudor*, in Mommsen's text *Embreis*, *Teibi*, *Teudubir* respectively. The first element in this last name is *tew* 'thick', used probably with the force of 'very, exceedingly', and the second, *dubir*, became successively *dwfr*, *dwr*, so the later form of the name is *Tewdwr*. Compare Welsh *dubr*, *dwfr* 'water', which in colloquial Welsh is always *dwr*. The meaning, however, of *dubir*, *dwr* in the personal name has to be guessed from the probable equivalents in other languages, such as English, where it is *dapper*, Modern German *tapfer* 'valiant', Old Slavonic *dobrŭ* 'beautiful, fine, good'. Some would also connect the Latin *faber* 'smith' as meaning the man of a cunning art or craft. So Tewdwr may have signified 'very good, very fine, very clever', or possibly 'very valiant'.

J. Percy Clarke, Llangollen.

A View of the Pillar of Eliseg, and the Mound on which it stands.

not unnaturally, made *Guttolion* or *Guitolion* into *Guitolin*, except the two which I have specified: for them the temptation to reduce the name in *-ion* into *Guitolin* probably did not exist, as their texts do not appear to contain sec. 66. Now the former name occurs on a bilingual tombstone at Nevern, which reads in Ogam simply *Vitaliani*, meaning 'the monument or place of Vitalianus or Guttolion', and in Latin letters of the most ancient type perhaps to be found in our non-Roman inscriptions:—

VITALIANI
EMERETO

This is so condensed that it is difficult to be sure of the exact meaning, but it seems to suggest that the deceased was regarded as holding some rank in the Roman army, and the case may be compared with the later Dyfed bilingual from Castell Dwyran,[1] where the deceased has the Roman title given him of 'protector'. Such cases help to answer the question how it was that during the later years of the Roman occupation the troops of whom we read were all in the north and east of the Province; for it would seem that the west was to be looked after by the chiefs of the Déssi. The latter, on the other hand, appear to have pursued a more or less romanizing policy, as may be gathered from the Latin names to be found in Goidelic inscriptions both in Wales and Ireland, such, in the former, as *Pompeius* and *Turpilius*, *Severus* and *Severinus*, and, in the latter, such as the *Vitalinus* already mentioned. For besides the Déssi who came over to Dyfed, there were others who coasted westwards and landed in Kerry. It is to them, probably, one has to refer an Ogam inscription including the name *Vitalin*, found at Ballinvoher, in the

[1] See *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1895, pp. 307-13, and the *Cymmrodor*, vol. xviii, 'The Englyn', pp. 72-4.

barony of Corkaguiny in that county. At a well near Stradbally, in co. Waterford, the land, to this day, of the Déssi, I have seen an inscription involving the genitive *Agracolin-i*, which I take to be a derivative from *Agricola*. The motive here was doubtless admiration for the fame of the great Roman general of that name. In the case of a group like *Vitalis*, *Vitalianus*, and *Vitalinus*, the motive was different but not far to seek: the names were chosen as involving *vita* 'life', probably by a family whose Goidelic names began with an early form of the vocable *béo*, in Welsh *byw* 'alive, quick', such as *Béoán*, *Béóc*, *Béo-aed*, *Beo-gna*, which was borrowed into Welsh early, and modified eventually into *Beu-gno*, *Beuno*. Time would fail me to do justice to all the conclusions to be drawn from the facts to which I have called attention. There is one, however, on which I wish to lay stress, and it is this: the Vitalianus stone at Nevern probably marked the grave of the grandfather of Gwrtheyrn, son-in-law of the Emperor Maximus.

VI.

To return to the Pillar of Elisseg, it has always struck me that it is a column obtained from some Roman building of respectable dimensions; but where? The inscription upon it must, when perfect, have formed a historical document, with which we have absolutely nothing of the same importance to compare. There remains one thing to be done to lessen our loss from the treatment to which the stone had been submitted before Ed. Llwyd's examination of it, and that is to have a thorough search made for the missing fragments. Regardless of expense the little mound, on which has been set up what remains of the original pillar, should be carefully sifted, and the hedges near should be ransacked until the broken pieces have

been found. In any case they cannot be far away, and they have probably escaped the weathering which has reduced almost to illegibility the exposed portions of the pillar. Let us hope that some generous Cymmrodor will come forward to help us in the search which I have suggested. It is also highly desirable that good casts should be made of the pillar as it is and before it has become completely illegible.

The fact that Concenn, king of Powys about the beginning of the ninth century, bore an Irish name, has, as far as I know, never been detected, and still less, if possible, that his great-grandfather Eliseg's name was also Irish. So I have to dwell a little on the latter: Edward Llwyd has copied it as *Eliseg* the five times which it occurs in the inscription; but in the Genealogies it is usually *Elized*, as also in the *Annales Cambriæ*, A.D. 814, 943, 946. On the other hand the *Liber Landavensis* regularly spells it *Elised*, and so with the Latin genitive *Elised-i* in the *Book of St. Chad*; but a form *Elisse* also occurs, as, for instance, in *Brut y Tywysogion*, A.D. 815, 944, while under 1202, in the same, we have it twice as *Elisy*.[1] These, without the final *d*, practically prove the consonant to have been sounded as the soft spirant *đ* or *dd*, a sound which was sometimes represented in Old Welsh by *t*. Hence the final *t* of *Elitet* in Pedigree xxvij (p. 181): the other *t* of that spelling was probably a result of the scribe misreading *z* or a reversed *s* as *t*.[2] Thus the older spellings in Welsh practically reduce themselves to three, *Eliseg*, *Elised*, and *Elized*. The Irish name occurs in a

[1] Possibly *Elisei*, which occurs once as the name of a witness in the *Liber Landavensis*, p. 216, is to be regarded as an instance of this name.

[2] How this can have happened may be seen from the way in which *Crizdi* or *Crisdi* in a Margam Abbey inscription used to be read *Critdi*: see the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1899, p. 142.

genealogy of the Déssi in the *Book of Leinster*, fo. 328[b], as *Heslesach*. The man so named stands twelfth in descent from Artcorb, whose son Eochaid was leader of those of the Déssi who took possession of a part of Dyfed about 265-70. The initial aspirate forms no etymological part of the name; so the more regular spelling was doubtless *Eslesach*, which would be that of the nominative. The genitive should be *Eslesaig*, and it occurs in the same MS., fo. 340[a], spelt *Éislesaig*, where the apex means that the pronunciation of *ĕsl* had been modified in actual speech into *ēl*. Welsh made *sl* into *stl*, while Irish reduced it into *l* or *ll*, with or without vowel compensation. Thus Welsh *gwystl* 'a hostage' is in Irish *gíall*, of the same origin as German *geisel*, Old H. German *gīsal*: in fact, the German was probably a loan from some Celtic language of the Continent. Or take the Welsh name *Ygcestyl*, *Engistil*, the Irish, equivalent of which is found written in Irish, *Ingcél* and *Ingell*.[1] The pronunciation of the *g* at the end of a genitive of this kind was that of a very evanescent palatal *gh*, and the retention of the *g* of *Eliseg* was historical rather than phonetic. But the Irish sooner or later treated every *dh* as if it had been *gh*; and Irish *gh*, influenced by the vowel *i* or *e*, passed into the semivowel or consonant, i̯ or *y*,[2] which Welsh pronunciation had once a habit of converting into *đ*, now written *dd*, as for instance in *Iweryđ* (for *Iu̯eri̯iu*), *Iwerđon* (for *Iu̯eri̯on-os*), Irish *Ériu* genitive *Érenn*, 'Ireland'.

It remains to say something about the spelling with *z*, a letter which looks equally singular in Welsh and in Irish, for neither language has the soft sibilant in

[1] For more instances see Rhys's *Celtic Heathendom*, p. 567, and *Celtic Folklore*, p. 542; also *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1898, pp. 61-3.

[2] See my *Manx Phonology*, pp. 118-23; and as to Welsh *đ* from *i̯* or *y*, my British Academy paper *Celtæ & Galli*, p. 13, note.

its pronunciation. But in Medieval Irish *z* was treated as an orthographic equivalent for *sd* or *st*; so we have in the later portion of the *Book of Leinster*, ff. 357[a], 357[b], 358[b], 358[d], 364[b], *Zephani* for *Stephani*, and ff. 341, 353[c], 364[b], *Zrafain* for what is there otherwise written *Srafain* and *Srafáin*, nominative *Srafan*, seemingly for an earlier *Strafan*: Stokes, in his *Martyrology of Gorman*, p. 397, cites *Strofan* from the *Martyrology of Tamlacht*. *Vice versa* we have *Elisdabet*[1] for *Elizabeth*, and *Stéferus*[2] for *Zephyrus*. More illuminating, however, is the name of an Irish bishop given in the *Martyrology of Oengus* as *Nazair*, July 12, and p. 168. It occurs also in the *Book of Leinster*, ff. 312[c], 315[a], 335[d], 348[i], 351[d], 351[f], as Nazair, both nominative and genitive, but the genitive of what appears to be the same name occurs, fo. 337[g], as *Nadsír*. This suggests that the name is to be regarded as syntactically made up of *Nad-sáir*, with *nad* as the unaccented form of *nioth* 'nephew', and *sáer* 'artificer'. In that case the *z* of *Nazair* represents here, not *sd* or *st*, but *ds* or *ts*, and the origin of the spelling with the *z* becomes clear at a glance. It is to be sought in such Greek spellings as Σδευς for Ζεύς, and the like, and in the teaching of the old grammarians that ζ was pronounced σδ or else δσ.[3] In a Latin list of bishops ordained by St. Patrick, one detects the name *Nazair* made into *Nazarius*, and that form, coming, as it does, from the *Book of Armagh*, a MS. finished in the year 807, carries the *z* back to the eighth century.[4]

[1] Stokes's *Martyrology of Oengus*, p. 110, à propos of April 1.

[2] O'Donovan's *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 238.

[3] In either combination the sibilant meant the sonant *s* which in English and French is written *z*. See Georg Curtius's *Erläuterungen zu meiner griechischen Grammatik* (Prague, 1870), pp. 17-19, and Blass, *Über die Aussprache des Griechischen* (Berlin, 1888), pp. 113-122.

[4] See Stokes's *Patrick*, p. 304, Stokes & Strachan's *Thesaurus Palæohibernicus*, ii, 262, also pp. xiii-xv. One of the most singular

All this would seem to imply that the name was *Eslestach*, when the spelling with *z* was first applied to it: Irish reduces *sd*, *st*, *ds*, and *ts* all to *ss* or *s*, though how early it happened in the case of *sd*, *st*, it is hard to say. The name might in that case be regarded as a contraction of some such a longer form as *Eselestach*, derived from *Eselest* or *Eseles*. I suggest this because we have at the top of Ped. xxiij, a name *esselis*, the initial letter of which, like other initials in the Nennian Pedigrees, the rubricator neglected to insert. I guess it to have been an *h* to help to make up *Hesselis*, which, with the accent on the first syllable, would be liable to be contracted in Irish to *Eislis* or *Eisles*—there was an Irish name *Aneisles*, *Aneislis*—whence probably our Welsh name *Elis*, spelt also *Ellis* with English *ll*. The only other name which the *-esselis* of the

things connected with the letter *z* in Irish is that one of the Ogam symbols, not yet found in an ancient inscription, namely, the 14th, is, in a tract on Ogmic alphabets in the 14th century MS. of the *Book of Ballymote*, named *zraif*, ff. 309a. lines 21, 45; 309b. l. 33; 310a. l. 40. O'Donovan, in his *Grammar*, p. xxxii, treats this as *straif*, and interprets it as "the sloe tree"; for it belongs to an alphabet which has the individual symbols called by tree-names. From this arose the untenable notion that the Ogam in question stood for *st* or *z*. The sound originally meant was probably that of *f* or *ph*, a phonetic reduction sometimes of Indo-European *sp* or *sp'h*. This *f* has since been mostly changed into *s*, and the symbol is lost in favour of the Ogam originally representing *s*. The change into *s* took place initially, while *f* still remained as a non-initial, and the man who first called the *f* Ogam *straif* could, doubtless, not find an instance of its use as an initial, so the name *straif* may be regarded as aptly chosen. In Irish, initial *f* stands, since the eighth century or thereabouts, mostly for the provected sound of *v* or *w*, and not for an original *f* at all; but among other instances of *f*, derived from original *sp*, and still remaining *f* in Welsh (now written *ff*), may be mentioned Irish *seir* 'a heel', nominative dual *dá seirith*, but accusative *tria adipherid* 'through his two heels' (Stokes's *Celtic Declension*, p. 26): the Welsh is *ffer* 'the ankle', Greek σφυρόν, the same. See also his *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz*, p. 299, where he cites 'bó trí sine' 'of a cow of three teats', otherwise 'bó triphne', where *sine* and *-phne* are pro-

MS. could possibly suggest is what is usually treated as *Llevelis* or *Llefelis*: this ought, doubtless, to be *Llewelis* or *Lleuelis*, to be analysed *Lleu-elis*. As to this use of *Lleu* compare Old Welsh *Lou-brit* or *Leu-brit* to be equated with *Logu-qurit-* in an Ogam inscription (in the Nat. Museum, Dublin), later *Luicrith*: it would mean 'one who has the form or countenance of Lleu or Lug'.

The five names in the first clause of the legend on the Pillar of Elisseg[1] are, as read by Ed. Llwyd, Concenn, Cattell (wrongly Catteli), Brohcmail and Brohcmal, Eliseg, and Guoillauc. Of these Concenn and Eliseg have been shown to be of Goidelic origin. *Broccmail* is a name common to Brythonic and Goidelic, or else a loan from Goidelic: the common Welsh spelling is *Brochmael*, and the Old Irish would be *Broccmál*, genitive *Broccmáil*, but at present I

bably forms of the same origin as Anglo-Saxon *spana* 'teats or *speans*'. Other names in the tract in the *Book of Ballymote* for the *f* Ogam are the following, ff. 310b. ls. 34, 48; 311b. l. 4:—(1) A place-name *Sruthar*, derived probably from *sruth* 'a stream', Welsh *ffrwd*, possibly from the same root as German *sprudel* 'a well, a fountain'. (2) *Sust*, which is the Latin word *fustis* borrowed, as is the Welsh equivalent *ffust* 'a flail'. (3) *Sannan*, a saint's name, probably identical with *Fanon-i* in the Latin of a Devon bilingual, now in the British Museum. Compare *Fannuc-i* from a Latin inscription in South Pembrokeshire, which recalls Irish *Sannuch*, the name of one of St. Patrick's monks. See Stokes's *Patrick*, pp. 305, 412, but take note of *Sanucus*, *Sanucin-o*, *C. I. L.*, *V*, 2080, *XIII*, 5258. (4) There are other names there of which I know not what to make, such as *Zur*, that of a 'linn' or water, hardly *Siúir* 'the Suir', and *Zeulæ*, the name of a *dinn* or height, and *zorcha* 'light or bright'.

[1] Since this was written my attention has been drawn to the pedigree of Cerdic in the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 552, where one reads that Cerdic was *Elesing*, that is, son of Elesa, and Elesa was *Esling*, that is, son of Esla. Here there is not only a striking similarity between *Eliseg* and *Elesa*, but two names, *Elesa* and *Elsa*, to compare with the two *Eliseg* and *Elis*, or rather, with the Goidelic forms from which they derive. Even were it to be urged that *Elesa* and *Esla* are due to a meaningless duplication the residue of similarity is significant.

cannot lay my finger on an instance. The Welsh *Brochmael* should regularly be pronounced *Brochvael*, or rather *Brychvael*, but what has come down to us is *Brochwel*,[1] which is a modification of the Irish genitive *Broccmáil*, pronounced *Brocwel* with the accent on the first syllable, accompanied with a shortening of the second. This leads me to expect that *Cattell* or *Catel* may prove to have been Goidelic too: the name which in that case it represents must have been the Irish *Cathal*, genitive *Cathail*, for an early *Catu̯al-i* = *Catu-u̯al-i*, in Welsh *Catwal*, *Cadwal*. Possibly it is in the name of some Irish *Cathal* that we have to seek for the *Cadwal* after whose name the commot of *Cedweli* or *Cydweli* was called: the English spelling is now Kidwelly, with the accent on the second syllable and *ll* pronounced as in English. Somewhat similar remarks might be made on *Guoillauc*, which occurs in pedigree xxvii as *Guilauc*.

Enough has now been said to shew that the Powys dynasty of Eliseg was a Goidelic one, and I will only add a mention of a passage in the MS., *Jesus College* xx, § 23; see the *Cymmrodor*, viij, 87, where the mothers of Einion and Cadwallon Lawhir, the father of Maelgwn Gwyned, are described as daughters to Didlet, king of *Gwydyl Fichti* in Powys. Whether these were Goidels or Picts is not certain, nor is there any indication where in Powys they were located.[2] The question suggests itself whether at

[1] My previous attempts to account for this form have been unsatisfactory; and for one or two other instances of the popular form of a name in Wales being more Irish than Welsh see my *Celtic Folklore*, pp. 541, 542. Compare the case of *Docmael*, *Dogmael*: two of that saint's churches are called *Llan-Ddogwel* and 'St. Dogwel's,' and a third *Llan Dydoch* (= *Do-Tocc-*), in English 'St. Dogmael's', retaining an old quasi-official spelling *Dogmael*. See Rice Rees's *Welsh Saints*, p. 211.

[2] Who were the five chiefs o *Wydyl Ffichti* mentioned in the short poem, xlix, in the *Book of Taliessin* (Skene, ii, 205)? The number,

the outset the Goidels of Powys extended their power to that region from the direction of Buallt and the Wye, or from Gloucester and the Severn. On the one hand, Fernmail, descended from Pascent son of Gwrtheyrn, was king of the Wye districts of Buallt and Gwrtheyrnion about the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century.[1] On the other hand, legend associates a branch of the Déssi with Caer Loyw[2] or Gloucester, apparently the same branch which was descended from Pascent son of Gwrtheyrn. In other words the ancestors of the Eliseg family may have pushed northwards along the Severn valley in the direction of Pengwern Amwythig and Wales. All this, however, is merely touching the surface of the history of the Déssi in Wales and the Marches, but even so we have stumbled across some important data for the writing of a new chapter on the most obscure period of Welsh history. It only remains for me to mention one or two subjects which it would be desirable to have studied in connection with it. Such, among others, are the distribution of Goidelic inscriptions in South Wales, the prevalence of Goidelic proper names in the diocese of Llandaff, as attested by the *Liber Landavensis*, and the so-called *breiniau* or privileges of the Men of Powys.[3] Finally, should the evidence point to the conclusion that the Déssi pushed their conquests up the vale of the Severn, it could not help suggesting at the same time the question, whether it was not they that destroyed Viroconium.

five, suggests the men in the first clause of the Eliseg inscription, though none of them can have been contemporary with Cadwallon Lawhir's mother's father.

[1] See the *Historia Brittonum, loc. cit.*, p. 193, and Zimmer's *Nennius Vindicatus*, p. 71.

[2] See my paper on "The Nine Witches of Gloucester", in the volume of birthday essays, presented to E. B. Tylor (Oxford, 1907), pp. 285-93.

[3] See the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, i, 257, and Aneurin Owen's *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, ii, 742-7.

APPENDIX I.

Mr. Stevenson's Monograph on the name Wrekin.

(See p. 29 above.)

The earliest mention of the Wrekin occurs in the dating clause of a charter of 855, derived from the late eleventh century Worcester chartulary "quando fuerunt pagani in *Wreocensetun*" (*Cart. Sax.*, ii, p. 89). This is an older name than Shropshire for the district about the Wrekin (or, strictly speaking, the people of the Wrekin). They are probably the *Wocensætna* (gen. pl.) of the list of early territorial names (*Cart. Sax.*, i, p. 414) upon which Professor Maitland has conferred the name of the Tribal Hidage. This is derived from a tenth or eleventh century MS., which contains many corruptions. A thirteenth century copy (*Ibid.*, p. 415) reads *Porcensetene* (by confusion of the O.E. sign for *W* with *P*, which it greatly resembled), so that the original probably read *Wrocen-sætna*. This form occurs in another Winchester charter dated 963 (*Ibid.*, iii, 355, from the twelfth century *Codex Wintoniensis*) "in provincia Wrocensetna".

The Wrekin itself is mentioned in a charter, derived from the same chartulary of 975 (*Ibid.*, iii, 650) "on Wrocene", "andlang Wrocene" in boundaries near Uppington, co. Salop. Here the name is, apparently, declined as a feminine ō-stem, with a nom. sing. *Wrocen* and a short vowel in the root syllable. The absence of the demonstrative pronoun proves that *Wrocene* is the name of some local feature and is not a common noun. Celtic local names usually appear in the O.E. charters without inflexion and without the demonstrative pronoun, as pointed out by Professor Sievers in Paul and Braune's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, ix, p. 251.

The Abingdon chartulary contains a charter of 944 (*Ibid.*, ii, 557), which mentions in the boundaries of Blewbury, co. Berks, "be eastan Wrocena stybbe þæt swa to Wrocena stybbe, þonne of Wrocena stybbe". In form this seems to be a genitive plural, but no such word is recorded in O.E. One would expect a tree-stump to be

known by a man's name or by an adjective or participial compound. This name is probably unconnected with that of the Wrekin.

Apart from this last instance, we have evidence that the name fluctuated between *Wreocen* and *Wrocen*. The instances are too numerous to be ascribed to clerical errors, and it is evident that the two forms existed both in the name of the Wrekin and in the local names formed from it. Professor Napier suggests that the *Wrocen* form arises from *Wreocen* through labialisation of the *r* produced by the initial *W*. The variation seems to be clearly due to phonetic action, and not to arise from different forms originally.

In this case we may regard *Wreocen* as the original form. This may be explained as a Mercian development (with the change of *e* or *i* to *eu*, *iu*, later *eo*, produced by a following *u*) from an original *Wrekun* or *Wrikun*. The latter would have been the form necessarily assumed in O.E. by an early Celtic *Wrikon-*.

From the evidence of the forms it is obvious that *Wreocen* was exempt for dialectal or other reasons from the Anglian "smoothing" before *c*, by which *Wreocen* should have become *Wrecen*. The modern form of the name descends from *Wreocen*. The *Wrocen* forms seem to shew that the diphthong was sometimes accented on the second vowel.

Wrocwardine, Salop, represents an O.E. *Wreocen-weorðign* (the latter part of the compound usually becomes *-wardine* in local names in this district; it is related to *weorð*, *weorðig* 'village, farm'). It appears in *Domesday* several times as *Recordin(e)*, where the Norman scribe has not represented the initial *w* of the O.E. form, as is usually done in the Survey. But the *Rec-* represents regularly, with the exception of the suppression of the initial consonant, the O.E. *Wreoc-*. The initial *W* is represented in the usual Norman way with a parasitic vowel between it and the *r* in *Werecordina*, the spelling of this name in a charter of William the Conqueror printed in the *Monasticon* from an Inspeximus of Henry VI. In compound names the Norman scribes usually represent *wur* by *or*, so that Wreoc-wurðine (dat. sing.) would be represented by them as *Werecordina*. The name is written *Worocordina* in a charter of Earl Hugh of Shrewsbury, 1094-1098, printed in the *Monasticon*, iii, 520b, which represents the

Wroc- form. The original O.E. form must have been *Wreocen*-weorðign, which became by the eleventh century *Wreoce-* by the weakening and dropping of the *n* in the weak-accented syllable, and the Normans seem to have failed to hear the resultant *-e* before the *wu* or *weo*, which is not unnatural in such a polysyllabic word. But we have traces of the persistance of this *-e* in late twelfth century forms in the Pipe Rolls, which sometimes write the name without it (probably as the result of dictation) and sometimes with it. The name is written *Wrokewurdin* in the Roll for 21 Henry II, and in the chancellor's counterpart for the 23 and 24 years. It is written with the *k* expressed by the Norman *ch* as *Wrochewurðin* in the 18, 19 and 20 years. The syllable in question is entirely ignored in the forms *Wroch-wurðin*, *Wroc-wurðin* in the 22, 23 and 24 years, and in the first of Richard I.

Wroxeter similarly seems clearly to represent an O.E. *Wreocen-ceaster*, reduced to *Wreoce-ceaster*. It is written *Rochecestre* in *Domesday*, where *ch* has the usual Norman value of *k*. The initial *W* is represented in *Wrochecestre* which occurs in an early twelfth century charter recited in a confirmation of Henry III in the *Monasticon*, iii, 522b, and in the *Wroccecestre* of the Hundred Roll of 1255 cited by Eyton. Through French influence *cestre* became pronounced *sestre*, and so *Wrockesestre* easily becomes *Wroxeter*.

Wroxall, in the Isle of Wight, occurs in a Winchester charter of 1038-1044 as *Wrocces-heale* (dat. sing.) in Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, iv, 76. This *Wrocc* seems to be the gen. of a masc. personal name. It also occurs in Wraxhall, Wilts, *Weroches-hale* in *Domesday*; Wroxton, co. Oxford, in *Domesday*, *Werochestane*; and Wraxall, Somerset, in *Domesday*, *Werocosale*. Wroxham, Norfolk, and Wroxhall, co. Warwick, and Wroxhill, co. Bedford, seem to have the same origin.

The name of *Wrexham* appears to be unconnected. It occurs in a charter of 1236 as *Wrectesham (Calendar of Charter Rolls*, ii, p. 459*)*, and in 1316 as *Wryghtlesham (Calendar of Close Rolls*, p. 347*)*.

APPENDIX II.

Edward Llwyd's Letter to the Rev. Dr. Mill, Principal of Edmund Hall, Oxford.

Copied from the Cymmrodorion Record Series, No. 4, p. 410.
(*See page 39 above.*)

"Swansey, Sept. 14, [16]96.

"Rev'd. Sir. I have here presum'd to trouble you with a copy of an inscription,[1] which amongst several others I met with this summer in North Wales. The monument whence I took it was a stately pillar of very hard stone; of the same kind with our common millstones. 'Twas of a cylinder form; above twelve foot in height, seaven in circumference at the basis where it was thickest, and about six near the top where smallest. The pedestal is a large stone, five foot square and 15 inches thick; in the midst whereof there's a round hole 12 inches deep wherein the monument was placed. Within a foot of the top 'tis encompassd with a round band or girth, resembling a cord; from whence 'tis square to the top, and each square adornd with a ring, reaching from this band to the top and meeting at the corners. It was erected on a small mount which seems to have been cast up for that purpose; but in the late civil warres (or sooner) 'twas thrown down and broken in several pieces, whence the inscription is so imperfect. The reason I trouble you with it, is because I remember amongst Usher's Letters one from Dr. Langbain to him, wherein he writes to this purpose—'*I have receiv'd both the inscriptions; and shall send you my thoughts of that at Vale Crucis; but for the other, I give it over for desperat.*' Now this I send you is the IS. at Vale Crucis; and I doubt not, but the vale receiv'd its name from this very stone, tho' 'twas never intended for a crosse. The copy Dr. Langbaine receiv'd was perhaps taken before the stone was broke, and you may possibly meet with it amongst his

[1] This letter was printed also in the *Cambro-Briton*, 1820, pp. 55, 56, where the editor appended the following footnote:—'This inscription, which from its imperfect state, it would be of very little use to transcribe here, Mr. Llwyd entitles "An Inscription at Maes y Groes, in the parish of Llandysilio, in Denbighshire, transcribed anno 1696."'

papers and letters, if you know where they are lodg'd; or direct me to search for it when I come to Oxford which will be a month hence at farthest.

"The inscription would be legible enough were it entire. It begins *Concenn filius Catteli, Cattel filius Brochmali, Brochmal filius Eliseg, Eliseg filius Guoillauc. Concenn itaque pronepos Eliseg edificavit hunc lapidem proavo suo Eliseg &c.* 'Tis remarkable that adjoyning to this monument there's a township calld *Eglwysig*, which name is corrupted doubtlesse from this *Eliseg*, thô our greatest critics interpret it *Terra ecclesiastica*. Thus, in Caermardhinshire we find this epitaph: Servatour [pro servator] fidæi patrieq*ue* semper amator Hic Paulinus jacit cultor pientissimus æqui. The place where the stone lies is calld *Pant y Pòlion i.e.*, the *Vale of Stakes*, corruptly for *Pant Powlin* Planities Paulini. I find other places denominated from persons buryed at or near them; whence I gather they were anciently men of great note, who had inscriptions on their tombs be they never so rude and homely. But I trouble you too much with trifles, so shall adde no more but that I am,

"Worthy S^r^, Your most obliged and humble servant,

"EDW. LHWYD."

POSTSCRIPT: *see p. 7.*

My address in the Transactions of the Oxford Congress for the *History of Religions* touches ground covered by this paper: see II, 211, where I have suggested correcting *Eueyd* into *Eved*, and equating it with Irish *Ogma*, Gaulish *Ogmios*. The form required is *Euvyđ*, which would be written *Euuid* or *Euuyd*: it occurs as *Euuyd*, and, misread, as *Eunyd*. See Skene, ii, 200, 303, and Stephens' *Gododin*, p. 377 (*Eunydd*); also Skene, ii, 108, where it is *Ieóyd*, with an intrusive *i*. The points of the equation are: (1) Gaulish and Brythonic *Ogmios* was pronounced *Ogmíios*, and *íi* makes *yđ* in Welsh; (2) *gm* or *ghm* behaves like *lm*, which becomes *lv* in Welsh, but remains *lm* in Irish; (3) *Og* or *ogh* becomes in Welsh *ou*, later *eu*. So *Ogmios* has its exact equivalent in *Euuyd* in Welsh. Space fails me to give analogies, to discuss texts, or draw conclusions.

The Dynasty of Cunedag and the 'Harleian Genealogies'.

By E. WILLIAMS B. NICHOLSON, M.A.

Bodley's Librarian.

The oldest 'genealogies' of Welsh royal families are contained in an early twelfth century MS. in the Harleian collection at the British Museum (*MS. Harl.* 3859). They were very carefully printed, with an introduction and valuable notes, by Mr. Egerton Phillimore, in vol. ix of *Y Cymmrodor*. And an index to the names in them has been compiled by Mr. A. Anscombe, and published in vol. i of the *Archiv für celtische Lexicographie*.

They are, however, most inconveniently constructed. They contain no dates, and very seldom any mention of the status of the persons whose names are given in them. Also they are arranged not in modern pedigree-form, but in backward order. If a genealogy of our present king were so constructed, it would appear thus:

[ ][1] dward
son of Victoria, daughter of Edward
son of George
son of Frederick
son of George
son of George.

Had all the persons with whose names the 'genealogies' begin been contemporaries, that fact alone would have

[1] Initial left for an illuminator to insert.

enabled us to get approximate dates for the entire series; but this is far from being the case.

I have, nevertheless, found that not fewer than twenty-two out of the thirty-two 'genealogies' can be fitted on to each other, and that a second series of three can also be fitted on to each other. By tabulating them accordingly, and inserting in brackets the known or approximately known dates of some of the persons mentioned, I have been able to reduce the 'genealogies' into a synchronous form in which they can be more conveniently consulted. And I shall add certain preliminary notes which will throw some little new light on their origin and import.

The 'genealogies' are immediately preceded by the oldest text (also early twelfth century) of the *Annales Cambriae*, and Mr. Phillimore has said (p. 144) :—

> "Both Annales and Genealogies, in their present form, show marks of having been composed in the last half of the tenth century. The years of the Annales are written down to 977, though the last event recorded is the death of Rhodri ab Hywel Dda in 954; while the omission of the battle of Llanrwst, which was fought in the very next year (955) between the sons of Idwal and those of Hywel Dda (especially on the part of an annalist who, if also the composer of the Genealogies, would seem to have been a partisan of Hywel's family in their contest for the supremacy of Wales), certainly points to the Annales having been finished as they are now in the year 954 or 955, and never subsequently retouched. The Genealogies commence with that (given both on the father's and on the mother's side) of Owen ab Hywel Dda, who died in 988, and they must, therefore, have been compiled during his reign, and before that year. The frequent allusions to St. David's and its Bishops, and the almost complete absence of similar allusions to Llandaff, in the Annales, show these to have been composed in the former, not in the latter, See; and we are led to place the composition of the Genealogies in the same district from a consideration of the extreme meagreness and incompleteness with which they give the pedigree of the royal lines of Gwent and Morganwg, districts politically and ecclesiastically

as much identified with the See of Llandaff as were Dyfed and Cardigan with that of St. David's."

In a paper contributed to the *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* (vi, 439-53), I have shown that the *Annales* are merely notes from the margin of a paschal table constructed by the 532-year cycle of Victorius of Aquitaine. This table would certainly belong to a *church*, and we may pretty safely conclude that the *Annales* and the 'Genealogies' which immediately follow them were compiled in the cathedral of Meneu (St. David's).

The fact that the *years* of the Annales are continued to 977 is simply due to their being copied (and divided into fifty-three decads) from a 532-year cycle which began with 444.[1] And the first 'genealogy', though it includes Owein, who died in 988, appears to have been originally compiled in the reign of his father, who died in 950. For it begins 'ue*n* map iguel', the initials both of Oue*n and of Higuel* being left out. Now, in *all* the 'genealogies' the initial of the *first* name is left out—for an illuminator to supply—*but (except in this one case of 'iguel') never any other initial.* Presumably, then, the 'genealogy' originally began with '[H]iguel', to which were prefixed '[O]ue*n* map' when his son succeeded him.

My next point is that in their original form these were not all of them certainly 'genealogies' in the modern sense of the word—that, in fact, No. 1 is not a genealogy but a table of succession. Part, at least, of the original table had no *map's*, but the preposition *guor*, 'over', in their place. This will be seen from lines 5, 7, and 9 in the list of Cunedag's precursors:—

[1] The cycle would end at 976, but another 'an.' may have been added to the paschal table with a note that the cycle began over again, or else the extracter of our Annales carelessly wrote an 'an.' too many—just as he often puts 11 'an.' into a decad.

Phillimore's text		*Corrupted from*
[1]	map. Ætern.	? guor Cuneda[g] Ætern.
[2]	map. Patern. pefrut.	? guor Ætern Patern. pefrut.
[3]	map. Tacit.	? guor Patern Tacit.
[4]	map.* Cein.	? guor Tacit Cein.
[5]	map.* Guoꝛcein.	guor cein doli.
[6]	map* doli.	
[7]	map.* Guoꝛdoli.	guor doli dumn.
[8]	map.* dumn.	
[9]	map.* Gurdumn.	guor dumn Amgueryt.
[10]	map. Amguoloyt.	
[11]	map. Anguerit.	guor Āguerit dubun.
[12]	map. Oumun.	
[13]	map. dubun.	guor dubun Brithguein.
[14]	map. Brithguein.	guor Brithguein Eugein.
[15]	map. Eugein.	guor Eugein Aballac. *qui* fuit.
[16]	map. Aballac.	
	map. Amalech. *qui* fuit.	
	beli magni filiuſ [&c.]	beli magni filiuſ [&c.]

Here the original structure is revealed by the sequence of six entries against which I have put a *. Then came a man who *meant* to strike out all the repeated names and the *guor's*, and to substitute *map*[1]: but he left in *guorcein*, *guordoli*, and *gurdumn* by accident, and failed to see that Amguoloyt, Oumun, and Amalech were only doublets[2] of names next them.

[1] See note on p. 91 for the amazing recklessness with which *map* was prefixed to the beginning of lines in table xvi—ordinary words, parts of words, and the name of Jesus having thus had parentage attributed to them. In my *Keltic Researches* (pp. 49, 50) I have pointed out that the table of the succession of Brudes was constructed with the Pictish preposition *uur*, *ur* (Welsh *guor*), 'over', 'after', between names which were repeated like those of Cein, Doli, and Dumn. Then came a later hand who put 'Brude' in front of all the *ur's* and so created 14 or 15 additional Brudes. In a table on p. 134 of Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, we have 'filii Sin, filii Rosin, filii Their, filii Rothir', which looks as if the original text had no *filii*, but either the Latin *pro* or an Irish *ro* corresponding to it in meaning.

[2] Mr. Phillimore has seen this of Amalech. *F'* in Welsh is a.

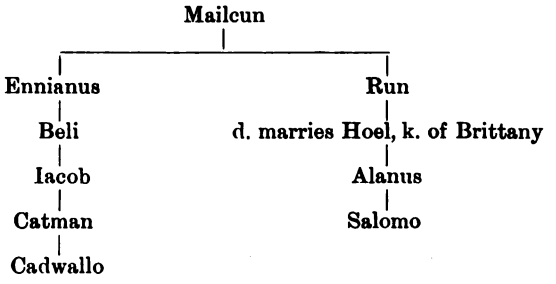
In other words, we have before us what may not be a table of direct blood-descent at all, but only of succession:—

before Cuneda, Ætern
„ Ætern, Patern 'pesrut'
„ Patern, Tacit

and so on.

When this is realized, we are at once able to clear away two great apparent discrepancies between this list and early twelfth century authorities.

(1) Geoffrey of Monmouth (xii, 6) puts into the mouth of king Cadwallon an extremely specific statement of his relationship to the king of Brittany, which I tabulate thus:



According to our doctored Harleian table, Beli was the son, not of Enniaun, but of Run. Strike out the interpolated *map's*, restore the original *guor's*, and we see that

guor Beli Run
guor Run Mailcun

meant not that Run was father of Beli, but that he preceded him as head of the house of Gwynedd. Why

mutation both of medial *b* and medial *m*, and Aballac, Amalech, are merely archaic spellings of Afallach: no doubt the *b* form is here more correct than the *m* form. When this is recognized, and the similarity noticed between the short-necked capital δ and an O, it will at once appear that Oumun and Dubun are also doublets. In Amguoloyt the *l* is a scribe's misreading of the conjunct form of *r*—*i.e.*, ɿ—as a capital L. This suggests that the tables are copied directly or indirectly from an exemplar written in capitals.

Enniaun is not so named is obviously due to one of two causes: either he died before his father Mailcun, or he was younger than his brother Run. In either case the headship of the house would naturally devolve on Beli if Run left no son.

It is possible that Geoffrey's own authority was not any Welsh pedigree, but the book of Breton tradition from which he borrowed so freely.[1] In any case, however, that Enniaun, and *not* Run, was Beli's father is practically certain from the fact that Run would have *better* suited the drift of Cadwallon's speech.

Finally, in the *Brut y Tywysogion*, Caradoc of Llangarvan says that Cynan Tyndaethwy's daughter Essyllt married a chieftain named Mervyn Frych. This Mervyn he represents subsequently as king of North Wales, and as being killed by the English in 844, and succeeded by Rotri. Of any Mervyn the *son* of Essyllt he knows nothing, and it is clear to me that in our original pedigree the text ran:—

guor Rotri mermin gur Etthil merch cinnan
before Rotri, Mermin—husband of Etthil, daughter of Cinnan

and that the later scribe (who struck out *guor's* and inserted *map's*) mistook *gur*, 'husband', for the preposition *guor*, and, by substituting *map*, turned Etthil's husband into her son!

Since writing the last few paragraphs, I discover, in Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales* (text, ii, 218; translation, i, 462), a document (from the *Red Book of Hergest*) which is virtually conclusive as to one of these discrepancies. It is a poetical 'prophecy' (put in the mouth of Merlin) of the succession of chiefs of the Cymry. It begins with Rydderch Hael, described as an enemy of the city on the

[1] See my note in *Y Cymmrodor*, xix, p. 6. To the instances there given, add the very striking one of Guithelin's embassy (vi, 4).

Clyde. He was to be followed by Morgant Mawr, son of Sadyrnin (= Saturninus), who was to be followed by Urien (= Urbigena). Then was to come Maelgwn, in connexion with whom Gwendydd (*i.e.*, Gwynedd) is for the first time mentioned by the poet.[1] Then would follow Run, Beli, Iago (son of Beli), Cadvan (son of Iago), Cadwallawn, Cadwaladyr, Idwal, Howel (son of Cadwal), and Rodri. Then Mervyn Vrych, *described as coming from Manaw.* Then Rodri Mawr, his son Anarawd, and Howel.

Now, the very important statement that Mermin Frych came from Manaw is not in Caradoc—in other words, the evidence of the prophecy is presumably not *borrowed* from him. And the only way to bolster up the statement in our 'genealogies' that Mermin was the son of 'Etthil' is to suppose that she had both a husband and a son of the same name—which is to the last degree unlikely; for in these 'genealogies' no 'son' bears the name of his 'father'[2] except in a few cases for which no historical corroboration is forthcoming, and which are almost certainly mere doublets of the kind we have already detected in the ancestry assigned to Cunedag.

And now for the names of some of Cunedag's precursors, and the lost history revealed by them.

Everyone has seen that Ætern is a Latin name, but has anyone explained why it should be given? We *do* sometimes speak of 'that eternal baby', but no one ever heard

[1] The writer clearly supposed that the primacy was previously with the 'men of the North', for, in the *Historia Brittonum*, § 63, we are told that the invaders of Northumbria were combated by Urbgen, Riderch Hen, 'Guallanc' (Guallauc), and Morcant. But these princes did not precede Mailcun, and his precursors in the dignity of chief king were, doubtless, the Gildan kings specified by Geoffrey of Monmouth.

[2] The earliest instance I know of such a case in Welsh history is that of Idwal Fychan, '*Little* Idwal,' a son of Eidwal Foel ('Idwal the Bald,' who died in 943).

under which he was baptized; (3) that a nationalist feeling had arisen in favour of vernacular names.

Of the names of Cunedag's own children two in every three are apparently Roman, the third is Keltic. From what Latin name in *-anus* Typipaun[1] comes I do not know, unless it be from Tiberianus; but Rumaun, Dunaut, Enniaun, are Romanus, Donatus, and Ennianus (as Geoffrey of Monmouth calls him)—names which may have been those of Roman governors or commanders in Britain. Possibly, Abloyc = Apulicius or Apulicus—the latter name found[2] in West Britain in the fourth century; Ætern is probably not a genuine borrowing from Latin, as in the case of his grandfather, but an instance of that repetition of ancestral names which afterwards becomes so common in these 'genealogies'. But Osmail, Ceretic, and Docmail are Keltic.

So, too, Typipaun's son Meriaun appears to represent a Marianus; Enniaun's 'son' Eugein[3] is probably named after Eugenius, emperor in 392-4; and Dunaut's 'son' Ebiaun seems to = Epianus, or (Prof. Anwyl suggests from *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* vii, 1336, 5) Abianus. Ebiaun is followed by a 'son' with a Keltic name, but *his* 'son' Mouric is

[1] Mr. Phillimore says: "Certainly a mistake for *Typiaun* (now *Tybion*)". Does Tybion exist except as a modern form of this very man's name? And does not Typipaun represent a partly obliterated TYBIRIAUN? I am reminded of the supposed reading PRESPITER on the Senacus stone at Cefn Amwlch, where I have ascertained by my own eyes that the supposed second P is a B.

[2] See my *Vinisius to Nigra.* The Apulicus in question was the bearer of a letter to a Christian woman from a man who apparently held a position of some authority among British Christians. Our MS. has *oy* for *i* in Amguoloyt and Cynloyp. The *Annales* give the death of a king Abloyc in a year corresponding to 942.

[3] True that it is found as the name of one of Cunedag's remote ancestors, but in that case it may be pure Keltic (= Avigeni-os). In the case of Enniaun's son, the name may have been selected from Roman sources, but with ancestral *nuance.*

of the baby being named Eternal for the rest of his life. No one, in fact, has noticed in this connexion that *aeternus*, 'immortal', is a title borne on coins by Diocletian (emperor in 284-305), his imperial partner Maximian († 310), and Julian (360-3).

Everyone has also seen that Patern(us) is a Latin name, but has anyone observed that it was borne by Roman consuls of 233, 267, 268, 269, and 279?

Finally, everyone has seen that Tacit(us) is another Latin name, but has anyone pointed out that it was the name of a Roman emperor of 275-6?

And no one, so far as I know, has detected in Cein the well-known Roman family name Ceionius, borne by a consul of 240.

The inference is obvious, that the names of the four immediate precursors of Cunedag are *regnal* names (as those of the Popes are even now), borrowed from those of contemporary emperors or consuls, and that the bearers of them held rule in subordination to, or alliance with, the Roman government of South Britain.

It may be asked why Cunedag has no regnal name. There are at least three possible replies: (1) that he had a regnal name which has not descended to us, the length of time during which he had been known as Cunedag[1] having prevented the later name from ever taking root; (2) that, whereas Cunedag's father, Ætern, was (to judge from his name 'Immortal') probably a Pagan, Cunedag himself was probably a Christian, and preferred not to change the name

[1] So given in the eighth century *Historia Brittonum*, and = Good Hound, like Biliconus in the Bath Christian tablet (see my *Vinisius to Nigra*). The perpetuation of the "connecting vowel" in this and certain other early Welsh names was doubtless due to the continued recitation of ancient poems from which it could not be eliminated without spoiling the metre or altering the text.

under which he was baptized; (3) that a nationalist feeling had arisen in favour of vernacular names.

Of the names of Cunedag's own children two in every three are apparently Roman, the third is Keltic. From what Latin name in *-anus* Typipaun[1] comes I do not know, unless it be from Tiberianus; but Rumaun, Dunaut, Enniaun, are Romanus, Donatus, and Ennianus (as Geoffrey of Monmouth calls him)—names which may have been those of Roman governors or commanders in Britain. Possibly, Abloyc = Apulicius or Apulicus—the latter name found[2] in West Britain in the fourth century; Ætern is probably not a genuine borrowing from Latin, as in the case of his grandfather, but an instance of that repetition of ancestral names which afterwards becomes so common in these 'genealogies'. But Osmail, Ceretic, and Docmail are Keltic.

So, too, Typipaun's son Meriaun appears to represent a Marianus; Enniaun's 'son' Eugein[3] is probably named after Eugenius, emperor in 392-4; and Dunaut's 'son' Ebiaun seems to = Epianus, or (Prof. Anwyl suggests from *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* vii, 1336, 5) Abianus. Ebiaun is followed by a 'son' with a Keltic name, but *his* 'son' Mouric is

[1] Mr. Phillimore says: "Certainly a mistake for *Typiaun* (now *Tybion*)". Does Tybion exist except as a modern form of this very man's name? And does not Typipaun represent a partly obliterated TYBIRIAUN? I am reminded of the supposed reading PRESPITER on the Senacus stone at Cefn Amwlch, where I have ascertained by my own eyes that the supposed second P is a B.

[2] See my *Vinisius to Nigra.* The Apulicus in question was the bearer of a letter to a Christian woman from a man who apparently held a position of some authority among British Christians. Our MS. has *oy* for *i* in Amguoloyt and Cynloyp. The *Annales* give the death of a king Abloyc in a year corresponding to 942.

[3] True that it is found as the name of one of Cunedag's remote ancestors, but in that case it may be pure Keltic (= Avigeni-os). In the case of Enniaun's son, the name may have been selected from Roman sources, but with ancestral *nuance.*

named after some Mauricus or Mauricius. If after the Emperor Mauricius, who attained that position in 582, either he must have taken the name at an advanced age or probably a generation or two is missing between him and Dunaut.[1]

I cannot refrain from mentioning here two passages in *MS. Jesus Coll.* 20, as printed in *Y Cymmrodor*, viii, 83-91, which have an important bearing on the doings of Cunedag in North Wales.

The first says that Cuneda had two daughters, Tecgygyl and Gwen, the latter of whom became the wife of Anlavd 'wledic', and that the mother of his sons was Wavl, daughter of Coyl Hen (No. vii, p. 85).

The second says that Einyav and Katwallavn Llavhir were two brothers, and their two mothers were sisters, daughters to Tidlet (*y didlet*)[2] king of the Goidel Picts (*gvydyl fichti*) in Pywys (No. xxiii, p. 87).

Now Einyavn was not Katwallavn's brother, but his father, and is given as such in the preceding pedigree: doubtless for Einyaun we should substitute Eugein

[1] I say 'probably' because recent letters to *The Daily News* show that the usual allowance of thirty years to a generation is sometimes very inadequate. In its issue of Feb. 10, 1909, is a letter from William J. Stephens, of Newquay, saying that Robert Carne, born in 1624, had a grandson John born in 1714, who had a grandson James born in 1806 and still living—being parish-clerk of St. Columb Minor! This gives four *complete* generations in 1624-1806, an average of forty-five years. Mr. Stephens says he has verified the dates in the parish register.

[2] Sir J. Rhŷs believes 'didlet' to be a name: I was in doubt whether it might not be a *di-* word meaning 'dethroned', 'expelled', or the like. I know no such *Pictish* name, and take it to represent Titlat for Lat. Tit(u)lātus. In Welsh the *ā* should give *au*, *aw*, or *o*, not *e*, but, if the source of the pedigree were Goidelic (whether Pictish or Irish), Titlet would be a quite correct genitive, which, in later Welsh, would become Tidlet, and (after the preposition *y*) Didlet.

Dantguin. That the alliances between their father Ennianus and the Pictish sisters took place after their grandfather Cunedag's descent from the North is clear from the fact that his two grandsons by them—Mailcun and Cinglas—were still living about 548, when the former died. Indeed, it is practically certain that Ennianus and his younger brothers were born in Wales.

Katwallavn's own name I take to mean Catuvellaunian, and to show that his mother belonged to that people, who, there is strong ground for believing (see Holder), had a town Tossobion on a river Tossobios (the Conwy?) in N. Wales. In that case, they were apparently Goidelic-speaking Picts, *i.e.*, Goidels who tattooed. If the name of the Catalauni is only an abbreviated form of Catuvellauni (as is generally assumed), that is likely enough: for that people were in the Belgic part of Gaul and next neighbours to the Sequani, who certainly tattooed (see my *Keltic Researches*).

But Cunedag himself seems beyond doubt to have allied himself to a lady of North Wales, whether his wife Waul[1] was dead or not. For the name of his daughter Tecgygyl is to me Tegȳgyl, Deceangla, 'the Deceanglan',[2] and I take Tegeing(e)l to be the district settled on her.

Continuing the consideration of Cunedag's ancestors, I make nothing at present out of *Doli*, and suspect that we should follow the version of this pedigree given at p. 144 of Rees's *Cambro-British Saints*, and read *Docil* =

[1] Cf. the modern Gwawl, 'Brightness', and the name Vâlos (Holder), and see Stokes, *Urk. Spr.*, p. 262, under 'Vâleti-s'.

[2] That certain inscribed pigs of lead in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, do show an *L* in the name of the Deceangli—as contended by Sir J. Rhŷs—I felt sure from photographs and rubbings which I owed to the kindness of the Keeper of the Museum, Mr. Alfred Newstead. I have now seen them. No. 196 is beyond question. Otherwise Tegȳgyl would = Deceangula, 'the little Deceangan'.

the Latin surname Docilis. *Dumn* appears to be the adjective *dumnos*, 'tall', though that does not seem to be found as a proper name except in composition. If its phonetics had been influenced by transmission through Goidelic sources, it *might* = Domn, representing Domnus for Dominus. *Amguerit* is simply the form eventually taken in Welsh[1] by the name of the Ambivareti or Ambivariti, a people on the borders of Belgium and Burgundy, and it enables us to add one to the small number of Belgian tribes hitherto identified[2] as occupying the coast-regions of Britain: their name is also preserved in Irish in the name of 'the king of the descendants of Neill, Aidus, the son of Ammereth'[3] (*Cambro-British Saints*, p. 562). And the natural inference is that Amguerit had an Ambivaritan mother.

Exactly similar is the case of the next ancestor, *Dubun*, who doubtless had for his mother one of the Dobuni, a tribe settled about the head of the Severn estuary, in or near Gloucestershire: the first *u* suggests Goidelic influence in transmission, or else that Ptolemy's Δοβοῦνοι should have had not *ŏ* but *ō*—which may very well be, as Ptolemy sometimes trips in his quantities (*e.g.*, in Δημηται for Dĕmĕtae).

Brithguein looks like an error for *Brithgein* (Brictogenios), which would mean 'of painted ancestry', or 'of distinguished birth', but the corresponding pedigree in

[1] *M* for earlier *mm* (= *mb*); terminal vowel (*i*) of first part of compound lost; *gu* for earlier *u*; *e* 'umlaut' of following vowel. An earlier Welsh Ammueret can be traced in the Anuueret of the version of this pedigree given on f. 35*a* of *MS. Jesus Coll.* 20 (see *Y Cymmrodor*, viii, 85, vi).

[2] Menapii, Atrebates, Parisii.

[3] = Amm(fh)ereth. Here again the changes are perfectly regular, the final *t* becoming *th*, and the *v* becoming *fh*, which was silent and is, therefore, omitted in the spelling.

MS. Jesus Coll. 20, has Prydein, which might be a Kymric form of Qritanios =Coritanian. The Corítăni (= Cruithni) were an East Midland tattooed tribe, speaking Goidelic (*Keltic Researches,* 17). *Eugein* is not Graeco-Latin Eugenius (unknown in the West *at that period*), but the later Welsh form (cf. Eu-tegirn and like names) of an earlier Avigenios, 'of noble birth'. *Aballac*[1] (Aballacos) means 'Rich in apples' or 'Applelander'.

The Latin passage giving Aballac Beli the Great as a father, and Anna, the Virgin's *consobrina*, as a mother, is added by a later hand, and is utterly false, except for the bare possibility that Anna may be a feminine of the Keltic name Andus, with *nd* assimilated into *nn*.

Beli the Great appears in middle Welsh story as the son of Mynogan, and father of Cassivellaunus. He was manufactured in this way. Suetonius (Cal. 44) refers to 'Adminio Cynobellini Britannorum regis filio'. In Orosius (7,5.5), a fifth century writer, blundering ignorance has tortured out of this 'Mynocybelinum Britannorum regis filium', and in the eighth century *Historia Brittonum* (c. 19) we find evolved 'regi Britannico, qui et ipse Bellinus vocabatur, et filius erat Minocanni' (*or* Minocani). Hence, Beli son of Mynogan—the real persons being Cynobelinus and his son Adminius.[2] The further designation of Beli as father of Cassivellaunus is due to a misreading of the name Heli, ascribed by Geoffrey of Monmouth to Cassivellaunus's father. As all three of my editions of Geoffrey give Heli, or Hely; as I have seen Heli myself both in MS. Rawlinson C. 152 and in the Bern MS.; and as Geoffrey gives Heli a father whose name is totally unlike Minocan-(n)us, I cannot doubt that Heli is the correct reading.

[1] *Amalech* looks like a Goidelic genitive.

[2] I learn from Sir J. Rhŷs in *The Welsh People* (p. 41), that Zimmer found out these things long ago. I rediscovered them by Holder.

The names of the other three Beli's in these tables are quite genuine, and possibly indicate that their mothers were of the Belgic tribes of Britain. Belg- would pass very early into Beli in Welsh, just as *boly*, 'a bag', and later *bol*, 'a bag' or 'Belgian' (*Keltic Researches*, 11), are from a lost *bolg*, which is only a variant of *belg-*.

We are now in a position to make one or two plausible guesses at the history of this family—if family it was. Early in the first century its members lived in an apple-growing region, and three generations later one of them is called a Dobunian. So that their original home was probably in the apple-growing counties on the west side of the Severn valley, where they would have the Dobunians for neighbours on the east. A generation later they intermarry with the Ambivariti, whose habitat is unknown, but who on the Continent were inland dwellers. In the first half of the third century they began assuming regnal names of Roman origin, and, if we may adopt the form Docil, there arises a strong suspicion that their doing so coincided with the Caledonian expedition of Severus, that the emperor found the son of Dumn a 'teachable' lieutenant, and that, when (after reconstructing the Northern wall) he retired south, 'Docilis' was left to occupy as a dependent chief that part of the neighbouring country known to the Welsh as Manaw Guotodin ('Sub-Otadine Menapia').

There is, however, one fact which suggests that even in the third and fourth centuries the family (if, as I say, family it was) may have had some connexion with the more southern region. The sheet of water called by the English 'Lake Bala', is called by the Welsh 'Tegid's Lake' (*Llyn Tegid*), and Tegid is only a later form of Tacit. I think it likely that the person commemorated is not Tacit himself, but the early sixth century Tegid: that prince's

own name, however, can only be rationally explained, it seems to me, as recording his descent from Tacit. Tegid's father, Catell Durnluc,[1] was founder of the line of kings of Powis, and, if Cunedag attacked the Goidels in North Wales because they were injuriously pressing on the tribes of Powis,[2] it is permissible to wonder whether his intervention was not due to ancestral connexions. On the other hand, it is possible that Tegid's *mother* was of the Cunedag family, and that he had no more distant connexion with it.

It might, however, be pointed out to me that there is also a Llyn Padarn, 'Patern's Lake', and I might be asked if this also did not indicate that Cunedag's ancestors were settled in North Wales. Unless Cunedag's 'grandfather' was a Goidel, this is very unlikely: I feel certain that, in his time, the shores of Llyn Padarn were occupied by Goidels. I am confident that the lake owes its name to the neighbouring Dolbadarn, 'meadow of Paternus', and that Dolbadarn in turn was named from property belonging to a neighbouring church of St. Paternus,[3] I suspect that of Old Llanberis. For the evidence of the existence of any St. Peris seems to me exceedingly doubtful, and the name of the village and its lake (Llyn Peris) may have been derived from the ancient Caer Peris, *i.e.*, the fort of the Parisi*ans*,[4] or the fort of the Parisi*an*.[5]

[1] The *Historia Brittonum* tells us (c. 35), that Catell was a servant in the court of Vortigern, whose own kingdom was in East Wales, to the south of Powis.

[2] I have seen this stated or suggested, but have failed to discover where.

[3] Cf. Dolwyddelan, 'meadow of Gwyddelan'. Gwyddelan means 'descendant of Goidels' or 'little Goidel', and—as Sir J. Rhŷs told me—there was a *St.* Gwyddelan, to whom I doubt not the neighbouring church was dedicated.

[4] Otherwise only found in Britain about the Humber estuary.

[5] *I.e.*, a chief of half Parisian blood—cf. Cunedag's 'ancestors',

So much for the 'ancestors' of Cunedag, if ancestors they really were and not merely dynastic precursors. But Ætern probably *was* Cunedag's father, since Cunedag had a son of that name, and Ætern's own name has the look of being chosen for its assonance with that of his precursor Patern—which makes relationship probable. Whether Patern was Ætern's father or his elder brother is rendered doubtful by the closeness of their dates, but that closeness does not, of course, preclude the former belief.

Here ends the subject proper of this study, but I venture to add such observations as have occurred to me, or may occur, with regard to the remainder of the 'genealogies'.

As Table I professed to be a pedigree, not of Hywel, but of his son Ouein, so Table II professes to be the same man's pedigree on his mother's side, beginning '[O]uein. map. elen.'. It is natural to suspect that here also '[O]uein. map.' are insertions, and that the table originally began with '[E]len' or '[H]elen'. Elen, however, died in 943, Hywel not till 950, and the table may have been prepared between those years—in which case it might very well be headed by her son's name.

The name of Elen's great-grandmother should be not Tancoyslt, but Tancoystl. This and other transpositions indicate to me that the tables were copied from an exemplar in narrow lines, and that for want of room final letters were sometimes written above the end of names—with the result that they are brought down into the wrong place in the Harleian MS. The following are my cases:

'the Dobunian' and 'the Ambivaretan'. The chiefs of the Llanberis district are not very likely to have intermarried with those of the Humber, but there may have been Parisian colonies in Wales, as well as on the east coast. There is also a Hafod Peris, 'summer-residence of Peris', in the shire of Cardigan—where the name is clearly that of a person.

Table.	*Name.*	*Representing*		
1	[1]Catgualart	Catgualat^{r}	*i.e.*	Catgualatr
2	Tancoyslt	Tancoyst^{l}	„	Tancoystl
18	Gueinoth	Gueith^{no}	„	Gueithno
„	Glitnoth	Glitth^{no}	„	Glitthno (*sic*)
„	[1]Gatgulart	Gatgulat^{r}	„	Gatgulatr (*sic*)

The name of Tancoystl's great-grandfather, Teudos, represents 'Theodosius', and is found four generations earlier in this line, collaterally (see xv), being borne by a prince of the seventh century. It is most probably derived from that of the great general who came in 369 to the rescue of the Roman power in Britain; less probably from his son Theodosius I, from Theodosius II, in whose reign the Theodosian code was issued, or from Theodosius, son of the emperor Maurice, who was associated with his father in the empire of the East from 590 to 602.

The name of Teudos's father, Regin, is the Keltic name Regĭnus (and Regnus), borne also by a few Romans (of Cisalpine Gallic descent?): it doubtless comes from the *reig-* stem and means 'of royal ancestry'. The name of Regin's grandfather Cathen (= Holder's Catuenus) shows Irish phonetics: the Welsh form would have been Caten, Caden.

Further back, Guortepir is, of course, Votepori,[2] and Aircol has been derived by Zimmer from 'Agricola': note that the stress must have been placed on the first syllable, Ágricol(a), to produce the contraction (it must be remembered that this family was Irish). Presumably Triphun is simply the Roman military title *tribunus* borne by the

[1] Yet the *Grammatica Celtica* quotes four Breton instances of -walart or -gualart.

[2] On the derivation and proper form of whose name see my paper in *Arch. Camb.*, 6th Ser., vi, pp. 78-80.

commander of one of the divisions of a legion: the mutation of intervocalic *b* to *ph* is Irish (see *Gram. Celt.*), as one would expect in this family.

Mr. Phillimore says that 'Gloitguin' is 'Clydwyn, the son of Brychan Brycheiniog, whose reputed conquest of Demetia has caused him to be foisted into this Dimetian pedigree. *Nimet* was his son, not his father, and appears as *Neufedd* in the Breconshire pedigrees'. Whether *this* Clydwyn is the son of Brychan or not I do not know, but do not think Nimet has anything to do with any real Neufedd. I take it for nothing more than a misread doublet of the next name, *dimet*, a capital D with the bottom stroke partly obliterated having been misread as Ꝺ, *i.e.*, N; and, as it merely means 'Demetian', I suspect it to be expressly meant to differentiate him from Clydwyn Brycheiniog. We have two other instances of such mere doublets in the neighbouring names Protec and Protector, Ebiud and Eliud. In fact, it is clear to me that the early part of this pedigree (like that of No. I) was originally not a family-tree but a table of succession, which may have run thus:

Before Clotri, Cloitguin Dimet
Before (Cloitguin) Dimet, Protector
Before Protector, Eliud.

When the *guor's* were dropped and the *map's* substituted, 'Maxim guletic' would be seen to be a doublet and be omitted, while Nimet, Protec, and Ebiud might be mistaken for distinct names owing to the corruptions they had undergone. The loss of final *tor* in Protec might have been due to its coming on the margin, but for the fact that Protec is found in the *Book of Llan Dâv* as the name of a sixth century witness: I suggest that, as this line was Irish, the stress was altered from Protéctor to Prótector, whence an abbreviated form, Prótec. As to

Ebiud for Eliud,[1] the confusion of *l* and *b* was very easy, and the *Book of Llan Dáv* contains no name at all resembling Ebiud.

Protector, again, is simply a Latin official title—given to Votepori on his tombstone, and meaning either that he was an honorary member of the Emperor's bodyguard (as hitherto supposed) or (as I now suspect) that he was a Protector of the population within his rule—perhaps of Romano-Britons against his own Goidelic rivals. It can hardly be a mere epithet, however, of Maxim(us), who was a Roman general, of Spanish birth, and a claimant for the imperial throne; and the examples of Votepori and Triphun show us that in this particular line official titles were used as independent personal names.

The end of the table is in a terrible state. Less than half a century separated Maxim from Constans, yet four names come between them, and two of these are very curious indeed. In the really fabulous part of Geoffrey of Monmouth's book, names are borrowed[2] freely from these or similar 'genealogies' to bestow on his prehistoric kings; and, as he gives 'Staterius rex Albaniæ' and 'Pinnerem regem Loegriæ' consecutively within a couple of lines (ii, 17), it is pretty certain that he read not the impossible Pincr but Pīner. *Stater* reminds one of *stator*, a magistrate's marshal; *Pincr* of *pincerna*, cup-mixer, cup-bearer; while *misser* resembles various Latin words, and might even represent a Keltic corruption of a lost *mistor*, 'mixer', and so be a gloss on *pincerna*. Was Stator a *pincerna* of Constans, and did the table originally so end? And have we any reasonable certainty that Maxim himself was not a

[1] The name means 'Of many battles', and implies that he was the head of a tribe or a military leader.

[2] Thus he has a Cunedag about 600 B.C. The real Cunedag he does not mention at all.

later interpolation for the purpose of deriving the modern heads of the line from a Roman emperor?

As a matter of fact, there has been handed down to us an Irish pedigree of the Triphun family (see Zimmer, *Nennius Vindicatus*, 87-8), which gives Triphun entirely different ancestors, and I can only suppose that the list of them in the table before us, if not a mere concoction, simply represents his precursors in the overlordship of Demetia, or else that a leaf in the archetype was lost[1] or misplaced and that we have the tail of one pedigree accidentally tacked on to the body of another.

In Table III Cinglas = Cuneglasus, presumably the king harangued by Gildas.

Anaraut in Table IV is, I am told by Prof. Anwyl, Lat. Honoratus: I may note the form Anarauht in Nennius as showing a confused recollection that the name ought to have an *h* somewhere in it. Prof. Anwyl has also told me that Aneurin = Honorinus, so that I may pretty safely add that Eneuris in the *Annales Cambriae* and the *Book of Llan Dâv* = Honorius.

Run and Neithon in the same table are royal Pictish names, indicating an intermarriage either with the Picts direct or with a line which *had* intermarried with them—*e.g.*, the kings of Gwynedd (i), the Strathclyde kings (v), or the descendants of Caratacus (xvi).

And Anthun represents Antonius, perhaps as a corrupt or abbreviated form of Antoninus—for so we have it in xvi, and the *Book of Llan Dâv* has 'antonię' (p. 26) and 'antonie' (p. 289) for Antonini.

Table V is a semi-Pictish line containing three Donalds (Dumnagual), a Ron (Run), a Necton (Neithon), an Alpin (Elfin), and *perhaps* a Kenneth (Cinuit)—not to lay stress

[1] There is reason to suspect this also in Table xvi.

on two Eugeins—while the two Beli's suggest two intermarriages with the Belgic Menapians of Manau Guotodin (see my *Keltic Researches*). In it we find the name Teudebur, modern Tudor, of which I shall here state what I confidently believe to be the origin.

It is borrowed from Teutonic Theodoberht (Theodobertus, Theodebert, Theudebert, Θευδίβερτος), and the particular person from whom its use originates was apparently Theodobert I of Austrasia, a great sixth century king who invaded Italy, struck a large gold coinage, and, when sending an embassy to Justinian, professed to be overlord of Britain, or, at any rate, of the Angles inhabiting it (Procopius, *Bell. Goth.*, iv, 20).

The Teudebur before us appears in the continuator of Bede as Theudor; the MS. containing this form is of the year 1420, but the work itself is apparently not later than about 766. The *Th* is also preserved in the pedigree of Fernmail, in c. 49 of the *Historia Brittonum*, by various MSS., *C D G L* giving Theudubr, *P* Theudurb, while *H* has Teudubir and *M N* Teudor. The Theudub(i)r in question is obviously referred to as still living ('ipse est rex Buelitiae regionis'), is 10th in descent from Vortigern, and has a son, Fernmail, who rules in Buelt and Guorthigirniaun, and whose regnal *floruit* is calculated by Zimmer (*Nennius Vindicatus*, 71), at 'ca. 785 bis ca. 815': the pedigree is also anterior to the Nennian revision of 796.

The *Book of Llan Dâv*, in which the form is Teudur, yields, in the names Freudubur and Freudur, a close parallel to the change from Theudub(i)r. Moreover, these names—which from their initial F could not be Welsh—are clearly borrowed from a form of the Anglo-Saxon Frithubeorht (also written 'Friudbertus' and 'Fridebertus'), and thus confirm the derivation of Theudub(i)r from Theodoberht.

Prof. Oman suggests that the 'Ceritic guletic' of this table is St. Patrick's Alclyde king Coroticus, pointing out the correspondence in date.[1] This suggestion becomes almost a certainty when we note among his successors a Beli († 720-2) who was undoubtedly king of Alclyde. Marriages with Pictish princesses were bound to take place among the Alclyde kings, and the offspring would, naturally, receive Pictish names with a view to their possible future claims to the Pictish throne: indeed, we know that the Beli just mentioned had a son, bearing the Pictish name Brude, who did become king of the Picts. Hence the Pictish names Run, Neithon,[2] and Elfin. Neithon is probably the Nwython of Haneirin's poems on the battle of Raith, possibly also the Nectan who succeeded to the Pictish throne about 597.

The name of Ceritic's father, Cynloyp, is a later form of the ogamic Cunalipos, apparently a Goidelic name containing Indo-European *p*,[3] and the name of his 'grandfather', Cinhil, is apparently adapted from Quintillus, that of a Roman emperor who reigned in 270—and suggests his having had an earlier ancestor of the same name.

Fer should be Goidelic, from its initial *f*, but in that case it should either mean 'Man'—a not very likely name—or be borrowed from the Roman name Verus—which Fer's date makes equally improbable. I suggest that the

[1] My idea that he was the Careticus of Geoffrey of Monmouth, an over-king of the sixth century, must be given up: the number of 'generations' between him and Beli II would be much too large.

[2] Kymricized from Rōn and Necton. The name of Mailcun's son Run in I is due to Mailcun's having married a Pictish princess—see my *Keltic Researches*, 83, and a forthcoming paper on 'Taliessin and his Contemporaries'.

[3] See my *Keltic Researches*, p. 153, on Andelipa. Sir J. Rhŷs has noted Cynloyp and several other names as having been borrowed into Welsh from Goidelic before the latter had lost Ind.-Eur. *p*.

original had)*fer*, *i.e.*, Confer, that the) was on the margin, got rubbed away, and was not copied, and that *map* was then wrongly inserted (as it has been many times in these tables): this conjecture is supported by the absence of a stop between 'Confer' and 'ipse'. If it is correct, we have seven consecutive 'generations' whose names begin with C.

Confer itself is a funny name. If it is Goidelic, it should mean 'True hound'—but the *f* would have been silent long before the 'Genealogies' were compiled. If it is Welsh, it apparently stands for Confor, *i.e.*, the Convor (mutated from Con-mor, 'Great hound') of the *Book of Llan Dâv.*

As for the curious statement that 'Confer ipſe *eſt* uero olitauc. dimor meton. uenditu*ſ*. eſt.', I take it that he was 'sold to (the) Middle Sea', and that *olitauc* is a lost word, meaning 'much travelled', derived from the well-known *ol*, 'much', and Stokes's stem *itâô*, 'I go'.

He may have been captured by Saxon pirates (like Patrick), been sold into slavery in Gaul, and so have reached the Mediterranean—to escape afterwards or to receive his freedom from a Christian master.

In VII, the final *h* of Clinoch is Goidelic, and in VIII I regard [*C*]*linog eitin* as another Clinoc (who would be a nephew of the former), and not as a mistake for *Clitnoy eitin*, as Mr. Phillimore would have it. It is doubtless true that Clynog 'never could have been spelt with a final *g* in the tenth to twelfth centuries', but it is equally true that capital G is thrice miswritten for capital C in these tables, in Gloitguin (ii) for Cloitguin, Gatgulart (xviii) for Catgualatr, Gyl (xix) for Coyl, and it is quite possible that in an earlier MS. of these genealogies the names were written entirely in capitals.

In VIII note the Roman names Urbigena and Marcianus, converted into '[U]rbgen' and 'Merchianu*m*', with

Gurgust either parallel to or metamorphosed from Pictish Vergust (Fergus) and Vurgust.

In IX, Mr. Phillimore (p. 176) says that '*Masguic clop* (= "M. the lame")' has apparently formed one of the elements of a name, *Masgoit cloflaut*, found in some MSS. of Geoffrey of Monmouth (ix, 12), the other element being the *Cinis scaplaut* of our xvi. The latter name I shall explain in due course. As to the former, Geoffrey undoubtedly borrowed from *some* MS. of our 'genealogies', and I suspect that Table IX should have read 'Masguit clofaut'. In the later middle ages *c* and *t* are incessantly confused, owing to the way in which *t* was written. As to *clop*, it *might* arise from *cloflaut*, the final letters of which might have been written above the line for want of space, and so overlooked by a copyist, while a subsequent scribe would naturally read *clof* into *clop*, 'lame'. *Cloflaut* might represent[1] the Latin stems *clāv-* and *lāt-*, and mean one who wore the 'clavus latus' or 'broad stripe' of a senator: compare the epithet 'Pesrut', 'red-cloaked', of Cunedag's 'grandfather'. But I prefer *clofaut* = *clavātus* (with the same meaning), which is in all three of my editions, in the Bern MS., and in MS. Laud misc. 720.[2] And I suggest that Masguit = Mascuit from a Goidelic Mascēt = Macsēt = Maxentius, and that his grandfather Coyl = Lat. Caelius.

In X, note Morcant the *Belgian* ('bulc"[3]), which suggests that his mother was a Menapian; Garbaniaún, Vrban, and Grat, equaling Lat. Germanianus (Prof. Anwyl), Urbanus, and Gratus; and the many Eu-, Ou-, Iu- names, including one, Oudecant, which has the stem of the tribal name Decanti.[4]

[1] Latin ā becoming *au* and *o* in Welsh, and Welsh *f* being English *v*.
[2] MS. Rawlinson C. 152 unluckily misses both names.
[3] This form is Goidelic.
[4] On which see my *Keltic Researches*, 28.

I cannot doubt that Ebiud should be Eliud. We have already had the two together as a doublet in II, and the *Book of Llan Dâv* contains no such name as Ebiud.

Teuhant and Tecmant are a mere doublet. Teuhant, Sir John Rhŷs has shown (*The Welsh People*, 90), is a degenerate form of Tasciovant, the *s* becoming *h*, and vowel-changes and droppings producing Tehcvant, modern Tegfan. Teuhant is a blundered transcript of an earlier Tĕuant, *i.e.* Tehvant, while Tecmant represents Tecvant—the *m* standing (as in 'Oumun' and 'Amalech') for the *v* sound.

In XII, Elidir is doctored into Eleuther, after a Pope supposed to have sent missionaries to Britain. The first occurrence of this erroneous statement (on which see below, p. 95) is in the recension of the Roman Pontifical known as the *Catalogus Felicianus*, and made in 530. Elidir really answers to a Goidelic Ailithir or *(Martyrology of Donegal)* Elithir, *i.e.* 'foreigner', 'exile', or 'pilgrim'. See Baring-Gould and Fisher's *Lives of British Saints*, ii, 445, and Professor Kuno Meyer's *Contributions to Irish Lexicography*.

Table XVI is of exceptional interest, being obviously a line of descendants of the kings Tasciovant, Cunobelinus, and Caratacus.

This family were of the Goidelic-speaking Belgian conquerors of South England, and the names of most of them have been Kymricized (like Guortepir in II for Votecori). 'Teuhant' is followed by Cinbeli*n*, Caratauc, and 'Guidgen'. The name of Guidgen (for Goidelic Vid(o)gen) means 'Wood-born'; he was probably born 'on the march' in the wars with the Romans. Then Louhe*n* should be Lou Hen, on whose name see Sir John Rhŷs at p. 6 of this volume. 'Cinis scaplaut', who comes next, has a Roman name and

cognomen, which make it practically certain that he served in the Roman army. For *Cinis* = *Canis*, 'Hound' (with *i* umlaut), doubtless the mere Latin translation of a Goidelic Cu(o)—while *scaplaut* is simply the Welsh transcript (with regular *au* for *ā*) of *scapulātus*, 'broad-shouldered,' found hitherto only in Low Latin, but shown by this nickname to be at least as old as the middle of the second century. His successors, Decion and Catel, represent Decianus and Catellus, the latter just possibly a Latin translation of Cunagnos (later Conan). But their successor Catleú (for Goidelic Cat(u)léo) has a Keltic name, 'War-lion', and the following name Leta*n* is Goidelic. Adamnan, in his *Life of Columba*, writes 'de Cormaco nepote Lethani', and Letenn is the name of one of the earliest mythical Cruithni: Leitagnos is the earlier form postulated by Holder. Then comes Sergua*n*, apparently for Servandus, another Latin name: he would seem to have been born about 260. He is succeeded by Caurta*m*, a name of which a later form is Caurdaf, 'dusky hero' or 'dusky giant'—*caur* being Irish *caur*, 'hero', Welsh *cawr*, 'giant' or 'mighty man', and *tăm*, an adjective from Stokes's '*teme dunkeln', which became obsolete very early, but is preserved in the names Cunatamos, Cunotamus, Condaf, Cyndaf, meaning 'dusky hound', and in various river-names, *e.g.*, Tam (later Tâv, modern Taff) and Tamēsa, Tamēsis ('dark stream' or 'darkly flowing'). Then follow Caten, Neithon (for Goidelic Necton), and Run (for Goidelic Rōn). Ron and Necton are Pictish royal names, and the latter almost certainly implies Christian parentage.[1] The birth of this particular Necton should be about 350: the first of the name in the royal

[1] It appears to mean 'born of a baptized one': see *Keltic Researches*, 60.

Pictish succession probably came to the throne about 460, and may have derived his name from the Necton before us. With this Necton's son 'Run' the table ends, apparently in the early fifth century, and never comes into visible connexion with the Cunedag and allied lines. Yet the Tehvant of X must almost certainly have had an ancestress descended from the Tehvant of *this* table, and the fact that Dumngual Hen had two grandsons[1] named Caurdaf (a later form of Caurtam) and Serfan (an earlier form of Serguan) puts an alliance with line V beyond doubt. This Caurdaf and Serfan had different fathers, and I suspect that their grandfather, Dumngual, had married a daughter of the Caurtam, and granddaughter of the Serguan, of XVI.

But there was also certainly an alliance between this line and the house of Gwynedd: probably king Cadvan married a daughter of it. For he had a son named Kynvelyn, who died before his father, killed at 'Catraeth'[2] in 596, and who left a son Tecvann. See, for the text, Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ii, 93-6, and, for the translation, i, 412-414.

The explanation of the Pictish ending of Table XVI is very simple. The Pictish royal succession was matriarchal, the king reigning by right of his mother; his father might be a foreigner, and indeed so often was one that exogamy may have been a compulsory condition. But the heir apparent always bore, or took, a Pictish name: thus, the son of the Northumbrian Anfrid reigned as 'Brude'. No change of language was involved in an alliance between the descendants of Caratacus and the Pictish royal family: both would speak Goidelic. Probably the former had gone

[1] See the *Bonhed Gwyr o Gogled* (Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, ii, 454-5).

[2] *I.e.*, the battle of Raeth=Raith, in Fife (the Cath Ratha of Irish chronicles). All the writers about the name have failed to see this!

North, like the Cunedag family, in Roman military service against the Picts, and the marriage (if it were so[1]), of which Necton was the offspring, was contracted during a time of peace.

At the back of Tehvant (who was coeval with the Christian era) comes what Mr. Phillimore justly calls a 'marvellous list of the Roman emperors' (beginning in the fourth century), all connected with each other and with Tehvant by the inevitable *map*, 'son'! Yet this apparently ignorant and vainglorious forgery turns out to have a quite different and innocent origin, to reveal the source of this particular table, and to furnish an almost certain inference as to that of the remaining ones.

It has been said at the beginning of this paper that the 'Genealogies' occur only in the oldest MS. of the *Annales Cambriae*, in which they immediately follow those *Annales*. It has been said also that I have elsewhere shown the *Annales* to have been originally copies of the marginal entries on a 532-year paschal cycle of Victorius of Aquitaine contained in a book belonging to the church of Meneu (St. David's). It now turns out that Table XVI was copied from marginal entries on another paschal cycle belonging to the same church—but, instead of being the obsolete cycle of Victorius, it was the current cycle of Dionysius. And this is how the proof is obtained.

(i.) The list of emperors, as it stands, is not complete, but only a liberal selection. As far back as Gallus, the names are put in the genitive after *map*, but before him up to Octavianus in the nominative—an indication that they were originally in the nominative, had no *map* before

[1] See the anecdote in Dion Cassius, lxxvi, 16, 5, from which we find that the great Pictish ladies were polyandrous as late, at least, as 211.

them,[1] and were tacked on to the pedigree of Tehvant in two instalments, by two different scribes.

Between 'Constantini' and 'Galerii' an *&* has been lost: it may have been on the edge of the parchment and have got rubbed away. Caroci should be either Carini or Cari, and Titti is corrupted from Taciti. Between Auriliani and Valeriani has been inserted 'map Antun. du & cleopatre', doubtless by the same late editor—anxious to show his knowledge of Roman history—who has added 'mus' after the name of Decius! That Antun is not part of the original list is shown by the two Antonines, Caracalla and Pius, being called not Antun but Antonius. Alaximus, as Mr. Phillimore conjectured, is miscopied from Maximus, and Commodus is called Commodius—but, apart from these later corruptions and from its omissions, the list is practically correct, *except for the addition of three names which do not occur in Roman history and which give the clew as to what it really was.*

(ii.) Those three names are 'map Mapmau cann*uf*' inserted between Aurelian and Caracalla, 'Moebuf' between Severus and Commodus, and 'Adiuuand*uf*' between Antonius and Trajan. None of these are Roman names at all, but Adiuuandus is Latin, and is obviously (like Adiutus, another part of the same verb) a name of Christian invention, meaning one whom God would aid. The presumption is that the other two are Christian also, and this is strengthened by the fact that four of the Roman emperors have notes of Christian events put against them, and that no other events whatever are recorded. Under Diocletian is mentioned his persecution of the Christians, and the fact that in his time suffered

[1] The *map's*, indeed, were so recklessly put in that they were originally inserted also in various places before the words *magni, est,* (per)*secutus,* (xp'ia)*nos, passi,* (bea)*ti,* and *ih'u* !

the blessed martyrs Alban, Iulian, and 'Aron', with very many others: these names are the only ones given by Gildas, and indicate that the paragraph was written after his time, while the spelling Aron[1] is ground for believing that the name in question was not the biblical Aaron (as given in the existing late MSS. of Gildas), but the South Welsh name Araun (*Book of Llan Dâv*, 75, 172) or Arawn (in the Mabinogi of Pwyll, prince of Dyfed), representing Arānius—a name found in Algerian and Spanish inscriptions.[2] Under Nero is mentioned the passion of Peter and Paul, under Tiberius that of Jesus himself, and under Octavian the birth of Jesus.

The name 'Mapmaucann*us*', however, has a most remarkable tale to tell. The Map must almost certainly go out, for no one else in these tables bears a patronymic instead of a personal name, and doubtless in 'map Mapmaucann*us*' the first *map* was prefixed to an antecedent name, which a later copyist omitted because he was unable to read it.

Now Maucannus[3] is St. Mawgan, to whom there are two dedications in Cornwall,[4] but of whose life and date no tradition seems to be known. The original form of his name we shall arrive at later. But in the earliest life of St. David a monastery of Maucannus is mentioned, and in such a way as to bring it into the closest connexion with

[1] Baring-Gould and Fisher's *British Saints* (i, 103) mentions a Cae Aron near Caerleon, and a Cwm Aron in the parish of Llanfrechfa in the neighbourhood. Prof. Anwyl adds a Cwm A. in Radnorshire and (N)Antaron near Aberystwyth.

[2] For Algeria (Renier, 346), see the Onomasticon to Forcellini: for Spain, Holder under Arania and Aranus (*read* Aranius ?).

[3] The same name is found in xxii, miswritten Maucanu, and in xxvii written Maucant.

[4] I do not add St. Maughan's in Monmouthshire, because, in his edition of the *Book of Llan Dâv*, Dr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans identifies that with a Lann Mocha and church of St. Machutus.

the Menevian saint. We are there told that (apparently at least thirty years) before David was born his father was informed by an angel in a dream that when he went hunting next day he would find near the river Theibi 'tria munera . . . que[1] custodienda filio ex te nascituro transmitte ad Maucanni monasterium quod nunc usque Depositi Monasterium vocatur'. Presumably this monastery was somewhere near the Teifi in South Cardigan, on the border of Pembrokeshire; but no one seems to have identified it, and even as early as the twelfth century it appears to have passed out of knowledge, since Giraldus Cambrensis, while copying the legend, leaves out the name.

Here then we have a monastery named after Maucannus in existence at so early a date (about 430) as to amply justify the belief that St. Mawgan belonged to that primitive period of British Christianity of which almost all records have perished; that, in fact, he lived when this table suggests, in the early third century. And the connexion of his monastery with the legend of David, taken with the Menevian origin of the immediately preceding *Annales Cambriae*, is presumptive evidence that the 'Genealogies' are copied from a St. David's book.

It is clear to me that the names of the Roman emperors were originally written on the margin of a double Dionysian paschal cycle of 1,064 years. Dionysius dated his cycles from the Annunciation, and this list begins with the Nativity. Its defective state between Tiberius and Antoninus Pius, with the displacement of Nero, may be due to the loss of one or more leaves, and the misbinding of another. After Constans the Tehvant genealogy was also copied on the same margins, or, at any

[1] *I.e., quae.* In Rees's *Cambro-British Saints* it is mistaken for the conjunction.

rate, on those of the leaves following. As a result, the transcriber of the genealogies found the list of emperors down to Constans immediately at the back of Tehvant, and mistook them for that king's ancestors.

As regards the book in which this double Dionysian cycle was contained, it might have been a Kalendar and book of paschal and other chronological calculations—like the Winchester MS. of the year 867 in the Bodleian (*MS. Digby* 63), which contains a similar double cycle defective at the beginning. Or it might have been a Psalter—like *MS. Douce* 296, in the Bodleian, executed about 1023 *for* Peterborough, but not improbably *at* Winchester (and certainly a product of the Winchester school)—which contains a paschal table calculated from 836. Or it might have been a Sacramentary. But the probability seems to be that it would be the same book whence the *Annales Cambriae* are transcribed, and the copy of Victorius's cycle upon which these Annales were *first* written was apparently made in 509. We have no examples of paschal cycles so early as that, and I do not know in what books they were then written. The Dionysian cycle would not have been added till after 767,[1] and, if it was written in the 509 book, additional leaves were doubtless inserted—a process the more easy since it was common for manuscripts to be merely stitched together without any 'binding', the place of which was served by leaving the outside pages of parchment blank.

And now for the personalities of Maucannus, Moebus, and Adiuvandus.

Moebus I cannot identify, and can only say that the form is that of the endless names of saints with the honorific Irish prefix Mo or M' ('My'), or the corresponding

[1] The Dionysian rule was not adopted in Wales before 768.

Welsh prefix My or M', as Mochua for St. Cua, Maedoc for St. Aedoc. I fully expect to find eventually that it is corrupted from a Latin base.

Maucannus and Adiuvandus, however, are the early missionaries whose names by the twelfth century had become Faganus and Diuvanus.[1] They were then associated with the mission from Pope Eleutherus to King Lucius—who reigned not in Britain but in Edessa![2] They are, all the same, no part of the early story of that mission as told in the Roman Pontifical, or later in Bede, or later still in the *Historia Brittonum* and Nennius, but were simply foisted into it because, as the earliest British missionaries known, they were supposed to belong to it.

As a matter of fact, they were not even contemporaries—Adiuvandus flourishing[3] before 139 and Maucannus (properly Pacandus?) after 210.

Let me now explain how Adiuvandus became Diuvanus, and Pacandus became Maucannus.

[1] There being no distinguishing stroke over *i* before the eleventh century, *diuuandus* admits of many corruptions. Diuvanus is one of the forms given by Ussher (*Brit. Eccl. Ant.*, 54): the best Bodleian MS. of Geoffrey of Monmouth has *duuianū* for the accusative. Forms with an *r* at beginning, like Diruvianus (!) are due to *i* having been accidentally omitted, and then inserted above the line—supralinear *i* being a recognised abbreviation for *ir* or *ri*.

[2] I owe the knowledge of this to Sir J. Rhŷs—see Harnack in *Sitzungsberichte d. k. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, 19 Mai, 1904: he shows that the mission must have been from Eleutherus to Britium of the Edessenes, between 174 and 179, when Lucius Aelius Septimius Megas Abgarus IX was king at Britium.

[3] We do not know the exact chronological meaning of the insertions—whether they indicate the obits of these saints, or their arrival as missionaries, or their founding particular monasteries. But on the latest possible interpretations the dates cannot be after those stated. As to that of Maucannus, owing to the apparent loss of a leaf of the cycle at this point, we do not know if he belonged to the reign of Trajan or to that of Antoninus Pius.

The *A* in Adiuvandus was dropped either because it was an unstressed syllable at the beginning of a word (as, in popular Welsh, Dolig, 'Christmas', = Nadolig, *Natalicium*), or because in the ablative Adiuando it was mistaken for the Latin preposition *a*.[1] And *-nd*[2] regularly becomes in Welsh *-nn*, and then *n*—*e.g.*, *land-* passed through *lann* into *lan*, Llan. Hence the stem *diuvand* would become *diuvan* in Welsh, from which twelfth century writers would assume Latin Diuvanus.

The lost original form of Fagan, Maucannus, or Mawgan's name was apparently Pacandus.[3] This would regularly produce (P)aucann, (P)awgan, but the long *ā* of the Latin, being unstressed, might be shortened in common use and so give (P)agan (cf. Nadolig for Nātalicium). The M- forms are due to the addition of the honorific prefix (Goidelic) Mo, (Kymric) My (obsolete) and Fy. The F- or Ph- forms (Phaganus) apparently arise from the syntactic mutation of P- before the latter was dropped.

In Table XVII [C]uhelm, as Mr. Phillimore proposes, should be Cuhelin. The *h* is apparently used only to separate the vowels, as it is not found in the instances of this name in the *Book of Llan Dâv*. Is Llyn Cwellin, in Caernarvonshire, named from this particular person? Prof. Anwyl thinks the *ll* for *l* not very probable.

[1] Till at least the end of the eleventh century it was common to write prepositions as parts of the nouns they governed, so that we might have 'brittones conversi sunt apacando et adiuuando' taken as = b. c. s a Pacando et a Diuuando.

[2] A remnant of the final dental, though degraded to *t*, is preserved in the Maucant of xxvii, if that is not derived from a Lat. Pacantius. And Prof. Anwyl equates Meugant—the name of a much later saint. Geoffrey of Monmouth has the name Maugantius (vi, 18).

[3] I once thought Facundus, and had so explained it in proof: but I do not at all like the fact that no form gives a trace of the first *u*. Pacandus (= 'easy to be appeased') would be a quite intelligible name, and there are several instances of Pacatus as such.

Iouanaul (Lat. Iuvenalis) is, apparently, twelve generations later than Cunedag. A Iovenali was buried at Penprŷs in the Lleyn peninsula, but his tombstone (now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford) can hardly be later than the sixth century. Very likely both were of the same family.

In Tables XX and XXXI, note the Goidelic Ædan, also found as Aidan in the *Book of Llan Dâv.*

In Table XXII I cannot agree with Mr. Phillimore that *this* Cattegirn is described by Nennius as a son of Vortigern. That Catell's son should be named Cattegirn, and his grandson Pascent, is quite consistent with the fact that these were the names of two sons of Catell's former master, Vortigern. Cattegirn is again given as Catell's son at the end of XXIII.

In XXIV I suspected Ecrin, father of Ermic—no such name as Ecrin being found in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, though there is an Erbic (only another form of Ermic) who was son of *Elfin.* But Prof. Anwyl pointed to Egryn in place-names, and Baring-Gould and Fisher's *British Saints* (ii, 415) has an Egryn descended from Catell Durnluc (xxvii) and Catman (i).

At the end of XXV Glast[1] is the man from whom, ultimately, the name of Glastonbury is derived. Our Glaston-bury is corrupted from the A.S. Glastinga-burh (dat. Glastinga-byrig), the fort of the descendants of

[1] Glast itself is an older form of Welsh and Irish *glas,* O. Ir. *glass* —a colour-name, like Gwyn and Lloyd. It is very singular that the two Irish ogam-inscriptions which contain the gen. Glasiconas 'Gray hound', should have Glasi-, not Glasti-, or even Glassi-. Both are in Goidelic. There is ground for reading *is* = earlier *ist,* 'is', in the Goidelic calendar of Coligny (first century)—see *Keltic Researches,* 124-5—so that *-st* may have become *-s* in one dialect much sooner than in others. Or the language of the inscriptions in question may be an imperfect attempt at reproducing archaic forms.

Glast. In Latin Glastonia the *-onia* is a mere conventional abbreviation, as in Oxonia for Oxenafurda, Exonia for Exanceaster, and Seftonia for Sceaftesburh.

The oldest recorded Welsh names of Glastonbury, or, perhaps, one should say the monastery of Glastonbury, are Yneswitrin and Yneswitherim, in Hearne's text (pp. 48, 97) of the twelfth century writer William of Malmesbury's treatise on the antiquity of Glastonbury.[1] Wither*im*, of course, can equally be written Witherī = Witherin, and, when I mentioned this form to Sir John Rhŷs, he at once said that it might represent Victorinus. Yneswitrin and Yneswitherin, in fact, are equivalent to Insula Victorini, though -witrin is doctored to suit the 'glass' derivation. 'Insula', I think, probably means not an isle in the geographical sense, but an isolated dwelling (see what I have said in the *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, vi, 449), and I take Insula Victorini to = Monastery of Victorinus.

Not only is Victorinus a common ecclesiastical name in early times, but there were at least two Welsh churches bearing its Welsh form. One is mentioned in the *Book of Llan Dâv* (320, 7) as Lanwytheryn or Ecclesia Gueithirin (228): it is Llan Vetherin in Monmouthshire. The other is the church of Gwytherin in Denbighshire, said to have been founded by Gwytherin ab Dingad (Rice Rees, *Essay*

[1] See the very elaborate and valuable paper by W. W. Newell in *Publications of the Modern Language Assoc. of America*, xviii (N.S. xi), no. 4, pp. 459-512. Mr. Newell has unluckily been misled by an artificial appearance of identity of meaning in *glas-* and *witrin*, into saying that 'it cannot be doubted that the British name is in reality a translation . . . of the Saxon appellation' (p. 493). Philology has its snares of coincidence: the Port of so many Hampshire names was probably a real man, and not invented out of *port*; while the *Wiht*gar (a good Jutish name) from whom Wihtgáresburh (our Carisbrooke) is called has been quite erroneously regarded as mythical because he invaded the Isle of *Wight* (Vectis, Wiht).

on the Welsh Saints, 275). If that Dingad be the Dinacat of Table XVII (of which name it is only another form) then the Gwytherin in question was the great-grandson of a man who came into North Wales at the end of the fourth century, and he himself may be put late in the fifth.

Glast's name points to his being either of earlier date than 547 or else a Goidel. For Gildas, writing about 548,[1] addresses one of the kings as Cuneglase—not Cuneglaste or even Cuneglasse—so that in Welsh the *-st* had already become *-s*. On the other hand, the modern Fergus retained its original *-st* as late as the ninth century in Pictish Vurgust.[2]

Sir J. Rhŷs has, indeed, noted (*Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, 333) that the name Glast is found in the Redon cartulary, as that of a benefactor of the period 990-992. I do not hesitate to say that that is a mere antiquarian revival, intended to recall the founder of Glastonbury; as if an Englishman, nowadays, wishing to recall the great king of Wessex, were to name his son not Alfred but Ælfred. We have only to look at the time when this Glast lived. If he was a man of about 35 to 45 he was born when the monastery of Glastonbury was in its chief pride under Dunstan. If he was about 55 to 60, he was born when a crowd of Bretons were actually living in Wessex during the occupation of their own country by Norman invaders, and when Glastonbury would be their natural Mecca: he may even have been born there!

The note following Glast's name and containing the names of *Glastenic* and *loyt coyt* is, of course, corrupt, but

[1] See my letter in *The Academy* of Nov. 2, 1895. The *Annales Cambriae* do *not* say that Mailcun died in 547, but they put against that year a plague in which they say he died—a plague which may very well have lasted a year or two.

[2] The *-st* also lingers to this day in 'Llanrwst'.

clearly shows that either Glast or some one or more of his descendants came to or from Letocetum, our Lichfield. And here we find a parallel account in William of Malmesbury which must be summarized.

William mentions all the persons in this table, but mistakes them for brothers—an evidence that here also the *map's* are not original. He says that Cuneda was their *proavus*, which should strictly mean 'great-grandfather', but also = merely 'ancestor'. He calls the first *Ludnerth*, but, although the initial has not been painted in in the Harleian MS., Iudnerth is certain: see for this name the *Red Book of Hergest*, ii, 261. For Catmor he has *Cathmor* (where the *th*, if correct, would be Goidelic), for Moriutned *Morvined*, for Morhen *Morehel*, for Botan *Boten*, for Morgen *Morgent*, for Mormayl *Mortineil*, and for Glast *Glasteing*—which is obviously only a variant of the *glastenic* in the note attached to Glast's name in the Harleian MS.

But Glast actually was great-grandson to Cunedag according to *MS. Jesus Coll.* 20 (*Y Cymmrodor*, viii, 90), which gives [M]euruc as son of Elaed, son of Elud, son of Glas, son of Elno, son of Docuael, son of Cuneda wledic. And I have no serious doubt that this legend of the sow only slightly veils a most interesting piece of history, which I will now *un*veil.

Cunedag swooped down from the North 146 years before the reign of Mailcun (*Historia Brittonum*, § 62), who died about 548 (see my note on p. 99), and, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth's data, was (before he became overking) reigning in Gwynedd at least as early as one of the years 542-4. So that Cunedag may safely be said to have arrived in the Midland zone *circa* 390-400. He was then a middle-aged man, to say the least, for he had with him the son of his dead eldest son. Of the nine sons of Cunedag, Docmail was youngest but one, and, if we suppose

that Cunedag died in 410, we cannot place Docmail's death less than forty or Glast's less than one hundred years later—say *circa* 510. Now Arthur did not fight the battle of the Badon hill till 516 (*Annales Cambriae*), and it was his twelfth against the Saxons. According to the Breton tradition of Geoffrey, it was preceded immediately by the battle of the wood of Caledon, and that by a battle at Kaerluidcoit, *i.e.*, Letocetum, Lichfield, which the Saxons were then besieging. According to the eighth century *Historia Brittonum*, there were four battles between that of the Badon hill and that of the wood of Celidon, and the latter was immediately preceded by one on the river Bassas, which again was preceded by one in Lincolnshire (*in regione Linnuis*); Kaerluidcoit is not mentioned, but Bassas may have been the name of Hammerwich Water, which runs below Lichfield, and no fewer than three Staffordshire Basford's testify to the existence of the stem of the Welsh *bas* (= 'shallow') in ancient river-names in that county. So that we have definite reason for believing that within the limits reasonably assignable to Glast's life the city of his habitation was attacked by the Saxons. He and his family may have resolved to migrate to securer regions, or he may have inherited a principality in the South-West by marriage, or have been invited thither. He would follow the Iknield or Ryknield way from Letocetum till it joined the Foss, follow the Foss to Bath, and thence take the right-hand road to Wells and Glastonbury.

The mythical character of the sow part of the story is obvious.[1] Mr. Newell observes (p. 476): 'The pursuit of

[1] That a sow with a young litter, or about to litter, should travel the distance between Lichfield and Glastonbury *at all*; that she should, as she presumably would, pass through the cities of Cirencester and Bath without being stopped; and that her owner should be unable to

a lost sow, attended by wonderful adventures, was a commonplace of Old-Welsh literature. The pigs and apple-tree are introduced after Virgil, who makes Aeneas determine the site of Alba Longa in a similar manner.' I may add that in the case of Glastonbury the legend may have arisen out of a wish to explain the name of Sowy[1] (whence Leland's Sowey Water), a possession of Glastonbury, which, I suppose, must be represented by the modern Southway on the Wells road. But in the rest of the story there is absolutely nothing incredible—nor do I see what ground there could have been to *invent* it, or out of what mythical elements it could have been developed, if untrue.

A striking feature in this table is that seven out of its twelve personal names contain the word *mor*, 'great'. Morhen, if rightly spelt, must be Mor Hen, 'Mor the Old'. But William of Malmesbury has Morehel, and *b* with an imperfectly-closed loop is so easily mistaken for *l* that I suspect Morheb, a name found in the *Book of Llan Dâv.*

According to William, Glasteing followed his sow 'per mediterraneos Anglos, secus villam quæ dicitur Escebtiorne' to Wellis, and from Wellis through the wayless and watery way (*sic*) which is called *Sugewege*, that is, *Sow's way*, till he found the sow suckling its young under an apple-tree by the church at Glastonbury. 'Escebtiorne' has not been identified, nor can I find any Anglo-Saxon derivation for it. Consequently, I cannot doubt that the

overtake her till she had got to Glastonbury—all these things are beyond reasonable belief. That Glast and his family might have determined to settle wherever the sow littered is not so incredible, but I prefer to account for this part of the legend as I have done above.

[1] I cannot get any very early form of this name, the forms in the earliest alleged Glastonbury charters being clearly modernized. But I take Sowy to mean an isle formed by a stream called the Sow(e)—a name borne by two English rivers, one in Staffordshire, one in Warwickshire, while (Prof. Anwyl) a *Hwch* flows through Llanberis.

first half of it represents the Welsh *escob*, 'bishop', and the second half a derivative of that *tigerno-* stem which gives the name Tierney in Irish, and *teyrn*, 'lord', in Welsh. I take it to mean 'bishop's lordship'. And, as Lichfield was the seat of a bishopric, and so well fits the starting-place of a journey 'per mediterraneos Anglos', I regard 'Escebtiorne' as either a gloss on the name 'loyt coyt' or a misunderstood extract from some Welsh account.

William's 'Glasteing' is quite clearly from a misunderstood text. I agree with Mr. Phillimore's suggestion—which occurred to me independently—that the impossible 'un*um funt*' is corrupted from 'unde eſt', and I believe that the original ran 'Glast (unde est Glastenig) qui venit [ab urbe] quae uocatur Loytcoyt'. Glasten*ig* I take to be simply Anglo-Saxon for 'Glast's isle', represented in charters by Glasten*eia*. Hearne's text, 56-8, also has Glasteia.

William's statement that the supposed twelve brothers were descendants of Cuneda may, perhaps, be due to the fact that the following table actually is one of Cunedag's descendants. He, or the authority he followed, may have had before them a copy of these 'genealogies' in which they mistook the two tables for a single one.

Roman names are represented in XXVI by Seissil (Goidelic for Sextillus? now Cecil!)[1] and Serguil (Servilius); and in XXVII by Pascent(ius). In this last the son and grandson of Catell obviously receive their names from the sons, Cattegirn and Pascent, of his former master Vortigern (see *Historia Brittonum*, § 35).

In XXVIII Fernmail is Goidelic: in Welsh the *F* would have been *Gu*. Teudubric is to be compared with Teudebur in V, and looks as if borrowed from a Teutonic Theode-

[1] I owe Cecil to Sir J. Rhŷs: the founder of *the* Cecil family was a favourite of Henry VII, and, being named David, was probably from *South* Wales. Prof. Anwyl suggests Saxillus.

bricht: but *-bricht*-forms are not as early as the date required, nor is the name found in the *Book of Llan Dâv.* I believe it to be a scribal error for Teudiric, due to a confusion between that name and Teuduber: Teudiric and Teudric *are* found in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, and I believe them to represent the Teutonic Theoderic.

In XXX Grippi[ud], modern Gruffydd, Griffith, is interesting, because the *Grammatica Celtica*, after citing instances of TT and CC, 'infectae aspiratione', says 'Combinationis PP transgressae in aspirationem exemplum ignoro' (Z^2, 151).

I have now to preface my chart with a few words of caution. First, that I have assumed that those who want to use it have access to Mr. Phillimore's text, and that, therefore, it is needless to reproduce that in extreme minutiae—such as *loudogu* for *Loudogu* and *Guid gen* for *Guidgen*. Second, that my added dates are taken either from the *Annales Cambriae* or from the *Brut y Tywysogion.* Third, that I have made a few slight additions *in italics* from other sources in order to show connexions which would not otherwise be visible. Fourth, that some of the names may be corrupt: I have not had the time to investigate all those with which I was unacquainted, and of which I did not perceive the derivation. Fifth, that nothing approaching a satisfactory final chart is possible until not only all other Welsh genealogies relating to the same period have been collated, but until[1] all the personnames in the *Book of Llan Dâv* have been independently tabulated, and, as far as possible, dated. But what has been here done will be better than nothing, and will materially aid future workers in the same field.

[1] I have urged this work on a young Welsh student who, I hope, will carry it through.

IOLO GOCH'S

"I Owain Glyndŵr ar ddifancoll."

By W. J. GRUFFYDD, M.A.

Among the *cywyddau* dealing with contemporary events on which the fame of Iolo Goch rests, not the least interesting are the famous lines written to "Owain Glyndwr in hiding" ("I Owain Glyndwr ar ddifancoll"). Hitherto, no proper criticism of Iolo Goch's poetry has been attempted. The late Charles Ashton's edition is so uncritical, that many pieces are attributed to Iolo Goch which cannot possibly, from internal evidence, have been written as early as 1400. The most conspicuous among these is the *cywydd* under notice. We will proceed to state our reasons for thinking that this *cywydd* was not written to Owen Glyndwr, but to another Welsh hero who lived eighty years after him, and that, therefore, it could not have been composed by Iolo Goch.

After the first outburst of love poetry, which we find exemplified in the works of Dafydd ab Gwilym, some of the Welsh poets began to turn their attention to more serious matters, to the hopes and the sufferings, the virtues and the follies, of the Welsh nation. The first among these poets were Iolo Goch and Sion Cent, and they were followed by a long succession of minor bards such as Dafydd Llwyd o Fathafarn and Rhys Goch Eryri. The favourite medium for expressing their thoughts on these subjects was the *Cywydd Brud*—the *cywydd* of prophecy—often, it is to be feared, written wisely after the event. As these *cywyddau* were written in the pseudo-mystical

manner of the *darogan*, the later scribes, who were at a loss to know to which of the Welsh heroes it applied, often ascribed them to the wrong authors. As a general rule, these compositions were ascribed to Dafydd Llwyd, and occasionally, *cywyddau brud*, which were undoubtedly written by Dafydd Llwyd, were ascribed to others, including Iolo Goch. One has only to read some of the incoherent verse in Ashton's edition of *Iolo Goch* to realize this.

The *cywydd* to Owen Glyndwr, which we have under notice, is undoubtedly of this number. Even at first sight, it is evident that, with the exception of the first line, there is in it no reference whatever to Owen Glyndwr. It is supposed to have been written when Owen was in hiding, after his power had waned—but, surely, the *cywydd* is addressed to a young hero, who, as yet, had not tasted victory, who looked to the future for all his glory. If it was written to Glyndwr, where are the references to his past victories? Where are those pæans of victories gained, and of work accomplished which we are to expect in such poems? There is not a single reference which the most ingenious can possibly twist to bear such a meaning. This *cywydd* is full of hope for the future, written to an idol of the Welsh nation, not yet proved in battle, who remained in hiding, biding his time, and there is only one such hero whom the description will fit, and he is by far the commonest subject of the *cywyddau brud*, a man to whom all the Welsh poets of the period turned—and that man is Henry Tudor, afterwards Henry VII of England.

The oldest manuscript which Ashton, in his collection, has consulted is the *Glanyrafon MS. K.*, and in this manuscript the *cywydd* is *not* ascribed to Iolo Goch. No author is mentioned, and Ashton has to admit in his introduction *(q.v.)* that it must have been the last *cywydd* which Iolo

wrote. We see, then, that the manuscript authority for ascribing it to Iolo is not as strong as it might be. Besides, the *cywydd* is by no means in Iolo's style. Here we have a plain straightforward composition written in simple language, very unlike the epic and archaic style of Iolo Goch. It has none of the inversions, and none of the words borrowed from the vocabulary of the *gogynfeirdd* which distinguish the compositions of Iolo. But literary criticism of this kind is notoriously unsafe, and we have to turn to internal evidence of a different sort to establish our case.

The first line, "Y gŵr hir ni'th gâr Harri", does certainly seem to point to Owen Glyndwr; but here also, if we turn to the *Glanyrafon MS.*, we find the reading "Y gŵr hir *a* gar Harri", and it is perfectly incredible that the dullest of scribes would have made such a mistake in the very first line if he knew that the *cywydd* was addressed to Glyndwr. The probability is, that the first line, as we should expect, contains the name of the hero, that is, *Harri*, and that the line should read "Y gŵr hir, *hygar* Harri", or something similar. When, however, we leave the first line, there is no necessity for conjecture of any kind. The poet asks, "Art thou alive?" and adds, "if thou art show thy shield, and from the land of Rome bring arms. Come from the east, thou mighty bull, and cast down the towers", etc.

The poet does not know where his hero may be in hiding, but encourages him to come at last "*and show his shield*"—which would be much more applicable to a young untried hero than to a veteran like Glyndwr. The time of the poem is undoubtedly between 1471 and 1485, that is after the time when Edward IV regained his throne, when Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, had to take his nephew from England to Brittany for protection. Further on in

the poem, the author calls him "ŵr a draeturiwyd", "thou who hast been betrayed". This reference, again, will not fit Owen Glyndwr, but can be easily connected with two incidents in the life of Henry Tudor—either when he was taken prisoner by the Yorkists in Harlech Castle in 1468, or when Edward IV applied to the Duke of Brittany to hand over to him his *protégé*. The Duke had actually delivered Henry, who was then a dangerous rival to Edward IV, being the head of the House of Lancaster, to the embassy sent by the English King, but the order was revoked at the last moment. The reference is probably to this event.

After the twelfth line of the *cywydd*, Ashton's copy reads:—

> "Eryr glwys, dos, iór o'r Glyn,
> Iarll awchlaif i dir Llychlyn."

> "Go, lord, thou beloved eagle, go from the Glyn, thou Earl of the keen sword, to the land of Norway."

Now, these lines are inexplicable, if we suppose that they are written to Owen in hiding, because in the rest of the poem he calls on him to come *from* the distant places of the earth *to* his country to deliver it. These lines, if genuine, would be the strongest argument against the old belief as to the authorship of the piece, but as a matter of fact they are evident interpolations, as they are not found at all in the *Glanyrafon MS*. Two other lines—

> "Dwg feddiant Pedr Sant dan sél
> Drwy iawnswydd Duw a'r insel—"

which seem to refer to a papal sanction, are not found in this MS.

In the tenth line, the author calls his hero "Darw mawr". Now *y tarw*, "the bull", was the name always given to Henry VII by the Welsh poets, *e.g.*, Dafydd

Llwyd in his *cywydd brud* beginning "Y gigfran a gân fel gwydd", refers to him as—

> "Y *tarw* aergryf o'r teirgradd
> Ynghroen llew egyr yn lladd."[1]

When we come to the description of the arms in lines 15-16, we are on absolutely certain ground :—

> "Y gŵr a ddug arwydd iach
> Yn ei darian bedeirach,
> Y tri llew glas fel asur,
> Trwy wyllt dan a'r tair rhwyll dur."

> "The man who bore a sturdy device on his shield for four generations (*or* representing four families), the three lions azure, amid wild fire, and the three iron *rhwyll.*"

Now *rhwyll* in the Laws of Hywel means a "cresset"; otherwise, it may mean "fretwork", that is, in heraldic language, a *portcullis.* Now the arms of Owen Glyndwr were, a shield charged with, quarterly, *four* lions rampant,[2] with no reference to the portcullis, that is to say, they were the ordinary arms of the Princes of Gwynedd. We have been unable to find the arms which Henry bore when Earl of Richmond, but we believe that the *portcullis* figured in the arms of the Earl of Pembroke, and the arms of Prince Arthur, the eldest son of Henry, were three lions.[3] But the following passage from Dafydd Nanmor, a contemporary of Henry, may throw some light on the subject. The poet says that the arms of Cynan, prince of Gwynedd, ought to be placed on Henry's banner :—

> "Llun y tri llew o wyn
> Yn sengi yn y sangwyn,
> Ar faner rhodder y rhain,
> Llewod ieirll o Owain—"

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[1] This and the following quotations are taken from the MS. called *Llyfr Elis Gruffydd* in the Cardiff collection, and are given in Elis Gruffydd's orthography.

[2] *History of Powis Fadog,* vol. ii, p. 110.

[3] *Archæologia Cambrensis,* vol. iv, Second Series (1853), p. 193.

i.e., the lions of earls descended from Owen Tudur. However, it is certain that these arms were not those of Owen Glyndwr.

In lines 19-20, *Add. MS.* 14,970, reads—

"Rhown ni ar y paun diwarth
Rhowch rwyf ar yr hwch a'r arth—"

and the *Glanyrafon MS.* more accurately reads—

"Rhown rif ar y paun diwarth."

which is an evident blunder for *rhown ri* as the cynghanedd demands—"we will place a master over the shameless peacock; set a king over the hog and the bear."

Now, anyone who has a slight knowledge of the poetry of the period knows that Richard III was always called "the hog" in English poetry and the "baedd" or "hwch" in Welsh poetry:—

"A *baedd* a dry medd y byd
Ar i war, aur i wryd—"

says Dafydd Llwyd in his *cywydd* beginning "Breuddwydion beirdd", and in the French contemporary verse, *Les douze triomphes de Henry VII*, Richard III is called the "hog". The "*arth*", "the bear", was the badge of the Warwick family, which continually figures in these poems:—

"Mae Kadnaw a ddaw yn ddic
Wrth ieir Ierwerth o Wa[r]ic."

D. Llwyd.

It is difficult to determine who is meant by "y wadd", but we find the word occurring in a poem of Dafydd Llwyd:—

"Mae pryder ar gyw yr eryr
Maer *wadd* he[b] nemor o wyr."

The most significant reference, however, in the poem is the constant allusion to the hero as the hope of Môn:—

"Dyred wrth ddymuned Môn,
O Nordd hyd yn Iwerddon."

"Cynneu dân, cyn oed unawr,
I oror Môn, eryr mawr."

"Cur a lladd y wadd a'i wŷr,
Cyrn aur Môn, cur Normanwyr."

"Aerllew Môn, iôr lle mynnoch."

How these lines could ever have been twisted to refer to anyone but to a warrior descended from Anglesey stock it is difficult to imagine. In other poems addressed to Glyndwr, Môn is not mentioned, for the obvious reason that there is no special connection between him and that island, but these references are, of course, most appropriate in a poem written to Henry VII. Moreover, the saint and king of Môn is mentioned here, as he is always mentioned in connection with the Tudors :—

"Deigr *Gadwaladr* fendigaid,
Dyred a dwg dir dy daid."

Compare with this the following lines of Dafydd Nanmor :—

"Iarll Ritsmwnt, iemwnt oniaith
Gadwaladyr ac oi dalaith."

"Owain ai blant yn un blaid
Etewynion frutaniaid,
Iesu y gadw yn gadyr
I gadw aylwyd *gydwaladyr*."

As a matter of fact, in all contemporary compositions of the time of Henry, Cadwaladr was regarded as the great founder of the family of Tudur. Take, for instance, this sentence from his Latin biography :—

"Atque, ut sui genitoris ab antiquis Britannis regibus descensum breve attingam, *Sancti Cadwaladri*, cui post longa temporum intervalla idem Henricus legitime successit."

The author calls on his hero to bring with him substantial aid from Ireland. This is by no means without parallel in other poems of the period, celebrating the praise of Henry, *e.g.*—

"A *gwyddyl* a wna gweiddi,
Nesaf a wnan in nassiwn ni."
D. Llwyd.

And again, when the poet calls on him to come from the Isle of Man, where he may be in hiding ("o Fanaw dir"), we find an analogy in the same poem of Dafydd Llwyd :—

"Llynges gwiber a gerir
I *fanaw* y daw i dir."

The poem ends with the four lines :—

"Deigr Gadwaladr Fendigaid,
Dyred a dwg dir dy daid,
Dyga ran dy garennydd,
Dwg ni on rhwymn dygn yn rhydd."

"Come thou, and claim thy grandfather's share (*i.e.*, John of Gaunt). Claim thy kinsman's share, and deliver us from our cruel bondage."

The above are a few of our reasons for insisting that the poem is not addressed to Glyndwr. There are many others, but the facts already given appear to us to be overwhelming.

Welsh Folk-Lore of the Seventeenth Century

(APPARITIONS, KNOCKERS, CORPSE CANDLES),

As illustrated by Letters of John Lewis (Glaskeirig), the Rev. John Davies (Glenerglyn), Colonel W. Rogers (Hereford), Rev. Samuel Jones (Coedreken), Rev. Maurice Bedwell (Swansea), Daniel Higgs, Captain Samuel Foley, and the Rev. Richard Baxter.

By WILLIAM E. A. AXON, LL.D.

(Manceinion.)

Shortly before Baxter's death he published his book on the *Certainty of the World of Spirits.*[1] The subject was not a new one with Baxter, whose piety, learning, and native ability was mingled with a good share of superstition. He shared the general belief of his age as to the reality of witchcraft and apparitions, but his references to such matters in *The Saints' Everlasting Rest,* and in other parts of his writings, are in the main derived from books. Thus when he alludes to the story of the Pied Piper it is to say that "most credible and godly writers tell us that on June 20, 1484, at a town called Hamel, in Germany, the

[1] "The Certainty of the World of Spirits. Fully evinced by the unquestionable histories of apparitions and witchcrafts, operations, voices, etc., proving the immortality of souls, the malice and misery of the devils and the damned, and the blessedness of the justified. Written for the conviction of Sadduces and Infidels. By Richard Baxter. London: 1691." The first edition is excessively rare, and even the cheap and mutilated edition issued in 1834 is not easy to procure. In the spelling of the Welsh place-names the original has been followed.

devil took away one hundred and thirty children, that were never seen again".[1]

But in relation to the folk-lore of Wales he presents some evidence of a different character. It may not be more credible than the quotations Baxter gives from "godly writers", but at least it is testimony that comes at first hand. Baxter prints letters from Mr. John Lewis, a magistrate of Glaskerigg, and from Rev. John Davis of Generglyn. He promises, but does not give, the testimony of Dr. Ellis. A small part of the letter from Mr. Davis is quoted by Aubrey, and has often been repeated, but the whole letter, full as it is of curious matter, has not been reprinted.

Another section of the book contains particulars as to a house at Llanellin, in Gowersland, where an apparition and other supernatural disturbances were alleged.

MR. JO LEWIS, A LEARNED JUSTICE OF PEACE IN CARDIGANSHIRE, WITH THE TESTIMONY OF DR. ELLIS, AND MR. JOHN DAVIS ABOUT THE DEAD MENS LIGHTS THE KNOCKERS AND APPARITIONS.

Mr. J. Lewis being a Justice of Peace and a man of learning, at the time, when, under Cromwell and Harrison, the Reading and weak parsons were cast out, and itinerant preachers set up, that turned four or five parishes into one of their circuits, and did little but preach, and shut up the doors where they came not, and by ignorant decrying superstition, forms, and ceremonies, set up error, anabaptistry and unjust separations. He being greatly grieved for these confusions, wrote largely to me about them, whereupon, and on more such instances, I wrote my five disputations of church government, liturgy, and ceremonies,[2] And Mr. Lewis joined with me in a design to have begg'd money in pity to Wales, to have set up a Welch colledge at Shrewsbury, and his notices about Apparitions came in but on the by, at my request: But tho' I dismember his letters with regret, by casting away the main part that was well worth the reading

[1] *Saints Rest*, chap. vii, sec. 2.

[2] This appeared in 1659, and was dedicated "To his Highness, Richard, Lord Protector".

(and all my answers to them), yet it would be so unsuitable to insert such matters in a history of spirits, that if any of his acquaintance blame me for it, they must accept of this excuse. He is known by published books of his own.[1]

PART OF MR. JOHN LEWIS'S FIRST LETTER RELATING TO SPIRITS AND WITCHES.

Most Worthy Sir,

I have now another motion to you, as to that passage in your *Unreasonableness of Infidelity*, where you show the meaning of the spirit, as to humane learning, &c., and those twenty-nine considerations (for the page I cannot cite, because I have not the book at this very instant) because it is in the midst of the book, and not so discernable to all readers; I could humbly beg to you to get your printer and stationer to print them apart in a few small leaves, for there is nothing, generally, that is more mistaken among us than that, and I see the publishing here but so much of them in this kind, would do infinite good here; and I would myself be at charge of buying and dispersing many scores of them.[2] And because of that copious satisfaction you give of Spirits, than which there cannot be greater convincements against infidelity and Atheism. I could afford you several strange instances from these parts, but I shall trouble you

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[1] Baxter no doubt alludes to two publications of which there are copies in the British Museum. The catalogue entries read:

Lewis (John, Esquire).

Contemplations upon these times or the Parliament explained to Wales.

London 1646. 4° E 349 19
102 a 77

Evangeliografa, or, some seasonable and modest thoughts in order to the furtherance and promoting the affaires of religion and the Gospel, especially in Wales. By J(ohn) L(ewis) Esquire.

London 1656. 4° 4175b

[2] Lewis here refers to the *Unreasonableness of Infidelity*, which appeared in 1655. In Section xxiii there are "twenty [not twenty-nine] considerations evincing the necessity of common knowledge, called human learning, notwithstanding the witness and helps of the Spirit". It does not appear that the suggestion of reprinting these considerations separately was adopted. No such reprints are to be found recorded in Grosart's Bibliography of Baxter.

only with two. Since the time I received your letter, there happened in my neighbourhood this following:—A man and his family being all in bed, about after midnight, awake in bed, he could perceive a light entring a little room, where he lay, and one after another of some a dozen in the shape of men. and two or three women, with small children in their arms, entring in, and they seemed to dance, and the room to be far lighter and wider than formerly; they did seem to eat bread and cheese all about a kind of a tick upon the ground; they offered him meat, and would smile upon him: he could perceive no voice, but he once calling to God to bless him, he could perceive the whisper of a voice in Welch, bidding him hold his peace, being about four hours thus, he did what he could to wake his wife, and could not; they went out into another room and after some dancing departed, and then he arose; yet being but a very small room he could not find the door, nor the way into bed, until crying out, his wife and family awaked. Being within about two miles of me, I sent for the man, who is an honest poor husbandman, and of good report: and I made him believe I would put him to his oath for the truth of this relation, who was very ready to take it. The second (if you have not formerly heard) the strange and usual appearance of lights (called in Welch, *dead men's candles*) before mortality, this is ordinary in most of our counties, that I never scarce heard of any sort, young or old, but this is seen before death and often observed to part from the very bodies of the persons, all along the way to the place of burial, and infallibly death will ensue. Now, Sir, it is worth your resolution, whether this may proceed from God or no; it is commonly imputed to the igneous air of the counties: But that evil spirits can come by so much knowledge, as to be always so infallible (though herein I confess them very vast) and be so favourable and officious unto man, as to be such seasonable monitors of his dissolution, and to give so much discovery of spiritual essences, and the immortality; I doubt whether they mind us so much good as this: Some wiles I confess they may have by such appearances, but it carries the benefits mentioned with it; whereas their disappearance makes more for infidelity and atheism; but this I leave to your judgment, begging pardon for this boldness in diverting you from your far better thoughts; and seeing it is my happiness to have this little invisible acquaintance with you, I shall omit no opportunity of troubling you with such poor thoughts as the Lord shall give unto me of the best things, humbly wishing (as for the making up the sad differences of religion among us) the Lord would give those in authority to weigh that pious and wise course you have proposed, as to those four great parties in the Dedication of your

"Saints Rest", with my unfeigned prayers for your health and happiness, Sir,

Your very thankful Friend
and Servant, in Christ,
JOHN LEWIS.

Glaskerigg near
Llanbadarnevour or
Aberystwith in Cardiganshire,
Oct. 20*th* 1656.

MR. JOHN LEWIS'S SECOND LETTER.

As for Apparitions, I am stored with so many instances, that require rather a volume: There is that evidence for the candles, that scarce I know any of age, but hath seen them, and will depose it. There is here a talk, whereof yet I have not certainty, that a daughter of the man mentioned in the last, fetching water at a well, had a blow given her, and a boy coming toward her, she charged him, with the blow, who denyed he was so near her; but bid her look upon her father, that stood not far off, and with that, he could see her father fling a stone at her, which passed with a mighty violence by her face, and the stone was found with prints of fingers in it; but no such thing as the father there, neither was he at home since the night before; but certain it is, that living men's ghosts are ordinarily seen in these parts, and unawares to the parties. We have in this County, several silver and leaden mines, and nothing more ordinary than some subterranean spirits called knockers (where a good vein is), both heard, and after seen, little statured, about half a yard long; this very instant, there are miners upon a discovery of a vein upon my own lands, upon this score, and two offered oath, they heard them in the day-time. Lieutenant Colonel Bowen, I hear, is upon discovery, that what you heard was witchcraft; but he holds canting tenents; all which minds us the more to admire the King of Spirits, our Lord God Almighty, and that our eyes behold but the least part of his secrets, and marvels; to whose arms and blessings, I commit and leave you.

Sir
I pray pardon this trouble of
Your very thankful Servant
JOHN LEWIS.

Glaskerigg the
28 *of November*, 1656.

MR. JOHN LEWIS'S THIRD LETTER.

As for the Candles, all the parts I know of Wales, as our neighbouring counties (as I hear) have experience of them; but whether so frequently as here, I will learn. I scarce know any Gentleman or

the poem, the author calls him "ŵr a draeturiwyd", "thou who hast been betrayed". This reference, again, will not fit Owen Glyndwr, but can be easily connected with two incidents in the life of Henry Tudor—either when he was taken prisoner by the Yorkists in Harlech Castle in 1468, or when Edward IV applied to the Duke of Brittany to hand over to him his *protégé*. The Duke had actually delivered Henry, who was then a dangerous rival to Edward IV, being the head of the House of Lancaster, to the embassy sent by the English King, but the order was revoked at the last moment. The reference is probably to this event.

After the twelfth line of the *cywydd*, Ashton's copy reads:—

> "Eryr glwys, dos, iôr o'r Glyn,
> Iarll awchlaif i dir Llychlyn."

> "Go, lord, thou beloved eagle, go from the Glyn, thou Earl of the keen sword, to the land of Norway."

Now, these lines are inexplicable, if we suppose that they are written to Owen in hiding, because in the rest of the poem he calls on him to come *from* the distant places of the earth *to* his country to deliver it. These lines, if genuine, would be the strongest argument against the old belief as to the authorship of the piece, but as a matter of fact they are evident interpolations, as they are not found at all in the *Glanyrafon MS.* Two other lines—

> "Dwg feddiant Pedr Sant dan sêl
> Drwy iawnswydd Duw a'r insel—"

which seem to refer to a papal sanction, are not found in this MS.

In the tenth line, the author calls his hero "Darw mawr". Now *y darw*, "the bull", was the name always given to Henry VII by the Welsh poets, *e.g.*, Dafydd

Llwyd in his *cywydd brud* beginning "Y gigfran a gân fel gwydd", refers to him as—

> "Y *tarw* aergryf o'r teirgradd
> Ynghroen llew egyr yn lladd."[1]

When we come to the description of the arms in lines 15-16, we are on absolutely certain ground :—

> "Y gŵr a ddug arwydd iach
> Yn ei darian bedeirach,
> Y tri llew glas fel asur,
> Trwy wyllt dan a'r tair rhwyll dur."

> "The man who bore a sturdy device on his shield for four generations (*or* representing four families), the three lions azure, amid wild fire, and the three iron *rhwyll*."

Now *rhwyll* in the Laws of Hywel means a "cresset"; otherwise, it may mean "fretwork", that is, in heraldic language, a *portcullis*. Now the arms of Owen Glyndwr were, a shield charged with, quarterly, *four* lions rampant,[2] with no reference to the portcullis, that is to say, they were the ordinary arms of the Princes of Gwynedd. We have been unable to find the arms which Henry bore when Earl of Richmond, but we believe that the *portcullis* figured in the arms of the Earl of Pembroke, and the arms of Prince Arthur, the eldest son of Henry, were three lions.[3] But the following passage from Dafydd Nanmor, a contemporary of Henry, may throw some light on the subject. The poet says that the arms of Cynan, prince of Gwynedd, ought to be placed on Henry's banner :—

> "Llun y tri llew o wyn
> Yn sengi yn y sangwyn,
> Ar faner rhodder y rhain,
> Llewod ieirll o Owain—"

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[1] This and the following quotations are taken from the MS. called *Llyfr Elis Gruffydd* in the Cardiff collection, and are given in Elis Gruffydd's orthography.

[2] *History of Powis Fadog*, vol. ii, p. 110.

[3] *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. iv, Second Series (1853), p. 193.

i.e., the lions of earls descended from Owen Tudur. However, it is certain that these arms were not those of Owen Glyndwr.

In lines 19-20, *Add. MS.* 14,970, reads—

> "Rhown ni ar y paun diwarth
> Rhowch rwyf ar yr hwch a'r arth—"

and the *Glanyrafon MS.* more accurately reads—

> "Rhown rif ar y paun diwarth."

which is an evident blunder for *rhown ri* as the cynghanedd demands—"we will place a master over the shameless peacock; set a king over the hog and the bear."

Now, anyone who has a slight knowledge of the poetry of the period knows that Richard III was always called "the hog" in English poetry and the "baedd" or "hwch" in Welsh poetry:—

> "A *baedd* a dry medd y byd
> Ar i war, aur i wryd—"

says Dafydd Llwyd in his *cywydd* beginning "Breuddwydion beirdd", and in the French contemporary verse, *Les douze triomphes de Henry VII*, Richard III is called the "hog". The "*arth*", "the bear", was the badge of the Warwick family, which continually figures in these poems:—

> "Mae Kadnaw a ddaw yn ddic
> Wrth ieir Ierwerth o Wa[r]ic."
>
> *D. Llwyd.*

It is difficult to determine who is meant by "y wadd", but we find the word occurring in a poem of Dafydd Llwyd:—

> "Mae pryder ar gyw yr eryr
> Maer *wadd* he[b] nemor o wyr."

The most significant reference, however, in the poem is the constant allusion to the hero as the hope of Môn:—

> "Dyred wrth ddymuned Môn,
> O Nordd hyd yn Iwerddon."

"Cynneu dân, cyn oed unawr,
I oror Môn, eryr mawr."

"Cur a lladd y wadd a'i wŷr,
Cyrn aur Môn, cur Normanwyr."

"Aerllew Môn, iôr lle mynnoch."

How these lines could ever have been twisted to refer to anyone but to a warrior descended from Anglesey stock it is difficult to imagine. In other poems addressed to Glyndwr, Môn is not mentioned, for the obvious reason that there is no special connection between him and that island, but these references are, of course, most appropriate in a poem written to Henry VII. Moreover, the saint and king of Môn is mentioned here, as he is always mentioned in connection with the Tudors :—

"Deigr *Gadwaladr* fendigaid,
Dyred a dwg dir dy daid."

Compare with this the following lines of Dafydd Nanmor :—

"Iarll Ritsmwnt, iemwnt oniaith
Gadwaladyr ac oi dalaith."

"Owain ai blant yn un blaid
Etewynion frutaniaid,
Iesu y gadw yn gadyr
I gadw aylwyd *gydwaladyr*."

As a matter of fact, in all contemporary compositions of the time of Henry, Cadwaladr was regarded as the great founder of the family of Tudur. Take, for instance, this sentence from his Latin biography :—

"Atque, ut sui genitoris ab antiquis Britannis regibus descensum breve attingam, *Sancti Cadwaladri*, cui post longa temporum intervalla idem Henricus legitime successit."

The author calls on his hero to bring with him substantial aid from Ireland. This is by no means without parallel in other poems of the period, celebrating the praise of Henry, *e.g.*—

"A *gwyddyl* a wna gweiddi,
Nesaf a wnan in nassiwn ni."
D. Llwyd.

And again, when the poet calls on him to come from the Isle of Man, where he may be in hiding ("o Fanaw dir"), we find an analogy in the same poem of Dafydd Llwyd :—

"Llynges gwiber a gerir
I *fanaw* y daw i dir."

The poem ends with the four lines :—

"Deigr Gadwaladr Fendigaid,
Dyred a dwg dir dy daid,
Dyga ran dy garennydd,
Dwg ni on rhwymn dygn yn rhydd."

"Come thou, and claim thy grandfather's share (*i.e.*, John of Gaunt). Claim thy kinsman's share, and deliver us from our cruel bondage."

The above are a few of our reasons for insisting that the poem is not addressed to Glyndwr. There are many others, but the facts already given appear to us to be overwhelming.

Welsh Folk-Lore of the Seventeenth Century

(APPARITIONS, KNOCKERS, CORPSE CANDLES),

As illustrated by Letters of John Lewis (Glaskeirig), the Rev. John Davies (Glenerglyn), Colonel W. Rogers (Hereford), Rev. Samuel Jones (Coedreken), Rev. Maurice Bedwell (Swansea), Daniel Higgs, Captain Samuel Foley, and the Rev. Richard Baxter.

By WILLIAM E. A. AXON, LL.D.

(Manceinion.)

Shortly before Baxter's death he published his book on the *Certainty of the World of Spirits.*[1] The subject was not a new one with Baxter, whose piety, learning, and native ability was mingled with a good share of superstition. He shared the general belief of his age as to the reality of witchcraft and apparitions, but his references to such matters in *The Saints' Everlasting Rest,* and in other parts of his writings, are in the main derived from books. Thus when he alludes to the story of the Pied Piper it is to say that "most credible and godly writers tell us that on June 20, 1484, at a town called Hamel, in Germany, the

[1] "The Certainty of the World of Spirits. Fully evinced by the unquestionable histories of apparitions and witchcrafts, operations, voices, etc., proving the immortality of souls, the malice and misery of the devils and the damned, and the blessedness of the justified. Written for the conviction of Sadduces and Infidels. By Richard Baxter. London: 1691." The first edition is excessively rare, and even the cheap and mutilated edition issued in 1834 is not easy to procure. In the spelling of the Welsh place-names the original has been followed.

devil took away one hundred and thirty children, that were never seen again".[1]

But in relation to the folk-lore of Wales he presents some evidence of a different character. It may not be more credible than the quotations Baxter gives from "godly writers", but at least it is testimony that comes at first hand. Baxter prints letters from Mr. John Lewis, a magistrate of Glaskerigg, and from Rev. John Davis of Generglyn. He promises, but does not give, the testimony of Dr. Ellis. A small part of the letter from Mr. Davis is quoted by Aubrey, and has often been repeated, but the whole letter, full as it is of curious matter, has not been reprinted.

Another section of the book contains particulars as to a house at Llanellin, in Gowersland, where an apparition and other supernatural disturbances were alleged.

MR. JO LEWIS, A LEARNED JUSTICE OF PEACE IN CARDIGANSHIRE, WITH THE TESTIMONY OF DR. ELLIS, AND MR. JOHN DAVIS ABOUT THE DEAD MENS LIGHTS THE KNOCKERS AND APPARITIONS.

Mr. J. Lewis being a Justice of Peace and a man of learning, at the time, when, under Cromwell and Harrison, the Reading and weak parsons were cast out, and itinerant preachers set up, that turned four or five parishes into one of their circuits, and did little but preach, and shut up the doors where they came not, and by ignorant decrying superstition, forms, and ceremonies, set up error, anabaptistry and unjust separations. He being greatly grieved for these confusions, wrote largely to me about them, whereupon, and on more such instances, I wrote my five disputations of church government, liturgy, and ceremonies,[2] And Mr. Lewis joined with me in a design to have begg'd money in pity to Wales, to have set up a Welch colledge at Shrewsbury, and his notices about Apparitions came in but on the by, at my request: But tho' I dismember his letters with regret, by casting away the main part that was well worth the reading

[1] *Saints Rest*, chap. vii, sec. 2.

[2] This appeared in 1659, and was dedicated "To his Highness, Richard, Lord Protector".

(and all my answers to them), yet it would be so unsuitable to insert such matters in a history of spirits, that if any of his acquaintance blame me for it, they must accept of this excuse. He is known by published books of his own.[1]

PART OF MR. JOHN LEWIS'S FIRST LETTER RELATING TO SPIRITS AND WITCHES.

Most Worthy Sir,

I have now another motion to you, as to that passage in your *Unreasonableness of Infidelity*, where you show the meaning of the spirit, as to humane learning, &c., and those twenty-nine considerations (for the page I cannot cite, because I have not the book at this very instant) because it is in the midst of the book, and not so discernable to all readers; I could humbly beg to you to get your printer and stationer to print them apart in a few small leaves, for there is nothing, generally, that is more mistaken among us than that, and I see the publishing here but so much of them in this kind, would do infinite good here; and I would myself be at charge of buying and dispersing many scores of them.[2] And because of that copious satisfaction you give of Spirits, than which there cannot be greater convincements against infidelity and Atheism. I could afford you several strange instances from these parts, but I shall trouble you

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[1] Baxter no doubt alludes to two publications of which there are copies in the British Museum. The catalogue entries read:

Lewis (John, Esquire).

Contemplations upon these times or the Parliament explained to Wales.

London 1646. 4° E 349 19
102 a 77

Evangeliografa, or, some seasonable and modest thoughts in order to the furtherance and promoting the affaires of religion and the Gospel, especially in Wales. By J(ohn) L(ewis) Esquire.

London 1656. 4° 4175b

[2] Lewis here refers to the *Unreasonableness of Infidelity*, which appeared in 1655. In Section xxiii there are "twenty [not twenty-nine] considerations evincing the necessity of common knowledge, called human learning, notwithstanding the witness and helps of the Spirit". It does not appear that the suggestion of reprinting these considerations separately was adopted. No such reprints are to be found recorded in Grosart's Bibliography of Baxter.

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"Saints Rest", with my unfeigned prayers for your health and happiness, Sir,

Your very thankful Friend
and Servant, in Christ,
JOHN LEWIS.

Glaskerigg near
Llanbadarnevour or
Aberystwith in Cardiganshire,
Oct. 20th 1656.

MR. JOHN LEWIS'S SECOND LETTER.

As for Apparitions, I am stored with so many instances, that require rather a volume: There is that evidence for the candles, that scarce I know any of age, but hath seen them, and will depose it. There is here a talk, whereof yet I have not certainty, that a daughter of the man mentioned in the last, fetching water at a well, had a blow given her, and a boy coming toward her, she charged him, with the blow, who denyed he was so near her; but bid her look upon her father, that stood not far off, and with that, he could see her father fling a stone at her, which passed with a mighty violence by her face, and the stone was found with prints of fingers in it; but no such thing as the father there, neither was he at home since the night before; but certain it is, that living men's ghosts are ordinarily seen in these parts, and unawares to the parties. We have in this County, several silver and leaden mines, and nothing more ordinary than some subterranean spirits called knockers (where a good vein is), both heard, and after seen, little statured, about half a yard long; this very instant, there are miners upon a discovery of a vein upon my own lands, upon this score, and two offered oath, they heard them in the day-time. Lieutenant Colonel Bowen, I hear, is upon discovery, that what you heard was witchcraft; but he holds canting tenents; all which minds us the more to admire the King of Spirits, our Lord God Almighty, and that our eyes behold but the least part of his secrets, and marvels; to whose arms and blessings, I commit and leave you.

Sir
I pray pardon this trouble of
Your very thankful Servant
JOHN LEWIS.

Glaskerigg the
28 *of November*, 1656.

MR. JOHN LEWIS'S THIRD LETTER.

As for the Candles, all the parts I know of Wales, as our neighbouring counties (as I hear) have experience of them; but whether so frequently as here, I will learn. I scarce know any Gentleman or

Minister of any standing, but hath seen them; and a neighbour of mine, will shortly be at Worcester abiding (who hath seen them often and I will direct some to acquaint you, and upon Oath, if need be) a very credible aged person: For my part, I never saw the candles; but those of my house have, and on a time, some years past, it was told me by them that two Candles was seen, one little, and a great one passing the Church way, under my house, my wife was then great with child, and near her time, and she feared of it, and it begot some fear in us about her; but just about a week after, herself first came to me (as something joyed that the fear might be over) and said (as true it was) an old man, and a child of the neighbourhood passed that same way to be buried: This she and I can depose, and truly myself especially, heard some uncouth warning, before my first childs Death, new Born, which is too large to relate: Such warnings and noises, are also here very common, and I do think there is scarce any (and I know it by myself) but before some remarkable occurrences of Life, will have some warnings, at least by Dreams; of which there is a kind that may be ranked with these Apparitions, and it was not for nought, that the Stoicks of old held Sleep, *familiare & domesticum oraculum*: You shall learn more of me hereafter about the certainty of Candles and the Knockers.

Sir, I put you to your penance, by these under Lines, they show I can hardly part with you, I pray God continue, and grant you Health and Happiness answerable to the use you are of, for his glory among us. Sir

Your very Thankful Servant

JOHN LEWIS.

The 14 *of February* 1656.

MR. DAVIS'S LETTER CONCERNING THE CORPS-CANDLES IN WALES.

Venerable Sir,

For your worth, hath purchased you that stile. With all due respects, you shall hereby understand that I am one, who sincerely blesseth himself, to have been much edified by you, as being confirm'd in some points, and informed in others by a piece of your learned and judicious works, termed by yourself a supplement, which proved to me a complement, and which you communicated to me by my worthy friend and special encourager John Lewis Esq. at whose request, I am to give you the best satisfaction I can, touching those fiery apparitions which do as it were, mark out the way for corpses to their κοιμητηρια, and that sometimes before the parties themselves fall sick, and sometimes in their sickness. Of these I could never

hear in England: they are common in these three counties, Cardigan, Caermarthen and Pembrook, and as I hear, in some other parts of Wales.[1] These φαντασματα in our language, we call Canhwyllan Cyrph (*i.e.* corps-candles), and candles we call them, not that we do see anything else besides the light, but because that light doth as much resemble a material candle-light as eggs do eggs, saving that in their journey the candles be *modo apparentes, modo disparentes,* especially when one comes near them; and if one come on the way against them, unto him they vanish, but presently appear behind him and hold on their course. If it be a little candle, pale or blewish, then follows the corps either of an abortive, or some infant; if a big one, then the corps of some one come to age; if there be seen two or three, or more, some big, some small, together, then so many and such corpses together. If two candles come from diverse places, and be seen to meet, the corpses will the like; if any of these candles be seen to turn sometimes a little out of the way, or path, that leadeth unto the church, the following corps will be found to turn in that very place, for the avoiding of some dirty lane, or plash etc. Now let us fall to evidence; Being about the age of fifteen, dwelling at Lanylar, late at night, some neighbours saw one of these candles, hovering up and down along the river bank, until they were weary of beholding; at last they left it so, and went to bed: a few weeks after came a proper damsel from Montgomeryshire to see her friends, who dwelleth on the other side of that river Istwyth, and thought to ford the river at that very place where that light was seen: but being disswaded by some lookers on (some, it's most like, of those that saw the light) to adventure upon the water, which was high, by reason of a flood, she walked up and down along the river bank, even where, and even as the aforesaid candle did, waiting for the falling of the water, which at last she took; but too soon for her, for she was drown'd therein. Of late, my Sextons Wife, an aged Understanding Woman, saw from her bed, a little blewish Candle, upon her tables end: Within two or three days after, comes a fellow in, enquiring for her Husband, and taking something from under his Cloak, claps it down directly upon the Table's end, where she had seen the candle, and what was it, but a dead-born Child? Another time, the same woman, saw such another Candle up on the other end of the self same Table, within few days after, a weak Child, by myself newly Christned, was brought into the Sextons House where presently he died: And when the Sextons Wife, who was then Abroad, came

[1] Aubrey, when quoting a part of this letter, adds Radnor as another habitat of the corpse candle.

home, she found the woman shrouding of the Child, on that other end of the Table, where she had seen the Candle. On a time myself, and a kinsman coming from our School in England and being three or four hours benighted, ere we could reach home, were first of all Saluted by such a Light, or Candle, which coming from a House, which we well knew, held his course (but not directly) the Highway to Church; shortly after, the Eldest Son in that House Deceased, and Steered the same course. Myself and my Wife in an evening, saw such a Light, or Candle coming to the Church from her Mid-Wifes House, and within a month, she herself did follow: At which time, my wife did tell me a Story of her own mother, Mrs. Catherine Wyat, an Eminent Woman in the Town of Tenby, that in an evening, being in her Bed-Chamber, she saw two little lights just upon her Belly, which she essayed to strike off with her Hand, but could not, within a while they vanished of themselves. Not long after, she was Delivered of two Dead-born Children: Long sithence there happened, the like in mine own House; but to a Neighbours Wife, whom my wife did sometimes call for, to do some work or other and (as I credibly heard within these three days) to some good Gentlewoman also in this very parish: where also not long since, a neighbours Wife of mine, being great with Child, and coming in at her own Door, met two Candles, a little, and a bigg one, and within a little after, falling in Labour, she and her child both dyed.

Some thirty-four or thirty-five years by-gone, one Jane Wyat, my wife's sister being nurse to Baronet Rudd's three eldest Children, and (the lady mistress being deceased) the lady controuler of that house, going late into a chamber where the maid-servants lay, saw there no less then five of these lights together. It happened a while after, the chamber being newly plaistered, and a great grate of coal-fire therein to hasten the drying up of the plaistering, that five of the maid-servants went there to bed, as they were wont, but (as it fell out) too soon, for in the morning they were all dead, being suffocated (I conceive) in their sleep with the steam of the new tempered lime and coal. This was at Llangathen, in Carmarthenshire.

Some thirty three or thirty four years ago; upon a Tuesday coming towards home from Cardigan where I had been injoyn'd to Preach the Session Sermon: *Incipiente adhuc crepusculo*, and as Light as Noon, and having as yet, nine long miles to ride, there seemd twice or thrice from behind me, on my Right side, and between my Shoulder and my Hat, to fly a little whitish thing, about the bigness of a Walnut, and that *per intervalla*, once in Seventy or Eighty paces: At first I took no notice of it, thinking it had been but the glimpsing of my little Ruff, for such then I wore; by Degrees it

waxed Reddish, and as the night drew on, redder and redder, at last not *ignis fatuus*, (for that I partly knew) but *purus putis ignis*, both for Light and Colour, At length I turned my Horse twice or thrice, to see from whence it came, and whether it would flash into my face, then nothing I could see; but when I turned homewards, it flashed as before, until I came to a village called Llanristid, where as yet I did not intend to Lodge, though there were four Lodgings and one of them (save one) the next House in my way, which, when I passed by close, being just against the door, my fire did flash again upon, or very near the Threshold, and there I think it lodged; for I saw it no more. Home still I would go, but bethinking myself, that so I might tempt God, and meet a worse Companion than my former: I turned to the furthest Lodging in the Town, and there after a little rest, in a brown Study (because mine host was an understanding man, and Literate, and such as could and had but lately read his Neck-Verse in pure Roman Language) I could not contain, but needs must tell him of the Vision, he the next day to some going to the Sessions, they to others there, at last it came to the Judges Ears insomuch, that the greatest news and wonder at the then Assises was the Preachers Vision. To come at length into the Pitch or Kernel (for I have been too long about the Husk and Shell) at that very Sessions one John William Lloyd, a Gentleman, who dwelt, and whose Son yet dwells within a mile of Glasterig, fell sick and in his coming homewards, was taken with such a violent Paroxism, that he could ride no further than the House, where I left my Fire to entertain him, and there he lighted and Lodged, died about four days after. *Ex abundante*, you shall understand that some Candles have been seen to come to my Church, within these three weeks, and the Corpse not long after. *Hactenus de Candelis nostris.*

Another kind of apparition we have which commonly we call Tan-we or Tan-wed because it seemeth fiery. This appeareth, to our seeming, in the lower region of the air, straight and long, not so much unlike a glaive, moves or shoots directly, and level (as who would say I'll hit), but far more slowly than *Stellæ cadentes* or star shot, lighteneth all the air and ground where it passeth, lasteth three or four miles, and more, for ought is known, because no man seeth the rising or beginning of it: when it falls to ground it sparkleth, and lightneth all about. These, before their decease, do fall upon Free-Holders lands, and you shall scarce bury any such with us, be he but a lord of a house and garden, but you shall find some one at his burial, at least wise in his neighbourhood, that had seen this Fire to fall on some part of his lands. Two of these at several times, I have seen myself, since I studied meteors, and since I was a minister, and

narrowly observed, even till they were in the ἀκμῇ and began to fall, but the interposition of grounds marred the conclusion: for where, and how they fell, I saw not; but where I did guess, they fell. There died in the one place an aged gentleman; in the other, a free-holder too, though of a meaner rank. To come nearer home:

My mother's first husband (for my father marryed her a widdow) walking about his ground, saw one of these darts, or piles, aloft, which fell down hard by him, shone far, and sparkled round about his body, he took it for a warning-piece, made his Will, and having lived in good health, some four or five months after, dyed.

A little before the decease of mine own father, aged ninety-six, a son-in-law of his, who dwelled two miles off (but upon higher ground) saw such another fall in a close behind the old man's house, which gave such a light, that by it he did clearly see the house, the hedges, and the oaks in the wood adjoyning. Sir, so many of these evidences, as I saw not myself I received from understanding and credible persons and such as would not lye, no, not for a benefice: and yourself may receive the same from me, as from one that was never too credulous, nothing supperstitious, and as little ceremonious. These secrets I dare not father upon Satan: I will not honour him so much, so much as to ascribe to him the knowledge of contingent futures. I presume that of himself, he cannot certainly know whether or when a healthy man shall sicken, nor whether or when he shall dye of his sickness, nor whether he shall dye by sickness, or by fire, or water, &c., nor (in an open country especially) which way, of two, three, or more, the corps shall be brought to Church, whether it shall meet another corps in the way, whether it shall pass a river, by the ford or bridge, how many stops, turnings, and windings it shall make, Satan can have no certain foreknowledge of all such circumstances and more; but this candle maker and director of them too forsees and foreknows them all, and therefore must needs be the Creator, who, as according to the good pleasure of his will, he hath determined and allotted to several nations their several habitations, dispositions, and conditions, even so (as I suppose) hath he vouchsafed to each of them some peculiar signs and tokens, if none to some, which I cannot believe, and if to some more and more wonderful than to other some, for my part, I can give no other reason for it but his will. This, with my hearty prayers for yourself, your pious and learned brethren of the Association.

I rest your Friend in all kind offices
that lye in my power

JOHN DAVIS.

Generglyn the 19 *March* 1656.

SEVERAL LETTERS TO MR. RICHARD BAXTER IN RELATION TO AN APPARITION IN THE HOUSE OF LIEUTENANT COLONEL BOWEN, IN GLAMORGANSHIRE, IN WALES, IN THE YEAR 1655.

COLONEL ROGERS, THE GOVENOR OF HEREFORD, HIS LETTER: TOGETHER WITH AN ENCLOSED RELATION OF AN APPARITION, &C.

Dear Sir,

By the enclosed you will find something of the Business you expected from me: (It is certain and true I have received it from very good hands), More there was, but they did not think it convenient to put it on paper. My request is, that you will not expose it to public View; it may rather do harm than good. I know that God hath given you Wisdom, and you will make good use of such things: It may harden others. This, with the Enclosed, is all at present from

Your Cordial Friend
and Servant,
W. ROGERS.

Hereford, Aug. 23*rd*, 1656.

THE ENCLOSED RELATION OF THE LATE STRANGE APPARITION IN THE COUNTY OF GLAMORGAN.

In the beginning of the late War a Gentleman of that County being oppressed by the King's Party, took Arms under the Earl of Essex, and by his Valour obtained a good Repute in the Army; so that in a short time he got the Command of Lieutenant Colonel. But as soon as the heat of the War was abated, his Ease and Preferment led him to a careless and Sensual Life; insomuch that the Godly Commanders judged him unfit to continue in England, and thereupon sent him to Ireland, where he grew so vain and notional, that he was cashiered the Army; and being then at liberty to sin without any Restraint, he became an absolute Atheist, denying Heaven or Hell, God or Devil, (acknowledging only a Power as the antient Heathens did Fate,) accounting Temporal Pleasures all his expected Heaven: So that at last he became hateful, and hating all civil Society, and his nearest relations. About December last, he being in Ireland, and his Wife (a Godly Gentlewoman, of a good family, and concluded by all the Godly People that knew her, to be one of the most sincere and upright Christians in those parts, as being for many Years under great Afflictions, and always bearing them with Christian-like-Patience) living in his house in Glamorgan, was very much troubled one Night with a great Noise much like the sound of Whirl-wind, and a violent beating of the Doors or Walls, as if the whole House were falling in pieces: And being in her Chamber, with most of her family, after praying to the Lord, (accounting it

sinful Incredulity to yield to Fear) she went to bed; and suddenly after, there appeared unto her something like her Husband, and asked her whether he should come to Bed. She sitting up, and praying to the Lord, told him, he was not her Husband, and that he should not. He urged more earnestly: *What! Not the Husband of thy Bosom? What! not the Husband of thy Bosom?* (Yet had no power to hurt her.) And she together with some Godly People, spent that Night in Prayer, being very often interrupted by this Apparition.

The next Night, Mr. Miles, (a Godly Minister) with four other Godly Men, came to watch and pray in the House for that Night, and so continued in Prayer, and other Duties of Religion, without any interruption or noise at all that Night. But the Night following, the Gentlewoman, with several other Godly Women, being in the House, the noise of Whirl-wind began again, with more violence than formerly, and the Apparition walked in the Chamber, having an insufferable Stench, like that of a Putrified Carcase, filling the Room with a thick Smoak, smelling like Sulphur, darkening the Light of the Fire and Candle, but not quite extinguishing it; sometimes going down the Stairs, and coming up again with a fearful noise, disturbing them in their prayers, one while with the sound of Words which they could not discern, other while striking them so that the next Morning their faces were black with the Smoak, and their Bodies swollen with Bruises.

Thereupon they left the House, lest they should tempt the Lord by their over-bold staying in such Danger, and sent this Atheist the sad news of this Apparition; who coming to England about May last, expressed more Love and Respect to his Wife than formerly; yet telling her, that he could not believe her Relation of what she had seen, as having not a power to believe anything but what himself saw, and yet would not hitherto go to his House to make trial, but probably will e'er long, for that he is naturally of an exceeding rash and desperate Spirit.

August 1656.

MR. SAMUEL JONES'S LETTER IN RELATION TO LIEUTENANT COL. BOWEN, TOGETHER, WITH AN INCLOSED LETTER FROM MR. MAUR. BEDWELL ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

Worthy and much Honoured,

You may be pleased to remember, that when I waited upon you, at the Sheriff's House, in Sallop, in August last; amongst your other Enquiries touching the state of that poor Country where the Lord hath cast my Lot for the present; you desired me then to impart

what I had received by Relation, concerning the Apparitions in one Col. Bowen's House, and upon my return to procure you some further Intelligence touching that Tremendous Providence. Whether it be by Time, or Familiarity, with the noise hereof, or rather, the (no less to be admired) Blockishness of the Spirits of Men, that the Horror of that terrible Dispensation be allay'd, I know not, but surely the thing itself was very Stupendous, and the remembrance of it carries much Amazement with it still, to them that have anything of Tenderness or Understanding left them. By the inclosed, from an Honest and Godly Hand, not far from the Stage where these things were acted: You may understand the Substance of that matter, the Party, (being a Minister of the Gospel) perfectly knew Colonel Bowen, and hath often conversed with him, both before and since his House was haunted. If you are pleased to command any further Satisfaction herein, I shall take a Journey myself into the place, and endeavour to gratifie your desire, as to any further particular that you desire the knowledge of. If any publick use be made hereof you may conceal my Friends name and mine own, lest any offence should be taken by some of the Parties Relations in Parliament and Council. Of the receipt of this Paper I desire to hear with all convenient speed. At the Throne of Grace vouchsafe to remember your weak and wretched Brother, who yet desires to be found in the number of them that are, Sir,

Yours in the surest Bonds
to Honour and Serve you

Coedreken Nov. 28th, 1656. SAMUEL JONES.

The Reasons why forbearing Names was desired, being now over (yet Mr. S. Jones still living) I think my self disobliged as to that restraint.—R. B.

MR. MAUR. BEDWELL'S INCLOSED LETTER.

Dear Sir,

Glad I am of your safe return, and gladder should I be to be instrumental, according to my weak Capacity, of nayling you to these parts. I hope if my desires are agreeable to the Lord, you will meet with some directing Providences from him, which will answer all Objections.

As to Col. Bowen's House, I can give you some brief particulars, which you may credit as coming from such, who were not so foolish as to be deluded, nor so dishonest as to report an untruth: What I shall write, if need were, would be made good, both by Eye and Ear Witnesses. The Gentleman, Col. Bowen, whose House is called Lanellin in Gowersland, formerly was famous for Profession of

Religion, but this day is the saddest man in his Principles I know living. To me, in particular he hath denyed the Being of the Spirit of the Lord: His Argument thus, Either 'tis something or nothing; if something, shew me, tell me what it is &c. and I believe he gives as little credit to other Spirits as the Sadduces. At his House, aforementioned, he being then in Ireland, making Provision for removing thither, these things happened. About December last, his Wife being in bed, a Gracious Understanding Woman, and one whom little things will not affright; one in the likeness of her Husband, and just in his Posture, presented himself to her Bed-side, proffering to come to Bed to her, which she refusing, he gave this answer, What refuse the Husband of thy Bosom; and after some time, she alledging, Christ was her Husband, it disappeared: Strange miserable Howlings and Cries were heard about the House, his Tread, his Posture, Sighing, Humming, were heard frequently in the Parlour; in the Day time often the Shadow of one walking would appear upon the Wall. One night was very remarkable, and had not the Lord stood by the poor Gentlewoman and her two Maids, that night they had been undone; as she was going to Bed, she perceived by the impression on the Bed, as if some Body had been lying there. and opening the Bed, she smelt the smell of a Carcase some-while dead; and being in Bed (for the Gentlewoman was somewhat Courageous) upon the Tester which was of Cloth, she perceived something rolling from side to side, and by and by being forc'd out of her bed, she had not time to dress her self, such Cries and other things almost amazing her, but she (hardly any of her Cloths being on) with her two Maids, got upon their knees at the Bed-side to seek the Lord, but extreamly assaulted, oftentimes she would, by somewhat which felt like a Dog under her Knees, be lifted a foot or more high from the Ground: some were heard to talk on the other side of the Bed, which one of the Maids hearkening to, she had a blow upon the Back; Divers assaults would be made by fits; it would come with a cold breath of Wind, the Candles burn blew and almost out; horrible Screekings; Yellings, and Roarings, within and without the House sad smells of Brimstone and Powder, and this continued from some nine at Night to some three the next Morning, so that the Poor Gentlewoman and her Servants were in a sad case; the next Morning smelling of Brimstone and Powder, and as I remember black with it, but the Lord was good; Fires have been seen upon the House, and in the Fields; his Voice hath been heard luring his Haukes, a Game he delights in, as also the Bills of the Hauks. These are the chief things which I dare recommend upon Credit, and I could wish, that they, who question the Existency of Spirits had been but one night

at Lannelin to receive satisfaction to their Objections; This continued so violent, that the Gentlewoman was fain to withdraw to her Mothers House; but her Husband coming over about some four Months since, his Confidence did not serve him to lodge at Lannelin, although we have heard nothing of trouble to the House since his coming over. Sir the Dispensation, as it was exceeding terrible, so very remarkable; and what the voice of God might be in such a thing 'tis not clearly known yet; He is as Atheistical as ever, all his Religion if I may call it so, being comprised in the acknowledging a power, which we, as he saith, may call God, and waiting for some infallible miraculous Business to verifie to him all the rest we own as our Religion. Sure, Sir, if ever a Blasphemer was unworthy to live, this is the Man; and certainly his Sin will find him out: He is now gone to Ireland; let these things be divulged only as to the matter without names. Assure the Gentleman, your Friend, they are very Truths; I have somewhat more than ordinary for what I say. At the first we concluded, the Wretch had been dead, but 'twas otherwise, and therefore the more remarkable.

Your affectionate Brother,
to Love and Serve you
MAUR. BEDWELL.

Swansy Octob. 16, 56.

MR. DANIEL HIGGS HIS LETTER, CONCERNING THE APPARITION IN LIEUTENANT COLONEL BOWEN'S HOUSE.

Dear Sir,

As to the Concern you commit to me about Colonel Bowen, accept of this Account.

I have discoursed with Brother Samuel Jones, who gave you the first Narrative, which if you have lost, he hopes he may find the Copy of the Letter, and I shall send it. 'Twas one Mr. Miles, an Anabaptist Minister, that wrote the Letter to one Mr. Bedwell, Minister of Swansey, who sent it Mr. Samuel Jones. This Miles (who spent a night in Prayer in Colonel Bowen's House in the time of the disturbance) is gone for New England. Two Ministers more, with myself, went to spend another Night in the House, but Mrs. Bowen was gone with her family, and we stayed not, but went to give her a Visit, who related strange things, but I cannot remember Circumstances. The two Ministers are also gone, But since I received yours, I have discoursed Mr. Bowen's Maid, who was in the House, and I judge her throughly Godly, who doth attest the truth of these Apparitions, Noises, &c. which I suppose you had fully in your Narrative; but Time hath somewhat obliterated Circumstances with her. I know not well (Sir)

how to get greater light; and I must assure you, I find not anything out to invalidate that Report you have had, but much that confirms it, I shall proceed according to your further Direction in this, or any other Concern of yours, and that with much Chearfulness and Complacency, I commit you, and your huge Labours to our mighty and merciful Lord, by Prayer and all well Wishes. And if you can think of anything farther for me, or gather anything by Discourse with Learned Men, vouchsafe to impart it; and imprint me (poor Worm) on your Soul before our Father. I have somewhat trespassed by Prolixity, which becomes me not to such a Person, in such a Sphere: But excuse him who is Your afflicted

poor Brother

DANIEL HIGGS.

CAPTAIN SAMUEL FOLEY'S LETTER CONCERNING LIEUTENANT COLONEL BOWEN.

Worthy Sir,

The best Account I can get of Colonel Bowen is this, viz. That he is little sensible of his sad Condition. He lives in the County of Cork, in a beggarly way, though he hath a fair Estate. Some Months since, he turned his Wife and Children from him, in that sad unkind manner, that they were forced to seek Relief from some Friends in Youghall, to help them in their Return to Wales, where they continue. Not long since, in Discourse with Baronet Ingolsby, and Mr. Gilbert, Minister of Limerick, from whom I have the most part of this Relation, he said, he would give Ten Thousand Pounds to know the Truth about God. 'Tis reported he is haunted with ghastly Ghosts and Apparitions, which frequent him. I have written to the neighbouring Ministers and Gentlemen of my Acquaintance as effectually as I could, enclosing a copy of your Letter; and from them I hope to have a more full Account concerning this poor Man. Your Letters indeed came safe, but not till August though dated in May. Sir, in any thing wherein I may serve you, you may freely command me: But wherein I may serve the Church of God, the best, and utmost of my endeavours, through the Lord's Assistance, shall not be wanting. What farther shall come to my Hands shall carefully be reported to you, by him who begs your Prayers, and subscribes,

Sir

Your very Affectionate

Servant,

SAMUEL FOLEY.

Clonmell Octob. 6,
1658.

From these letters we may fairly attribute to Richard Baxter the distinction of being the earliest known collector of Welsh folk-lore—a distinction he would not have understood and would not have desired. *Now* we should be glad to spare many pages of the *Certainty of the World of Spirits* for more testimonies as to their customs and beliefs from Welsh witnesses of the seventeenth century. Baxter in this sense is our earliest modern author, and to the rarity of his book must be attributed the fact that, except for the quotation by John Aubrey—which has often been requoted without verification—he has passed unnoticed by later writers.

The first reference in the first letter appears to be to the fairies, for fourteen or fifteen ghosts—not counting some small children—could not have found space in a little room. The "tick" or sheeting laid on the floor would form a table-cloth for this ghostly banquet. But, as it is expressly stated that the chamber seemed to be "far lighter and wider than formerly", the visitants may have been of the ordinary size.

In the second letter we hear of the frequency of apparitions, and there is a curious story of the apparition of a living person. There also is casually mentioned a stone with the finger-prints made by the apparition of a living man. Of these simulacra of the quick and not of the dead the most remarkable is that of Colonel Bowen, to be mentioned later.

The second letter likewise refers to the belief in the subterranean "knockers". These dwarfs have some relationship to Wayland Smith, and are common to all Europe where there are mining operations.[1] There are interesting notes on the *coblynau* in Elias Owen's *Welsh*

[1] See Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, ed. by Stallybrass, pp. 446, 1410.

Folk-lore.[1] He connects them with the ancient traditions of a former race of cave dwellers. There is a reference to them by a divine of the early part of the seventeenth century. Thomas Tymme (d. 1620), in the fourth chapter of his *Silver Watch Bell*, says: "What else can these fearfull fearful flames, horrible smoke burning stones, in such hideous manner blown up, and the terrible roaring within that mountain Ætna import but a certain subterraneal part of Hell? As also it may be in like manner thought of the marine rock of Barry, in Glamorganshire, in Wales: by a certain cleft or rift whereof (if a man lay his ear thereon) is heard the worke as it were of a smith's forge: one while the blowing of bellows: another while the sound of hammers, beating on a stithy or anvil: the noise of knives made sharp on a whetstone: and the crackling of fire in a furnace, and such like: very strange and admirable to hear."

The belief in the *canwyll gorff* and in the *drychiolaeth* lingered long and is perhaps not yet extinct. Lewis gives very emphatic testimony as to the universality of the belief in this form of death portent. That it was not confined to the poorer classes is evident from the account he gives of his wife's fears. John Davis is another interesting witness, and gives some very circumstantial accounts, including one in which he played a prominent part. Davis has a remarkable account of a fiery meteor, which, falling upon the ground was supposed to prophesy the death of the owner of the land. Of this particular omen I do not know any other notice.

The account of the apparition and disturbances at the house of Lieut.-Colonel Henry Bowen, of "Lanellin in Gowersland" is a remarkable document. His name appears in the Calendar of State Papers as taking part

[1] P. 112.

in the military arrangements of the Commonwealth authorities in Ireland in 1651, but of his personal history these letters are the only data. It is an ironical circumstance that the house of an agnostic should become the scene of ghostly disturbances. There are many narratives of similar noises elsewhere, but the most remarkable incident is that of the apparition. Colonel Bowen was then alive in Ireland, but something or someone resembling him was seen and heard by his wife. Yet the resemblance was not so complete as to satisfy her of his identity. The narrative is not so lucid as might be desired, but it leaves the impression that the *eidolon* of Bowen was seen by several persons. With all its details the narrative is oddly inconclusive, and did not even effect the convincement of the doubting Cromwellian soldier.

The modern inquirer cannot help regretting that Richard Baxter and his colleagues had no foreglimmerings of the science of folk-lore. What a rich harvest they could have had in the seventeenth century; whilst in the twentieth, scattered ears of corn, to be picked up with painful industry, are all that the modest ardent gleaner can hope to gather.

Notes on certain Powysian Poets.

By ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER, Wrexham.

A few desultory notes relating to various Welsh poets of Powys, and of the commote of Oswestry once included therein, may be worth stringing together, however loose may be the tie that binds them.

Madoc Benfras [of Sontley], or rather, "Mad. Penwras", is mentioned under that name in the accounts of the bailiwick or commote of Wrexham, as a complainant with others, on the Tuesday next after the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, 14 Edward III, 1340. And on the court, held on the same day, he and his brother Ednyfed, sons of Griffith ap Iorwerth, are also named, as they are again on two subsequent court days in the same year. On Monday in the feast of Michaelmas, 13 Edward III [1339], Gwenhwyfar [their mother, or stepmother], relict of Griffith ap Iorwerth ap Einion, entered into a recognizance. Madoc Benfras is reported to have been buried at Llanuwchllyn, but it is interesting to find him pleading at the local court ["the great turn"] of the commote within which he lived and to get him exactly dated. He is said to have had another brother, Llewelyn ap Griffith, also a bard, commonly called "Llewelyn Llogell", parson of Marchwiel, who is never mentioned in these accounts, but the David ap Llogell, named in 1339, was probably Llewelyn's son.

We come now to speak of another famous Powysian poet, David ap Edmund, one of the family the main stock whereof adopted the surname of "Hanmer". According

to "Llyvyr mawr Griffith Hiraethoc", he was son of David Fychan ap David Foel ap Philip, which Philip was one of the sons of John de Upton of Macclesfield[1] [and father of Sir David Hanmer, justice of the King's Bench]. And the genealogy, above indicated, squares with that which is traditional in the Hanmer family. David ap Edmund is said to have been buried in 1490 at Hanmer, where also he was born, and to have lived on one of the banks of the lake there. His son, Edward ap David ap Edmund, sets his name to a deed in 1514 (Lord Hanmer's *History of the Parish and Family of Hanmer*).

A few remarks concerning Huw Morus (Eos Ceiriog) of Pont y meibion, in the township of Rhiwlas (parish of Llansilin), may here be given. Although the date of his burial, 31 August 1709, is duly recorded in the Llansilin parish registers, those registers begin too late to contain any notice of his baptism. Gwallter Mechain says he was eighty-seven years old at the time of his death, in which case he would be born in 1622. But who his father was has not been ascertained. It is very likely, but not certain, that his parents were the "Moris ap Llein [Llewelyn] of Llanselin and Joneth vergh David", who were married at Oswestry on 19 Nov. 1598. We may be fairly sure, in any case, that his father was Morus ap ———. There was a Morus ap John ap David ap Edward of Tregeiriog, who entered into an obligation, with another person, on the 17 Feb. 1611/2 (9 Jac. I) in the sum of £100, but I know nothing more about him, and his name is only mentioned as affording a possible clue. Tregeiriog is a township of Llangadwaladr parish, not far distant from Rhiwlas. The names of Morus ap Llewelyn and of Morus ap John ap David may supply hints as to

[1] See *Report on Peniarth MSS.*, by Dr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, p. 835.

the matter in hand, the parentage of Hugh Morris, but nothing has at present been discovered relating to the children of the two persons named, and it is quite likely that the poet's father may have been another Morus.

The epitaph on both the present and older memorial stone of Hugh Morris, in Llansilin churchyard—"Yn nhelyn Huw, Duw a roes dant"—has always seemed to be peculiarly beautiful. His stone "cadair," now in the garden of Erw garreg, close to Pont y meibion, has been removed thither from its first site, a spot near at hand.

The printing by the Shropshire Parish Register Society of the registers of Oswestry enable us to fix the dates of some poets who lived in the parish just named, and to give certain details respecting them, for which we look vainly in the ordinary biographies.

It may be well, first of all, to copy the entries as they occur in the Oswestry register entries, bringing them together in their proper order, and then to make such observations upon them as may seem fit.

And we will take, to begin with, William Lleyn:—

> Will'm Llyn Bardus obijt eod. die [30° Aug 1580].
> Jane vz Will'm Llyn obijt eod. die [4° Maii, 1585].

Now, William Lleyn, under the name of William Owen, is said to have become vicar of Oswestry in 1583, and to have died and been buried there in 1587. But the parish registers afford no trace of his having been vicar of that parish,[1] although he may have been curate there under the vicariate of Chancellor *(prelad)* John Price, who died

[1] Since this paper was sent to the Editor, the mistake of identifying William Lleyn with William Owen, Vicar of Oswestry (quite a distinct person), has been noted by the Rev. J. C. Morrice in his preface to his edition of the *Barddoniaeth William Llŷn*, and by Mr. W. Prichard Williams in his preface to Morris Kyffyn's *Deffyniad Ffydd Eglwys Lloegr.*

15 March 1582/3, and was buried at Oswestry on the 20th of the same month, whose ancestry is attested by his full name "J prys [ap Rhys] ap J. ap To. ap R." (see Gwenogfryn Evans' *Catalogue of Peniarth MSS.*, vol. i, pt. II, p. 884).

Next, the following entries concerning Rhŷs Cain may be quoted:—

> Ann vz Rees Kain cristned the same daye [22 May 1579].
>
> Roger ap Rees Kain cristned the same daye — Nov. 1589].
>
> Elzabeth vz Rees Kain bapt. the same daye [4 June 1592].
>
> Gwen the wiffe of Rees Kayne buried eodem die [19 Apr. 1603].
>
> John Robert Glover and Anne verch Rees Kaine maried the 21st daie [July 1606].
>
> Reece Kain poet buried the 10th daye [May 1614].
>
> Elizabeth daughter of Rice Kaine buried the 26th daie [Dec. 1615].
>
> Elizabeth the base doughter of Edd ap Jon Taylor by the body of Katheringe vz David late wyfe of Rees Kain, bapt. the 15th daye [Apl. 1616].

Thus we see that Gwen, the first wife of Rhŷs Cain, was apparently the mother of all his children, and that his second wife, Katherine verch David, probably a young and flighty creature, added no lustre to the poet's renown.

Sion Cain, the poet, son of Rhŷs Cain, is believed to have been buried at Oswestry, but the registers of that parish, which are not perfect, do not mention him. It is probable that they do not begin early enough to record his baptism. Sion Cain was living in 1648.

Here follow the entries in Oswestry registers touching Ieuan Llafar:—

> Lewes the supposed child of Ieu'n Llafar by the body of Anne verzh John ap David *als.* Witch, buried the 20th daie [Sept. 1597].
>
> Ieuan Llavar sepultus fuit 13° die [Septembris 1622].

John ap Evan Llavar weau[r] sepult. eodem die [31 Julii 1623].

Edward ap Ieuan Llavar buried the 5th day [Dec. 1628].

Morfydd ye wife of Evan Llavar buried ye 23rd day [Jan[y] 1631/2].

Ellen vz Evan Llafer buried the 4th day [Oct. 1662].

Ieuan or Jeuan and Evan are, of course, the same, and the derivation of his additional name from "Llafar" (*speech, voice*) is obvious and probable, but the poet may have taken that name from Llafar, a township in Llansantffraid Dyffryn Ceiriog parish, where, *perhaps*, he was born.

The entries next to be given relate to a certain Tudor Aled, and can hardly refer to the well-known poet, but may be quoted for what they are worth:—

Robert ap Tudor Allet & Elnor vz Tudor Alet cristned the same daye [3 Feb. 156⅝].

Elizabeth vz Gruff vx Tydder Allet obijt eod. die [6 Decembris, 1581].

Tudor ap Robert Allet & Gwen vz Roger ma. vndeci'a die [Feb. 158⅞].

Gwen vz Tudor Alett bap. eodem die [Septr. 1587].

Elzabet vz Tudor Alet bapt. the 11th day [Dec. 1591].

The great Tudur Aled is said to have died in or about 1530, and to have been nephew to David ap Edmund, *pencerdd*, of Hanmer.

Wrexham itself seems not to have been a place prolific[1] of Welsh poets (and I exclude persons now or recently living), although Lewis Glyn Cothi commended it "for a man of my language" (*am wr o'm iaith*), contrasting it in this respect with Holt, where English was almost exclusively spoken. Still, there was a John Roberts of Wrexham, a poet who wrote in Welsh, concerning whom

[1] Nevertheless, a certain Hwfa Brydydd (Hwfa, the poet) was living in that part of Wrexham, afterwards called "Wrexham Regis", in the year 1391.

nothing is known except that one of his poems is dated 1726. And within *the parish* of Wrexham, outside the town, a few persons who were more than mere dabblers in the intricacies of the Welsh measures, may be named, for example, Owen Brereton, esq., of Burras Hall, who died in 1595, John Puleston, esq., of Llwyn y cnottié, Howel ap Sir Mathew (of whom presently), and "John Roberts of Bersham, Welsh poet", who "was buried in woolen the 6th day of June 1679" at Wrexham. There were three John Pulestons, of Llwyn y cnottié, the second and third of whom were buried at Wrexham on 25th Jan. 162⅔, and 14 March 167⅞, respectively.

A separate paragraph may be devoted to Howel ap Sir Mathew, *pencerdd*, who almost certainly belonged to the family of Croesfoel, in the hamlet of Hafod y bwch, township of Esclusham Below, and parish of Wrexham. "Sir Mathew", whose honorific prefix proclaims him to have been a clergyman, can hardly be any other than Mathew, younger son of David ap Griffith ap David ap Bady, of Croesfoel. His elder brother, Robert ap David, was living on 10 July 1527. On 30 August, 9 Eliz. [1567] "John Wynne ap Sr Mathewe" surrendered a copyhold estate in Dinhinlle (Ruabon parish) to the use of William ap John Wynne, his son, who surrendered it again, 15 March, 16 Eliz. [1573], to the use of Edward Jones, his brother. He appears to have been living and in the possession of a free estate in Erbistock so late as 1620. The will of "Angharet vz Sir Mathewe" was dated . . . Dec. 1578, and proved 7 June 1582. Therein she describes herself as "wydowe" and "late wief to Richard Tegyne, Esq., decessed". But she must have been married before, for she speaks of her sons, Edward Bers, John Bers, and Richard Bers, of her son [in law] Owen ap Hugh [of Rhosllanerchrugog]. Now John Bers, at any rate, and Elizabeth,

wife of Owen ap Hugh, were children of John ap William ap Howel, by his wife, Angharad, daughter of Mathew ap David. We conclude that the testatrix married, firstly, John ap William, of Bersham, by whom she had the children mentioned in her will, and, secondly, Richard Tegyn, serjeant-at-arms, of Esclusham Above and Morton Wallicorum [in the parishes of Wrexham and Ruabon]. In the will of the said Richard Tegyn, dated 13 Dec. 1571, and proved 22 Jan. 1576/7, his wife is mentioned but her name is not given. These particulars may serve to elucidate the family history of Howel ap Sir Mathew, and also approximately to fix his date, which can be determined more exactly by the fact that he wrote in 1557 the first part of a descriptive treatise concerning coat armour (*Llanstephan MSS.*, Dr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans' Catalogue, p. 515).

Mathew Bromfield (living in 1552), judging by his designation, and by the names of persons mentioned in his poems, must have belonged to the district called in English "Bromfield", and in Welsh "Maelor Gymraeg". By the same token, Edward Maelor (living in 1590) may justly be taken to have been an inhabitant either of Maelor Gymraeg or of the adjoining commote of Maelor Saesneg, but the respective fathers' names of these two poets has not yet been ascertained. Nor has another poet—David Edward, of Erbistock—been hitherto affiliated or exactly dated.

The following remarks concerning Howel Bangor, the poet, may, however, possibly be of interest. In the accounts of Sir Charles Brandon, receiver of Bromfield and Yale, from Michaelmas 1518 to Michaelmas 1519, a certain Howel Bangor is mentioned as bailiff of the manor of Fabrorum.[1] Also, in 1562, "John ap hoell Bangor" is

[1] The nucleus of this manor was the township of Morton Anglicorum in the parish of Ruabon.

described as holding a "gavell" [gafael] of land in the same manor, while the name of William ap Ieuan ap John ap Howel Bangor occurs on 23rd April, 13 Elizabeth [1571].

In the list of bards buried at Ruabon, printed on pages 401-403 of vol. i, *Powys Fadog*, the after-mentioned are found :—Ieuan Tiler, Sion Trefor, William Alaw, and Tomas Gwynedd. But although I have glanced, somewhat hastily it must be allowed, through the Ruabon registers, the names of none of the men so designated have been noticed. John Trevor, the bard, was probably neither John Trevor of Trevalyn, nor John Trevor of Trevor, but John Trevor of Upper Esclus Hall (parish of Wrexham), son of Hugh ap David Trevor, so named because it was at Trevor that he was nursed. I have seen the post-nuptial settlement of John Trevor, *alias* John ap Hugh, made 21 Sept. 1582, after the birth of his son Robert; his wife was Mary, daughter of Robert Turbridge, esq., and he was still living on 20 Sept. 1608.

Reviews, and Short Notices.

THE TAYLORS CUSSION, by George Owen, Lord of Kemeys (circa 1552-1613). Being a facsimile reproduction by photo-lithography from the original MS. in two volumes. Issued, with a short Biography of the Author, by Emily M. Pritchard (Olwen Powys), author of "Cardigan Priory in the Olden Days". London: Blades, East, and Blades, Publishers, 23, Abchurch Lane, E.C. 1906.

THE HISTORY OF ST. DOGMAEL'S ABBEY, together with her Cells, Pill, Caldey, and Glascarreg, and the Mother Abbey of Tiron, by Emily M. Pritchard. London: Blades, East, and Blades. 1907.

MRS. PRITCHARD, the indefatigable authoress of *Cardigan Priory in the Olden Days*, has recently enriched Welsh literature by the publication of two books which will be read with interest by all students of the history and antiquities of Wales.

The first is a reproduction by photo-lithography of the *Taylor's Cussion*, the common-place book of George Owen, the Elizabethan historian, the original of which is now in the Cardiff Free Library. To this Mrs. Pritchard has prefaced a sketch of the life and works of the author, and of the Barony of Kemes, of which he was Lord.

The mere list of the contents shows the wonderful versatility of the author's mind. The papers themselves are of unequal value, but we are grateful to Mrs. Pritchard for giving us the exact words of the original. Besides the papers relating to his own county, the more important of which have been published in *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, there are lists of the ancient and modern divisions of Wales, the

fairs and markets therein, and the sheriffs and the castles thereof, with the churches and surveys of several places. There are many papers relating to the Council of the Marches, and to the See of St. David's, while for the general reader there are papers upon agricultural customs, land measures, labourers, farming notes and accounts, muster books, holidays and working days, ordnance, druggist weights, divinity, money, troy weight, moons and tides, knights made by the Earl of Essex, and papers upon subjects connected with England, France, Ireland, the Papacy and the Emperor.

The other work is a *History of St. Dogmael's Abbey in Pembrokeshire*, with an account of its founders, its possessions, and its fortunes after the Dissolution. We have also the story of the mother Abbey of Tiron, and of the daughter houses of Pill and Caldey in Pembrokeshire, and of Glascarreg in County Wexford. Mrs. Pritchard has collected a mass of information upon her subjects; we have copious extracts, some of them of much interest, from various English rolls, from the Cartulary of Tiron, from royal and other charters, and from the Papal registers. The book has been worthily issued by the publishers, and is furnished with an excellent index.

HENRY OWEN.

THE BLACK BOOK OF CARMARTHEN. Reproduced and Edited by J. Gwenogvryn Evans, Hon. M.A., and Hon. D.Litt. Oxon. Pwllheli: Issued to Subscribers only. MDCCCCVI.

DR. Gwenogvryn Evans has placed all students of Early Welsh Literature under a lasting obligation by this most admirable reproduction (the work of his own private press) of the *Black Book of Carmarthen*. Ten years or

more ago it was preceded by a Collotype Facsimile which is to day amongst the envied possessions of a few book-lovers. The present text has been reproduced diplomatically page for page, line for line, character for character, space for space, with the exactitude and loving care which have made Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans *facile princeps* amongst all the palæographers. In the result, the book is to all intents and purposes what the Editor claims it to be, "a facsimile in characters which all can read". To the text are added an Introduction dealing with the contents according to the four main divisions of the subject matter, Mythology, Theology, History, and Literature; an important grammarial contribution in the form of a Welsh paradigm of the verb *to be* and its compounds; and a valuable Index to the names of men and places mentioned in the text. Notwithstanding the manifold difficulties of the *Black Book*, Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans affirms that an acquaintance extending over twenty years has taught him to love it for its inspiration, its tender utterances, its many melodies, and he is ready to sing a holy lay,

I dduw gwyn gwengerdd a ganav.—

"for this rich legacy of noble poetry reaching far back into the ages when as yet England's muse was uncradled." At the close of his *Apologia*, the Editor points out that Carmarthenshire gave birth to the *Black Book* in the twelfth century, and that one of her sons (Sir John Williams), in the twentieth, has presented it to the nation, for the *Black Book of Carmarthen* is now one of the most cherished treasures of the Welsh National Library. Very appropriately he dedicates it to the First President of that Institution, "the first in personal effort for its establishment, the first in personal sacrifice for its good, and the first in the importance of his contributions to its treasures".

E. VINCENT EVANS.

STUDIES IN ENGLISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS. By Hubert Hall, F.S.A., of H.M. Public Record Office; Reader in Palæography in the University of London. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1908.

A FORMULA BOOK OF ENGLISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS. Part I. Diplomatic Documents, selected and transcribed by a Seminar of the London School of Economics. Edited by Hubert Hall, F.S.A. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1908.

THE Student of the Historical Records relating to Wales will find extremely useful and suggestive information in Mr. Hubert Hall's far-reaching *Studies in English Historical Documents*, recently published at the Cambridge University Press. These studies deal comprehensively with the many aspects of the National Archives which concern the historian. The author, with the modesty of a great authority on the subject, disclaims in the preface any attempt at completeness, and ascribes the publication of his "desultory studies" to a laudable ambition on the part of certain students to produce a much needed *Formula Book* of Official Documents, and the desirability of setting out the authority for the arrangement and conclusions of that particular work. Nevertheless, the student of history will find in Mr. Hubert Hall's well-inspired pages the exact information which he requires as to the sources of Official Historical Documents, the history, classification, and the analysis of Archives, and the Bibliography, Diplomatics, and Palæography of our early records. In his Introduction to the *Formula Book*, Mr. Hall points out that its chief claim upon the attention of Historical Students and Record Workers will be found in its comprehensive design, and in the further attempt that it makes for the first time to present the several types of official instruments in a connected series. In addition to a

serious diplomatic description of the several documents, their *provenance* has also been broadly indicated, together with their bibliographical relations. Thus the student can, in most cases, ascertain at a glance the position of an original instrument in respect of enrolment or entry, together with its published form, as complete text, abstract, or mere description.

E. VINCENT EVANS.

THE STATUTES OF WALES. Collected, edited and arranged by Ivor Bowen, Barrister-at-Law. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1908.

MR. IVOR BOWEN has rendered a distinct service by collecting in one volume all the Acts of Parliament and parts thereof which refer to Wales, and thus placing them for the first time within the reach of those who are interested in the constitutional development and history of the Welsh nation. The record commences with the three Clauses of Magna Charta (A.D. 1215) which related to Wales and its people, and ends with the Act of 1902, which made further provision with respect to Education in England and Wales, and the University of Wales Act of the same year. In an Introduction, extending over a hundred pages, Mr. Bowen summarises the provisions and objects of the various statutes, and assists the general readers to an understanding of the scope of legislation as it affected the Principality. The work does not profess to be in any sense a complete investigation of the historical circumstances connected with the various legislative enactments, but it admirably serves its purpose as a guide to the principal statutes relating to the Dominion, Principality, and Country of Wales.

E. VINCENT EVANS.

Cymmrodorion Record Series.

FIRST PROSPECTUS.

THE idea of the publication of Welsh Records, which had for some time occupied the thoughts of leading Welsh Scholars, took a definite and practical shape at the meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the National Eisteddfod held at Brecon in 1889. In the papers which were read at that meeting it was shown that a vast quantity of material necessary for understanding the history of Wales still remained buried in public and private Libraries, and also that such of the Welsh Chronicles as had been given to the world had been edited in a manner which had not fulfilled the requirements of modern scholarship.

As it appeared that the Government declined to undertake any further publication of purely Welsh Records, it was suggested by Sir John Williams that the Council of the Cymmrodorion Society should take the work in hand, and establish a separate fund for that purpose.

The Council are of opinion that a work of this magnitude cannot be left to private enterprise, although they thankfully acknowledge the indebtedness of all Welshmen to such men as Mr. G. T. Clark of Talygarn, the Rev. Canon Silvan Evans, Mr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, Mr. Owen Edwards, Mr. Egerton Phillimore, and Professor John Rhys, and they fully appreciate the valuable work done by members of the various Antiquarian Societies.

Private enterprise has enabled the Council to issue, without cost to the Society, the first number of the Series which they have undertaken. The edition of *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, two parts of which have already been issued), is the result to Mr. Henry Owen—a member of the Society's Council—of long and arduous labour, and of an expenditure of a sum of money which would enable any patriotic Welshman who follows that example to present similar numbers of the proposed Series to his countrymen.

The second number of the Series consists of Records from the Ruthin Court Rolls (A.D. 1294-5), edited by Mr. R. Arthur Roberts, of the Public Record Office. *A Catalogue of the Welsh Manuscripts in the British Museum*; a transcript of *The Black Book of St. David's*, and new editions of *Nennius* and *Gildas* are in course of preparation.

In the future numbers of the Series will be published, from public or private MSS., with Introductions and Notes by competent scholars, such Records as will throw light on some period of Welsh History. These publications will, the Council trust, go far to remove from the Principality the dishonour of being the only nation in Europe which is without anything approaching to a scientific history.

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Y Cymmrodor.

VOL. XXII. "CARED DOETH YR ENCILION." 1910.

The Foreign Aspect of the Welsh Records.

BY HUBERT HALL, F.S.A.,

Of H.M. Public Record Office.

Director of the Royal Historical Society, and Reader in Palæography in the University of London.

THE modern science of History has been so rigorously shaped by academic method and so deeply overlaid with materials from newly-discovered sources that some discrimination is needed in discussing the most trivial aspects of its study. Again, the rival claims of Universal History (with its huge excrescence known as Sociology) of General History (with its invitation to include the history of every science or art within our ken) of Political, Constitutional, Legal, Ecclesiastical, Naval and Military, Economic and Social History, and even the well-defined and exacting auxiliary sciences of History in the shape of Bibliography, Method, Linguistic, Palæography and Diplomatic, Archæology and the other hard terms with which the studies of coins and medals, seals, dates and pedigrees are labelled by the learned, have each to be duly considered even by those who aspire to no more than a modest knowledge of the history of their own country.

In truth this study of the National History has difficulties enough of its own to present to the rash intruder, even when he is fully equipped with a panoply of historical science, auxiliary or otherwise. In the first place there is the historical literature to be considered, and in the second place the sources have to be reckoned with. It is perhaps to the conflicting interests of these two elements that most of our difficulties may be attributed. On the one hand, a sense of honour requires us to do justice to the authors and editors who have already laboured on our behalf in this field of study, even if we are not disposed to rely entirely upon the printed authorities. On the other hand, the instinct of self-preservation enjoins us to keep a wary eye upon unpublished sources.

If there were no printed literature to be considered, we should be free to devote ourselves to a systematic examination of the original sources, and if the sources were already utilized or even, as formerly, inaccessible to historical students, we should at least have more time to spare for profitable reading or textual criticism. As it is the modern student must divide his attention between the two methods with results which are not favourable to his rapid progress in the advanced study of National History.

It must be admitted that in certain continental States and in America the excellence of the arrangements made for the classification, description and publication of the original sources has greatly reduced the extent of these initial difficulties. That we ourselves are less fortunate in this respect, is a suggestion that has frequently been made in recent years and supported by striking instances. It has been represented to us that the style and subject matter of our historical publications is chiefly influenced by commercial considerations and that the arrangement of our Archives is the regret of foreign students. Possibly there

is some foundation for both assertions. The *raison d'être* of a majority of historical works is not obvious on any other supposition than that they are marketable wares, though this is a reproach which may be shared by the historical literature of every country during the past and present generations. Again it is scarcely to be expected that the profession of an archivist should be recognized in a country in which the very name and science of the Archives are unknown.

At the same time the position is one that should be fairly faced. Both the literature of history and its sources are equally available for our use and profit. After eliminating all that is useless or unworthy from the former, there is still left a large residue of really valuable works. In respect of General History and certain aspects of National History we are richly provided for, whilst the Auxiliary Studies furnish almost an embarrassment of wealth.

A profitable use of this valuable historical literature might be greatly facilitated by the preparation of a really select Bibliography, which is perhaps the most immediate need of historical students. Indeed, printed books may be regarded properly as reproductions of the sources or as containing observations of historical facts. Hitherto, however, the science of Bibliography has been influenced by bibliophiles to whom the quality of the printed book is of less importance than its form or pedigree. Even when a process of selection has been attempted, the titles of many works which might have been tacitly ignored are included, for no other practical purpose than to serve as examples of authorities which appear to the compiler as "of little value". But precious space might surely be confined to a selected list of necessary or useful titles.

Another advantage of the methodical treatment of our printed sources is found in respect of their co-ordination

with the unpublished manuscript. A good Bibliography should indicate approximately what sources remain unpublished, just as an adequate Guide to historical manuscripts will mention the printed literature of the several series. If this elementary definition of Historical Method were accepted and acted on, we should have little need to trouble ourselves about the ways and means of studying National History which, in one aspect or another, is the chief interest of modern historical scholarship.

There is, however, still another consideration which must be duly regarded by the intending student of his own national History, besides the state of the materials at his disposal. The title of his subject is sufficiently explicit, and yet it is a title that may need to be maintained against prejudice or prescription. And not the title only may be lacking. Conquest or fusion may have caused the manuscript sources of national history to perish or become inacessible.

Herein the fortune of nations has seemingly varied. Poland has ceased to be a nation, but her national archives have been carefully preserved. Holland and Belgium became kingdoms in recent times, and local muniments straightway became Departmental Archives. Ireland, as a lordship and as a subject kingdom, kept her national Records, whilst Scotland, a neighbour State, lost many that were carried to London as the spoils of war. Year by year French scholars visit our Archives to consult Records removed by the English armies when they evacuated Caen and Bordeaux. The case of Wales is a peculiar one. Here the national Records are no longer preserved in the Principality. Such as may have existed prior to 1284 have long since perished. From Edward I's conquest to Henry VIII's annexation, the Welsh judicial Records have been fitfully preserved with the surviving Assize Rolls of the English

Courts. From 1542 to 1830, however, the position was somewhat reversed. The Records of the General Sessions of Wales were preserved in local repositories[1] whilst the English Assize Rolls since the Tudor period have perished in the custody of Clerks of the Assizes. Moreover, amongst these Welsh judicial Records there was preserved a vast mass of subsidiary documents, many of which throw welcome light upon the economic and social condition of the country.

In 1854 these Welsh Records, which include those of the palatinate of Chester, were removed to London, a decisison which is perhaps to be regretted in the interests of the students of English and Welsh history alike. This bulky transmission presumably occupied the space that should have been immediately filled by out-lying English Records, including those of the palatinates of Durham and of Ely, and a countless collection of departmental Records, dating from the twelfth century to the nineteenth, some of which are still outstanding whilst still more are known to have perished within living memory.

In any case these regrets are useless, and any speculations as to the different fate which might have befallen the Welsh local Records, since the regeneration of Wales, do not concern a Saxon essayist. It remains only to notice, as the sequel, this inexorable fact.

In both Scotland and Ireland the retention of the national archives carried with it the privilege of publishing a considerable portion of their contents in an official series. The loss of this prestige might therefore be

[1] There is a persistent tradition that many early Welsh Records were removed from Carnarvon to Westminster in the eighteenth century, and certainly the acquisition of many Welsh Records now incorporated in the English Series has never been satisfactorily explained.

regarded as a serious drawback to the modern student of Welsh history who sets out upon his task without a share in the advantages enjoyed by his English, Scottish and Irish fellow students. On the other hand it may be fairly objected that the difference in respect of the subject-matter of their respective studies is very considerable. This is a question deserving of careful examination. In the first place, as we have seen, the materials for the Welsh national history previous to the year 1284 were not preserved down to our own times in any national archives, with the exception of a few stray copies of native annals and *diplomata* to be found amongst the English Records. It is therefore a matter of congratulation that a considerable proportion of the MSS. which illustrate Welsh native law and tribal custom, as well as the distinctive literature of the race, is now safely housed in a National Library and that, thanks to the energy and skill of native editors, working texts of so many of these interesting remains are available for study. On this firm foundation, supplemented by the labours of the Welsh Commission for the preservation of ancient monuments and the archæological and literary surveys, supervised by distinguished scholars like Sir John Rhŷs, Dr. Gwenogfryn Evans, and Dr. Henry Owen, the student may now begin to build up the national history of a later period from the existing archives. Moreover numerous historical documents will also be found in public libraries and private collections, the greater number of which have been carefully described.

That the Welsh Records between 1284 and 1536, so far as they have survived at all, are preserved in the English archives is a fact already noted. A similar feature of the Scottish and Irish national Records has also been observed, but there the national character of

these documents has been presented in a separate form of official publication. At the same time all the entries relating to Wales may be found in the well-known Calendars of the Rolls Series and these publications form an important asset in the calculations of the native student. But these will not suffice for an exhaustive study of the subject. An inventory of all the materials for Welsh history amongst the English diplomatic, ministerial and judicial Records, State Papers and Departmental Records is urgently required, together with complete texts of the Chancery series of Welsh Rolls and certain early Records of the palatinate of Chester, and until this is accomplished by native industry the position of the Welsh student will continue to be less favourable than that of his fellow-students in Scotland and Ireland.

Concerning these official sources for the history of *Wallia subjecta* from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries we already know a good deal, thanks chiefly to the enterprise of several modern Welsh scholars.[1] It is usual to regard these sources as falling into two main categories, the one comprising notices of Welsh affairs included amongst the regular series of English Records, and the other documents compiled in the Principality itself or relating exclusively to the national history. This division of interests, however, is found to be very imperfect. Many of the documents now preserved in the general series of English

[1] Notably my colleague, Mr. R. A. Roberts, in his admirable Papers for the *Transactions* of the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion, 1895-6, and *Y Cymmrodor*, x, 157, and his scholarly edition of the *Ruthin Court Rolls* (Cymmrodorion Record Series, vol. ii). The valuable researches of Mr. Edward Owen and Mr. J. H. Davies in this field are continuous, and are supported by those of younger students like Dr. E. A. Lewis. On the subject of the Welsh Records *see* the present writer's notes in the *Transactions* of the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion, 1900-01, and *Studies in English Official Historical Documents*, p. 115.

Records were either removed from the Principality in early times or have been absorbed since the transfer of the Welsh Records to London in 1854.[1] Again the mediæval collection of Welsh local Records is practically confined to the palatinate of Chester.

There is another objection to this proprietary classification of Welsh Records which applies equally to the whole contents of the Archives. It involves a tedious search for isolated documents or entries scattered throughout the contents of the old judicial repositories and inevitable duplication. Moreover it leaves a large *residuum* of documents that are practically undescribed except by the convenient title "Miscellaneous Roll", "Miscellaneous Book," or "Miscellanea", containing an immense number of documents of a very diverse nature.

It may be suggested that by means of the following system a more satisfactory method of investigation might be pursued by students desirous of locating all matters of national interest. In the first place it may be assumed that every document for which we are seeking will be, as to its clerical form or official character, capable of being referred to one or other of four great classes of so-called "Records,"[2] namely :

1. Diplomatic Documents (including royal and private Charters or Deeds, deposited or inrolled, Writs, Letters and some irregular forms).

2. Ministerial Proceedings (Surveys, Inquisitions, Assessments, and Accounts).

3. Judicial Proceedings (Original and Judicial Writs and other subsidiary instruments, with the Pleadings themselves).

[1] Cf. *ante*, p. 5, n. 1.

[2] For the classification of these types see *Studies in English Official Historical Documents*, pp. 327-38 and *passim*.

4. Precedents and Miscellaneous (semi-official and literary MSS. of an extraneous nature).

It is true that in respect of form these classes are to some extent interchangeable, or rather that the diploma is the fundamental type from which all our official writings are derived; but the distinction of character or subject will serve our present purpose. This is merely to bring together from the several ancient repositories of the Chancery, Exchequer, King's Bench, Common Pleas, Courts Palatine, &c. and all their sub-departments such obvious types as Charters, Surveys, Accounts and the rest. It concerns us nothing whether any one of these documents, belongs or belonged, rightfully or not, to the Exchequer Court, Plea Side or Equity Side; to the King's or Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Department, the Augmentation Department, the First Fruits and Tenths Department or the Receipt Department. What does concern us is that the document is a Charter or Account, original or inrolled, or otherwise distinguished by its clerical form, and that it relates to some matter of Welsh interest. The second point in the proposed system of study relates to the subject of interest, enabling the student to discriminate to some extent between the class of documents useful for his purpose and such as are irrelevant. Here we can most conveniently utilize the conventional branches of historical study generally recognized as Political, Constitutional, Legal, Ecclesiastical, Naval and Military, Economic, Social and Local History, so far as these apply to the national history itself. In any case the recognition of these titles will enable us to include the state of Wales in any wider study of such subjects of historical interest. In some instances indeed, as in respect of monastic history, this would be done without hesitation, though not in others, as in the case of Economic History.

It is possible, indeed, that the hand-book of the future may come to our assistance in this direction by means of a development of the scheme of arrangement already adopted by Mr. Scargill-Bird in his well-known and invaluable *Guide*. For a work of this sort, dealing with the Welsh sources only, many helpful and characteristic headings would be possible which are now merged in historical and record titles of purely English significance.[1] In this way what is now necessarily an alien and neglected sphere of interest would be usefully occupied by national studies.

Such a differentiation of local interests in the general collection of the English archives prior to 1535 is all the more desirable because in the Welsh Records of the subsequent period we have many distinctive classes. As to the historical value of these later judicial Records it would be difficult to speak with certainty until their arrangement is completed, but as the remarkable value of the mediæval Records of the Palatinate is now established,[2] Welsh students may fairly hope for important results from an investigation both of the later series of Plea Rolls and of the Miscellaneous "Welsh Books" and "Welsh Papers."[3]

Apart from the fact that these Welsh Records are no longer preserved in the Principality and that some have

[1] With the exception of a few distinctive titles amongst the early Chester Plea Rolls and certain local Accounts.

[2] Amongst these may be mentioned besides the splendid series of Eyre Rolls, *Quo Warranto*, Recognizance, Sheriff's Tourn, Indictment and Assize Rolls, various Forest proceedings, Coroner's Presentments, Mainprize Rolls and Gaol files, etc., together with all the Miscellaneous Rolls and Books prior to the Act of Incorporation.

[3] These miscellaneous Records include Estreats of Fines, etc., Pentice and Portmote Court Rolls, Constables' Accounts, Issues of Dee Mills, Outlawry Rolls, and Inquisitions and Extents of several kinds, besides an immense number of suitors' Papers, early inven-

been incorporated in the English series, we have here at last a native source of official information.

This should have been supplemented by important Records of the Council of Wales and the Marches during the sixteenth century and even later, but unlike the Proceedings of the English Courts of Star Chamber and Requests, this series is practically missing.[1]

The same remark unfortunately applies to the earliest Records of the Justices of the Peace,[2] though some later proceedings of the Quarter Sessions are preserved in local custody,[3] together with certain departmental Records.[4]

For more than three centuries to come after the close of the mediæval period Welsh affairs continue to be noticed in the later series of English legal Records. Of these, the judicial proceedings of the Chancery and Council exhibit a remarkable development in the direction of special jurisdictions, the famous courts of Star Chamber and Requests. Like the northern counties, the Western district was, as we have seen, under the supervision of a local government down to the Civil Wars of the seventeenth century, though in both cases the bulk of the

tories and bills of costs, travelling expenses, diets, etc. Somewhat similar documents are preserved amongst the English Records in the shape of the old papers of the Chancery Masters. In addition to these there are two splendid series of Ruthin Records, but many Accounts, Rentals, and Inquisitions, formerly amongst the Welsh Records, are now removed and incorporated in the English series.

[1] One of the later Council books, a survival resembling that found in the case of the Dublin "Court of Council Chamber" is calendared in the Thirteenth Report of the Historical MSS. Commission (iv). Other stray records and notices that have been preserved are described by Miss C. Skeel in her well-known monograph of the history of the Council.

[2] Cf. B. H. Putman, *Statutes of Labourers*, p. 63 *sq.*

[3] Cf. Report on Local Records (1901) and S. and B. Webb, *English Local Government*, Bk. iii, ch. 5.

[4] Such as those relating to the Customs revenue.

official records has perished. Again the Exchequer undergoes important departmental changes in the middle of the sixteenth century and the new classes of Records connected with the courts of Augmentations, Surveyors, First Fruits and Tenths and Wards and Liveries, which are the result of these changes, include many interesting references to the Principality. At the same time the mediæval series of Charters and Writs under the Great Seal together with the Ancient Correspondence cease to represent the State Papers at large and their place is taken by the modern class of State Papers—Domestic, Foreign and (in time) Colonial. These secretarial Records are supplemented in turn by the correspondence and other documents connected with the special administrative departments of the State, the Treasury, Admiralty, War Office, Council, Household, with their ramifications, all of which relieve the Secretaries of State of some part of their clerical labours.

Meanwhile the Chancery itself, with its historic enrolments, pursues a narrower path of official activity, though amongst its voluminous proceedings as a Court of Equity and as a formal registry of royal instruments Welsh history can count many illustrations.

As for the Courts of Justice themselves, we have already seen that their jurisdiction was diverted for local purposes under the memorable legislation of Henry VIII. The gain to the modern student of Welsh judicial Records is two-fold, since these local courts not only supplanted the unrecorded pleadings in the Marcher Courts,[1] but also preserved a full series of Records, unlike the English Courts whose Assize Records are missing since the close

[1] As to this cf. Skeel *op. cit.*, *Arch. Camb.* iii, 66 *sq.*, *Y Cymmrodor*, xii, xiii, xiv, and *Transactions* of the Cymmrodorion Society, 1902-3.

of the fifteenth century. Unfortunately, however, the whole of this later series of English judicial Records is still for the most part unpublished and very imperfectly described, like the Welsh Records themselves. The State Papers are also uncalendared, with a few exceptions, beyond the latter part of the seventeenth century, whilst the vast collection of Departmental Records of a still later period is in an even worse condition for purposes of study. It must also be remembered that matters concerning Wales are not distinguished in the official lists as in the case of Scottish and Irish notices.

The prospect of remunerative research is therefore scarcely a promising one, but from another aspect of the sources, with the incorporation of Wales in Tudor England a new era dawns for the student of the Welsh national history. The significance of that great change in the fortunes of the race has been well explained in a scholarly and illuminative essay by a modern Welsh historian.[1] Emancipated, through the imperial common sense of a descendant of Cadwallader, from the tyranny of Norman feudalism jarring on native custom, the Welsh begin to fill their distinctive place in the history of the Empire. They had ceased to be a subject nation to become an allied people. The Welshry, once counted as alien beyond the narrow Marches, is naturalized in the chief cities and ports of England and begins to invade the distant colonies of Greater Britain. The State, the Church, the Lords and Commons, the army and navy, the bench and bar, industry and commerce receive the influx of new blood and testify to its virtues by redoubled energy in appointed tasks.

[1] Mr. W. Llewelyn Williams in *Transactions* of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1907-8.

The part played by the Welsh people in the making of the British Empire is therefore worthy of the attention of the student who has hitherto experienced a dearth of historical details for the later national history owing to the inaccessibility of those authentic sources which are available for the study of the mediæval period. The ethnological relations of the early British civilization have been exhaustively discussed by many learned scholars and the political, ecclesiastical, commercial and literary intercourse of the mediæval Welsh with their continental and insular neighbours has been carefully investigated. Even the vicissitudes of the Welsh exiles have been traced into a far later period, but little has been done in the direction of a comparative history of Welsh and English citizenship between the Tudor and the Victorian eras for the purpose of showing how, on the one hand, the Welsh inhabitants of the Principality itself contributed to the common history of the kingdom and, on the other hand, how their presence in the English towns and counties and in the British Colonies has enriched the national economy.

The materials for such a study are chiefly contained, as we have seen, amongst the English archives, supplemented by local Records and private muniments, but here we are concerned only with the first named sources. These again can only be indicated in the briefest and most desultory manner, partly owing to their incomplete arrangement, and partly to the exigencies of space.

Broadly speaking, our sources are distributed between the great classes of later legal Records and the still more voluminous series of secretarial and departmental documents which are preserved beside them. Amongst the former we may notice especially the Proceedings of the Chancery, with its offshoots, and the Decrees, Commissions, Surveys and Accounts of the Exchequer rather

than the Pleadings of the Courts of Common Law.[1] These Records, however, will illustrate in an equal degree the state of the Principality itself and the condition of the Welsh residing in the English counties or towns. It is noticeable also that owing to the new ministerial dispositions whereby the Council, Secretariat and Treasury have begun to supplant the old judicial bodies, several of these sources are found duplicated amongst the State Papers and Departmental Records.

The sixteenth and seventeenth century State Papers are still more valuable and they are supplemented, especially in the eighteenth century, by the Records of the Treasury and other Departments. From these and other sources, including the Records of the High Court of Admiralty and other special jurisdictions, we may gather many interesting facts concerning the Welsh people in their relations with the central government, though all these sources, as we know, must be further supplemented by private collections.

Perhaps they should be peculiarly helpful for an extensive study of the national biography, to include not merely the "Lives" of eminent Welshmen, but some attempt to show the distribution of the Anglo-Welsh in the service of the State as ministers or officers of the Crown in the Government departments, in the army and navy, or in the greater service of the nation as members of the religious and

[1] Reference may be made *inter alia* to the several classes of Chancery and Exchequer Records known as the Petty Bag (Sacramental Certificates and Oath Rolls), Chancery Proceedings, Customers' Patent Rolls, Dispensation Rolls, Recusant Rolls, Licenses to preach and to cross the seas, Exchequer Memoranda Rolls, Depositions, Commissions, Papers, and the several series of Accounts and Inventories. With the later Exchequer Records are included those of the Augmentation Office and Court of Surveyors afterwards associated with the Land Revenue Office.

learned professions, as artists and men of letters and as merchants, traders, mariners or artificers. Even in the *Biographia Cambrensis* there is room for many additions and need for several emendations. We may now know, thanks to Mr. Llewelyn Williams, all that there is to be known of Henry Morgan, the famous West Indian governor and buccaneer,[1] but another prototype of Captain Kidd, governor Cadwallader Jones, is not included in the "Dictionary of National Biography", and we should probably have to rely on American works for particulars of the Welsh ministers[2] who laboured in the Plantations during the eighteenth century. Early emigration, indeed, is not a subject in which the Welsh people are known to have figured to particular advantage, but this is in itself a reason for dwelling more fully on its brighter side, following the example of the national historians of other economic pilgrimages.[3] The materials for this purpose are unhappily most defective owing to the unaccountable loss of the passenger returns at the outports during the eighteenth century.[4] From the few that have survived,[5] dated 1774-6, we can learn at least that there were no

[1] *Transactions* of the Cymmrodorion Society, 1903-4. Since this article was written important official papers on the subject, retained by a seventeeth century minister, have been sold, possibly for export to America. Cf. *Athenæum*, 30 Apr. 1910.

[2] Amongst these were Goronwy Owen and Hugh Jones, cf. G. Fothergill "Emigrant Ministers to America, 1698-1811", compiled from the Treasury Records. Interesting information respecting the early Welsh settlement in Pennsylvania, the projected settlement in Carolina, and the conditions which affected the modern settlement in Patagonia could be found in the Colonial Office and Foreign Office Records.

[3] *e.g.*, the official histories published by the American, Canadian, South African, and Australian governments.

[4] These are believed to have perished in the great fire at the Custom House in 1814, but their fate is uncertain.

[5] Amongst the Treasury Records (Registers).

Welsh emigrants to the Plantations at a time when shiploads of "indented labourers" were leaving the English ports accompanied by many sturdy northern farmers driven to "seek a better livelihood", because, owing to the new curse of inclosures, "their rents are raised so high that they cannot live". However, in the nineteenth century, the records of colonial emigration begin to be available,[1] and with these may be associated the less pleasing though instructive subject of convict transportation,[2] the fate of Welsh prisoners of war in foreign lands,[3] or the privations of persecuted loyalists[4] and impoverished slave-owners.[5]

Again, adequate histories of the Welsh regiments or of the service of Welshmen in the British Navy can only be compiled from the departmental records. We may know the names of the South Welsh Borderers who fell in the heroic charge at Chillianwallah, but do we readily know the names or number of the men of Welsh blood who fought with Hawke at Quiberon or with Wolfe at Quebec, with Nelson at Trafalgar or with Wellington at Waterloo?[6] The Welsh shipping industry offers a really interesting field of study from the early mediæval period onwards in respect of the coast-wise trade alone. In addition to the economic importance of such information as to the distribution of Welsh products, interesting statistics could be

[1] Amongst the Colonial Office Records (Correspondence and Emigration Land Board).

[2] Colonial Office, Home Office and Transport Board (Admiralty) Records.

[3] Admiralty (Medical and Victualling Office) Records.

[4] Treasury and Audit Office Records.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] In this connexion it may be doubted whether it is generally known that of the crew of the small bark "Endeavour", during Captain Cook's first voyage of discovery, six at least bore Welsh names, two of these being Bangor men.

compiled as to tonnage, master mariners and apprentices, pilots and the like. From a strategical or merely from a topographical point of view, the surveys and establishments of the harbours and ports and signal stations might be consulted with advantage, and more sensational interest would be provided by the remarkable records of smuggling and privateering enterprize scattered through many series both of judicial proceedings and State Papers.[1] But the point is that, whether our official seventeenth or eighteenth century Welshman was an admiral or an able seaman, a general or a common private, a Chelsea or a Greenwich pensioner or scholar, a pilot, a coast-guard, a militia man, a sea-fencible, a land-fencible, or, in private life, a smuggler, privateersman or filibuster, we have here a record of his services and often a narrative of his exploits which should at least be noted as a potential source of national history and biography.[2] We even have the wills of many of these old sailors, which indeed are sometimes as breezy as their lives. But though Evan Evans, with some kindred spirits, may choose to leave his pay and prize money to his dear friend the hostess of the Black Bull in Smithfield Market, whom he anxiously identifies as black-visaged with high cheek-bones, fresh complexion and pock marked, John Jones and many more will remember

[1] *e.g.*, Exchequer Memoranda Rolls, Admiralty, (Solicitor's) Records, Treasury Records, and the State Papers Domestic of the eighteenth century. For recent references to these sources cf. papers by Miss M. Morison in the Clare Market Journal (London School of Economics) October 1909, and the present writer in *Transactions* R. Hist. Soc., January 1910.

[2] Scottish military historians are now actively interested in the nationality of the Highland regiments. Records of the services of naval and military officers and men can be found amongst the Registers of the Admiralty and War Office in great profusion. These include in some cases baptismal certificates and personal descriptions.

the claims of the mother or sister, "the schoolmistress" of some native hamlet. The source is scarcely of historical value except so far as it serves to remind us of the sharp division in point of material prosperity between the adventurous Cymro and the "old folks at home". This is perhaps most clearly shown in the Revenue returns for England and Wales amongst the Exchequer and Treasury Records[1] which include such inquisitorial devices as taxes on houses, hearths, windows, carriages, plate, men-servants, bachelors, and widowers, in those "good old days", as well as duties on most of the commodities of trade and necessaries of life. From three of the former levies, the excise on carriages, plate, and men-servants, some interesting conclusions might be drawn. For instance, during the period 1754 to 1762 there were in the whole of North, East, West and Middle Wales only some two hundred and fifty coaches, chariots, chaises, chairs and landaus,[2] or fewer than were found in the county of Sussex alone. In respect of plate we find that some seven hundred persons paid the tax in Wales between 1756 and 1768, as against seven hundred and fifty in Yorkshire, and that twenty-five prosperous persons of the name of Lloyd paid in London alone as against thirty-two Lloyds in Wales. In the case of the duty on men-servants, about 1780, the united respectability of the English Lloyds was exactly commensurate with that of the parent stock in Wales.

Incidentally, too, these fiscal Records supply biographical information in connexion with the establishments of the Customs and Excise in Wales, lists of compounders

[1] Treasury, Miscellaneous, Registers and Revenue Accounts, and Exchequer, Declared and Tax Accounts. The names and addresses of those paying the tax are given in the former, also the weight of the plate from year to year.

[2] Even so many of these belonged, apparently, to English residents.

for Malt duties and many interesting details regarding the coasting trade in wool and salt. In a wider aspect the state of Trade is also illustrated by the State Papers and the Records of the Boards of Trade and Customs, whilst those of the Office of Works and some other fragments give particulars respecting roads and public buildings, Agriculture, as in the case of the sister kingdoms, is less fortunate owing to the mysterious disappearance of the Records of the old Board of Agriculture, but statistics are preserved of two such calamities as the cattle disease outbreak between 1745 and 1757 which decimated the herds of Chester, Denbigh and Flint,[1] and the Potato Crop failure of 1845-8.[2] And so we might continue to select, *ad libitum*, some sure or promising subject-matter of interest for the History of the Welsh people, whether in Wales or England or Greater Britian, from the early and later legal Records, State Papers, and Departmental archives.[3]

[1] The herd-books which accompanied the accounts have not been preserved with the Pipe and Audit Office Declared Accounts, but other references to the subject may be found in the following series: Treasury, Customs Letter Books, General Letter Books, Minute Books, Warrant Book, Money Books, Registered Papers and State Papers Domestic, George II.

[2] Treasury, Expired Commissions. There are statistics from the official returns (which are imperfect), in the *Gardening Chronicle* of 1849. These returns are of some scientific interest. They record, for instance, severe frost in North Wales on July 1st and 24th, and August 7th-11th, 18th and 29th-31st of 1848.

[3] Besides those previously referred to special mention may be made of the following Departmental Records: Home Office, Disturbances, Internal Defence and other Military Papers, Petitions and Addresses, Alien Correspondence; Admiralty, Accountant General's, Secretary's and Navy Board series; War Office, Commission Books, Description Books and other Regimental Records, Miscellanies, Militia Letter Books, Ordnance Surveys, &c. Treasury, Expired Commissions, Courts of Justice and Revenue Enquiry: in a less degree

It will be evident to experienced scholars that the present desultory survey has scarcely reached beyond the borders of a vast field of historical research. The object of this Paper is merely to indicate some few parcels of that new ground of inquiry the value of which for the delineation of the national character, has been already appreciated by an eloquent historian of the Cymry Fu.

> "Read all the splendid activity of the people, sailors, soldiers, traders and seekers after strange things in the reigns of the next few Monarchs. You will see that the Cymry jostled shoulder to shoulder in front with the English in all the glorious bustle of those brave days and were held in honour as brave men and were given due credit for all they did. It was a proud thing in the proud days of Elizabeth to be a Cymro."[1]

It is because these things make for national pride and self-reliance, which are a nation's strength, that a full knowledge of the past life of its people will be the most precious gift that any country may receive.

to the Records of the following Departments, Lord Chamberlain's Office, Lord Steward's Office, which are not, however, open to the public. The interest of some of these subjects may be realized from a reference to Dr. Henry Owen's description, published locally some years ago, of the French descent on Pembrokeshire in 1797 which is illustrated by the Home Office Records (Internal Defence).

[1] Owen Rhoscomyl, *Flamebearers of Welsh History*, pp. 252-3.

Parochiale Wallicanum.

By the Rev. A. W. WADE-EVANS,

Vicar of France Lynch, Glos.

Rice Rees, in his *Essay on the Welsh Saints* published in 1836, added a valuable appendix, containing "A list of churches and chapels in Wales, including the county of Monmouth and part of the county of Hereford, arranged with reference to their subordination". This list was drawn up in counties, with a view to ascertaining the names of the saints who laid the foundations of the British Church of Wales in about the fifth and sixth centuries, and it was the original intention in this paper simply to revise it. Whilst the revision was being made, it became more and more clear that the arrangement of these ancient religious foundations in accordance with the present Welsh counties, which are of comparatively recent origin, seriously interfered with the attainment of the object in view, for to the actual saints these county divisions were unknown, so that their religious establishments could not have been founded with reference to them. It seemed to follow, therefore, that the list should be drawn up in accordance with the secular or political divisions of the country as these were in the time of the saints themselves, a task for which I did not feel equal, notwithstanding the excellent material to be found in Dr. Henry Owen's *Pembrokeshire* and other publications of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion. But as it is recognised by scholars that the old *ecclesiastical*

divisions of Wales generally follow the secular divisions of pre-county days, it was clear that a basis might be found here upon which to start building; and because great changes had been made in these ecclesiastical divisions during the nineteenth century, it seemed well to find a list prior to this time and yet sufficiently near (for a first venture) to be controlled by other evidence. Such a list is to be found in the work entitled *Parochiale Anglicanum*, published in 1733, and compiled by the famous English antiquary, Browne Willis, of Whaddon Hall, Buckinghamshire. My revision of Rice Rees's *Appendix*, therefore, was all written out afresh, and the churches, chapels, etc., re-arranged according to their respective dioceses, archdeaconries, and deaneries, as these were and are described in Browne Willis's above-mentioned work. Those portions of our Thirteen Counties, which were not at that time in any Welsh diocese, are placed under the diocese to which they severally belonged, without regard to the smaller ecclesiastical divisions they happened to be in; and a few foundations neither in Wales nor in any Welsh diocese are added in like manner on account of their probable, or possible, British origin in the days when Wales (or Brittania as she was then styled) extended beyond her present boundaries. It need hardly be said that no attempt is made here to exhaust the list of Welsh Church foundations to the time of Browne Willis and Rice Rees, but merely to arrange what must surely be now the bulk of the material, for the purpose of determining both the leading religious establishments of those early days and the saints who founded them. The subordination of "churches and chapels", except in a few instances, follows Rice Rees, with those, which are or were extinct, printed in italics; no modern foundation since Rees' time is inserted.

Browne Willis's list of patrons of Welsh benefices as they were about the year 1720, is here included, which list cannot fail to be of interest to students of the religious and ecclesiastical history of Wales within the last two centuries. In view of the significant importance of this subject of church patronage it is extraordinary how small a place is assigned to it in Welsh Church history books. I have therefore reproduced the list, which is by no means the least important part of Browne Willis's compilation.

Diocese of St. David's.

In 1733 this diocese comprised :—

1. Pembrokeshire.
2. Cardiganshire.
3. Carmarthenshire.
4. Breconshire.
5. Radnorshire (except *Old Radnor*, *New Radnor*, *Presteign*, *Norton*, *Knighton*, and *Michaelchurch Arrow*, all in Hereford diocese).
6. Glamorganshire, about one fourth of,
7. Herefordshire, eleven churches and chapels in,
8. Monmouthshire, three churches in,
9. Montgomeryshire, two churches in,

There were four Archdeaconries, with their Deaneries, as follows :—

I. St. David's	1. Pebidiog	Pembrokeshire.
	2. Dougleddeu	
	3. Castlemartin	
	4. Rhos	
II. Brecon	5. Brecon First Part	Breconshire.
	6. Brecon Second Part	
	7. Brecon Third Part	
	8. Buallt	
	9. Hay	Breconshire, Herefordshire, and Monmouthshire.
	10. Elvael	Radnorshire.
	11. Maeliennydd	Radnorshire and Montgomeryshire.
III. Carmarthen	12. Carmarthen	Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire.
	13. Kidwely	Carmarthenshire.
	14. Llandeilo and Llangadog	
	15. Gower	Glamorganshire.
IV. Cardigan	16. Emlyn	Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire.
	17. Cemes	Pembrokeshire.
	18. Sub Aeron	Cardiganshire.
	19. Ultra Aeron	

The members of the Cathedral were :—

Bishop, "who is *Quasi Decanus* (having the Decanal Stall in the Choir, as well as a most stately throne)".

Precentor
Chancellor } styled *Residentiarii nati.*
Treasurer

Four Archdeacons.
Eight Prebendaries.
Six Canons Cursal.

The above twenty-two "compose the number of the Prebendaries".

Subchanter.
Four Priest-Vicars.
Four Lay-Vicars *or* Singing men.
Organist.
Four Choristers.
Master of Grammar School.
Verger.
Porter.
Sexton.
Keeper of Church in prayer time.

Thus they were forty-one in all. Besides the above three *Residentiarii nati*, who are "so by vertue of their Places", there were three other Canons chosen out of the Archdeacons, Prebendaries, and Canons Cursal, "under which six Residentiaries, namely, the Precentor, Chancellor, Treasurer, and the said three elected Canons (who ought here, according to the Statutes, regularly to reside), is the Government of the Church".

Browne Willis incidentally remarks that the First Fruits of the Bishopric were considerably diminished by Bishop Barlow.

I. ARCHDEACONRY OF ST. DAVID'S.

1. Deanery of Pebidiog, *Pembrokeshire.*

	Patrons in 1717.
Fishguard or **Abergwaun**, St. Mary[1]	The Crown.
Capel Llanvihangel, St. Michael.	
Capel y Drindod, Holy Trinity.	
Llanûst, Ust.	
Llanvartin, St. Martin.	

[1] The supposed Llangolman on Penwalis is really Llain Golman, and is so written in the tithe book. Llanvartin is the old site of Fishguard Vicarage.

Granston or **Treopert,** St. Catherine	Bishop of St. David's.
Hayscastle, St. Mary Ford Chapel.	Bishop of St. David's.
Jordanston or **Tre Wrdan**[1] *Llangwarren.*	Mr. Vaughan.
Letterston or **Tre Letert,** St. Giles Llanvair Nant y Gov, St. Mary.	The Crown.
Llandeloy, Teloy[2] *Llandonoch.*	Chapter of St. David's.
Llanedren or **St. Edren's,** Edren	Chapter of St. David's.
Llanhowel, Howel	Chapter of St. David's.
Llanrheithan, Rheithan[3] *Llandenoi,* Tenoi.	
Llanrhian, Rhian *Llanvirn.*[4]	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanstinan, Justinian	Precentor of St. David's.
Llanwnda, Gwyndav *Capel Degan,* Degan. *Llanwonnwr,* Gwynnwr.	Chapter of St. David's.

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[1] The ascription of this church to Gwrda, as is possible in the case of Llanwrda in Carmarthenshire, is due to the Welsh form of the place-name, Tre Wrdan, which is a mere translation of Jordanston. Compare Tre Letert and Letterston, Tre Amlod and Ambleston, Tre Rina and Rinaston, etc.

[2] Llandylwyv and Llandeilwyv in Gwenogvryn Evans's *Report,* I, 917, col. ii and note 27. Llandeloy is accented on the last syllable. Needless to say it has nothing whatever to do with Teilo. I have added Teloy on the practically certain supposition that it represents the name of a saint.

[3] Browne Willis seems to omit Llanrheithan in his *Par. Anglic.* Rice Rees is silent as to the "dedication" of this church, which one would suppose to be Rheithan as here inserted. In Owen's *Pembrokeshire,* ii, 289, note 9, George Owen is quoted as dating the feast of Caron of Llanrheithan as March 5th, from which one might conclude that Caron was either the patron of Llanrheithan or had a chapel within the parish. Caron, of course, is the Saint of Tregaron.

[4] If Llanvirn is not the same as Eglwys Cwm Wdig, then the latter is to be added under Llanrhian as an extinct ecclesiastical foundation (Owen's *Pembrokeshire,* ii, 351).

Manerawan or **Varnewan** for **Maenor Nawan**, St. Mary[1]	Church of St. David's.
Mathry, the Seven Saints[2]	Prebendary of Mathry.
St. David's or **Ty Ddewi**, David	The Crown, of Bishopric; the Chapter, of Vicarage.
Brawdy, David	Bishop of St. David's.
Capel Non, Non.	
Capel Padrig, Patrick.	
Capel Stinan, Justinian.	
Capel y Gwrhyd.	
Capel y Pistyll.	
Llandigige.	
Llandrudion, Tridian.[3]	
Llanungar, Gwyngar.	
Llanverran.	
Merthyr Dunod, Dunod.	
Ramsey Island, David.[4]	

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[1] 'Manorowen' is a modern alien barbarism; and Varnewan is the present colloquial reduction of a name which certainly began with *Maenor* and possibly ended with the mutated form of the personal name Gnawan (Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii, 290, note 3; and the Rev. J. T. Evans's *Church Plate of Carmarthenshire*, 147). Gnawan was the name of a saint who appears in the *Vita S. Cadoci.*

[2] Mathry in the *Book of Llan Dâv* is *Mainaur Mathru* and *Marthru in Pepitiauc*, pp. 127, 129, 255. The loss of the first *r* in Mathry may find parallels in such Pembrokeshire colloquialisms as *gatre* for *gartre*, and *Tidrath* for *Tridrath*, i.e., Tredraeth = Newport, Pem. For the legend of the Seven Saints of Mathry, Seith Seint Mathru, whose names are now forgotten, see the *Book of Llan Dâv* (127-9). The name Mathry seems to involve the same idea as is associated with the Irish use of the Latin *martyrium*, Welsh *merthyr*, i.e., a place of relics, a shrine enclosing the relics or remains of a saint (not necessarily or usually a martyr in the Latin and modern sense). For what I believe to have been the first occasion upon which this explanation of the Welsh *merthyr* was put forward see *St. David's College Magazine*, Dec. 1904.

[3] In St. Nicholas's parish there is a Llandridian and also a Ffynnon Dridian, "Tridian's Well". Llanrhidian in Gower is called Llandridian in the *Annals of Margam* (year 1185), according to Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, II, 408, note 30. It is very noteworthy also that the Llangwynner of Gower is matched by a Llanwnnwr in Pencaer in the parish of Llanwnda which adjoins St. Nicholas.

[4] Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, I, 112.

Ramsey Island, Justinian.	
Ramsey Island, Tyvanog.	
St. Mary's College, St. Mary.	
Whitchurch, David	Chapter of St. David's.
St Dogwel's or **Nantydewi,** Dogvael	Chapter of St. David's.
St. Elvis or **Llanaelvyw,** Aelvyw	The Crown.
St Lawrence, St. Lawrence	The Crown.
St. Nicholas or **Tre Marchog,** St. Nicholas	Prebendary of St. Nicholas.
Llanverran.	
Llandridian, Tridian.[1]	

2. Deanery of Dougleddeu, *Pembrokeshire.*

	Patrons in 1717.
Ambleston or **Tre Amlod,** St. Mary	The Crown.
Rinaston or *Tre Rina Chapel.*	
Woodstock Chapel.[2]	
Boulston	Mr. Wogan.
Picton Chapel.[3]	
Clarbeston, St. Martin	Sir Thomas Stepney.
Llawhaden, Aeddan	Bishop of St. David's.
Bletherston *or* Trev Elen.[4]	
St. Cadog's Chapel, Cadog.[4]	
St. Kennox,[4] Cynog.	
St. Mary's Chapel, St. Mary.	

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[1] See page 28, note 3.

[2] Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, II, 352, note 5.

[3] Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, II, 352, note 7.

[4] In Bletherston parish there is a Ffynnon Gain, "which, perhaps, records an ancient dedication to St. Cain Wyry, or Keyne the Virgin. The dedication of Bletherston Church seems unknown; but as the Welsh name of Bletherston is *Tref Elen*, and there is an Elen's Well in Llawhaden parish (of which Bletherston is a chapelry), Bletherston Church may . . . . . have been dedicated to St. Helena" (Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, I, 255, note 1). For Cadog's Chapel, see *Lives of the British Saints*, I, 119. With regard to Kennox, it is more likely, in view of such names as St. Petrox and Cadoxton, to stand for Cynog's than for Cennech's, as suggested in *Lives of the British Saints*, II, 56. In fact, the authors of this work, in a note to their article on Cynog, refer to "Seynt Canock" in Llawhaden (*Ibid*, II, 271, note 4).

Llys y Vrân, Meilyr	Sir John Philips and Mr. Scourfield.
Maenclochog, St. Mary[1]	Mr. Scourfield.
Llandeilo, Teilo[2]	Mr. Bowen.
Llangolman, Colman[3]	Mr. Bowen.
Mynachlogddu, Dogvael	Sir John Philips.
Capel Cewy, Cewydd.	
Capel St. Silin, St. Giles *or* Silin.	
New Moat, St. Nicholas	Mr. Scourfield.
Prendergast, David	The Crown.
Rudbaxton, St. Michael	The Crown.
St. Margaret's Chapel, St. Margaret.	
St. Catherine's Chapel, St. Catherine.	
Slebech, St. John Baptist	Mr. Barlow.
Spittal, St. Mary	Church of St. David's.
St. Leonard's Chapel, St. Leonard.	
Uzmaston, Ysvael	Chapter of St. David's.
Walton East, St. Peter[4]	Mr. Hudson.
Wiston or **Castell Gwys,** St. Mary	Mr. Wogan.

3. Deanery of Castlemartin, *Pembrokeshire.*

	Patrons in 1717.
Amroth, Teilo	Mr. Woolford.
Angle, St. Mary	The Crown.
St. George's Chantry, St. George.	
St. Mary's Chapel, St. Mary.	
Begelly	Sir John Philips.
Reynoldston *or* Rynalton.	
St. Thomas's Chapel, St. Thomas.[5]	
Williamston.	

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[1] There is a Ffynnon Ddewi, David's Well, in this parish, and also not far from the church a Ffynnon Vair, Mary's Well (Owen's *Pembrokeshire,* I, 255, note 1).

[2] This is the *Lannteliau Litgarth in fin Doucledif ha Chemeis* of the *Book of Llan Dâv,* p. 255.

[3] There is a Ffynnon Samson, Samson's Well, in this parish (Owen's *Pembrokeshire,* I, 255, note 1).

[4] Rice Rees has St. Mary, but see Owen's *Pembrokeshire,* II, 353.

[5] Owen's *Pembrokeshire,* ii, 308.

Bosheston, St. Michael	Mr. Campbell.
St. Govan's Chapel, Govan.[1]	
Carew, St. John Baptist	Bishop of St. David's.
Llandigwynnet.	
Redberth.	
Castlemartin, St. Michael	Mr. Campbell.
Flimston.[2]	
Cosheston, St. Michael	Sir Arthur Owen.
Cronwear for **Llangronwern,** Teilo	The Crown.
Gumfreston	Mr. Meyrick.
Hodgeston	Sir Arthur Owen.
Jeffreyston[3]	Chapter of St. David's.

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[1] "A little to the east of Bosherston Meer, and also within the parish, is the hermitage of St. [Govan], situated in a fissure of the rock, apparently formed by some violent convulsion, and about half-way between the summit and the base. A flight of steps, rudely cut in the rock, forms an ascent to the small chapel, which is about twenty feet in length and twelve feet wide, with an altar formed of a coarse stone slab, harmonizing with the rude and simple character of the place. On one side a door, opening from the chapel, leads into a small cell, cut in the rock, in form resembling the human body, which is said to have been the solitary retreat of St. [Govan]. Beneath the hermitage is St. [Govan's] well, formerly in great repute for the miraculous efficacy in the cure of diseases superstitiously ascribed to it through the influence of the saint, and still held in veneration by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. The scenery around this sequestred spot is of the wildest and most romantic character: large fragments of rock, scattered in confused heaps, lie around it in every direction, and huge masses of rugged cliffs, threatening to detach themselves every moment from the higher precipices, which impend over the sea-worn base of the rock, give to the bold sublimity of the scene an appalling grandeur of effect" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, *s* Bosherston.)

[2] "There was anciently a chapel at Flimston, which has long since gone to decay" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, *s* Castlemartin).

[3] This church is said to be dedicated to St. Oswald, a notion which probably arose from a misreading either of some form of Ysvael or of Usyllt. The modern form Ysvael comes from Ismael and a still older Osmail. Cunedda Wledig had a son of this name, after whom Mais Osmeliaun in Anglesey was so called. This was read later as referring to Croes Oswallt or Oswestry, as though Oswald and Osmail were the same name. Mr. Phillimore also records an instance of Oswald being read for forms of Usyllt (Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii, 296, note 2; 308).

Lamphey or **Llandyvai,** Tyvai	Bishop of St. David's.
Lawrenni, Caradog	Mr. Barlow.
Loveston, St. Leonard[1]	Mr. Campbell.
Ludchurch or **Eglwys Lwyd,** Teilo	The Crown.
Manorbier for **Maenor Byr,** St. James	Christ's College, Cambridge.
Martletwy	Mr. Barlow.
Coed Cenlas Chapel, St. Mary	Sir Arthur Owen.
Minwear	Sir Thomas Stepney.
Monkton, St. Nicholas	Lord Viscount Hereford.
Crickmarren Chapel.	
Paterchurch or *Patrickchurch,* Patrick.	
Pembroke or Penvro, St. Mary	Lord Viscount Hereford.
Pembroke or Penvro, St. Michael	Lord Viscount Hereford.
Priory Lady Chapel, St. Mary.	
St. Ann's Chapel, St. Ann.	
St. Deiniol's Chapel, Deiniol.	
St. Mary Magdalene's Chapel, St. Mary Magdalene	
Narberth for **Arberth,** St. Andrew	The Crown.
Mountain (for Monkton) or Cil Maen.	
Robeston Wathan.	
Templeton.	
Nash	Mr. Bowen.
Upton, *older* Ucton, St. Giles	Mr. Bowen.
Newton North or **Llys Prawst**	Mr. Deeds.
Penaly for **Pen Alun,** Teilo	Bishop of St. David's.
Caldey Island or *Ynys Bir Chapel,* St. Mary.	
Little Caldey Island, St. Margaret.	
Pwllcrochan[2]	The Crown.
Rhoscrowther or **Rhos Gylyddwr** or **Llanddegyman,** Degyman	The Crown.
St. Florence, St. Florence	St. John's College, Cambridge.
St. Issel's or **Llan Usyllt,** Usyllt	Chapter of St. David's.
St. Petrox or **Llanbedrog,** Pedrog	Mr. Campbell.

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[1] Rev. J. T. Evans's *Church Plate of Pembrokeshire,* p. 54.

[2] Now St. Mary, said to be formerly Degyman (*Arch. Camb.,* 1888, p. 127, as quoted in *Lives of Brit. Saints,* ii, 324, note 2.).

St. Twinnel's for **St. Winnel's**, Gwynnog	Chapter of St. David's.
Stackpole Elidyr or **Cheriton**, Teilo[1]	Mr. Campbell.
Tenby or **Dinbych y Pysgod**, St. Mary	The Crown.
Free Chapel, St. John the Baptist.	
St. Catherine's Island, St. Catherine.	
St. Julian's Oratory, St. Julian.	
St. Mary's Hospital, St. Mary Magdalene.	
Warren, St. Mary	Bishop of St. David's.
Yerbeston, St. Lawrence	The Crown.

4. Deanery of Rhos, *Pembrokeshire.*

	Patrons in 1717.
Burton	Sir Arthur Owen and Mr. Campbell.
Camros, Ysvael	Mr. Bowen.
Dale, St. James	Sir John Cope.
St. Ann's Chapel, St. Ann.	
Freystrop	The Crown.
Haroldston East, Ysvael	Sir John Packington.
St. Caradog's Hermitage,[2] Caradog.	
Haroldston West, Madog	Sir John Philips.
Hasguard, St. Peter	The Crown.
Haverfordwest, St. Martin	Mr. Bowen.
Haverfordwest, St. Mary	Corporation of Haverfordwest.
Haverfordwest, St. Thomas	The Crown.
Herbrandston, St. Mary	The Crown.
Hubberston, David	The Crown.
St. Thomas's Chapel, St. Thomas the Martyr.[3]	

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[1] The 'Elidyr' churches "are known in at least three cases to be 'Teilo' churches from the *Book of Llan Dâv* (pp. 124, 254-5). Elidyr is perhaps another form of Teilo, otherwise known as Eliud" (Evans's *Church Plate of Pembrokeshire*, 1905, p. 2, note 2). Stackpole was later dedicated to St. James (Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, i, 144).

[2] "The hermitage of St. Caradoc, it is said, was in this parish [of Haroldston East]; and on the common, within the limits of which the Haverfordwest races are held, is a well, still called St. Caradoc's Well, round which, till the last few years, a pleasure fair, or festival, was annually held, for the celebration of rustic sports" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

[3] Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, II, 417, note 87.

Johnston	The Crown.
Lambston	Sir John Philips.
Langum[1]	Sir Richard Walter and Mr. Owen.
Llanstadwel or **Llanystydwal**	Mr. Allen.
Marloes for **Mael Rhos**, St. Peter	The Crown.
Marloes, St. Mary.[2]	
Nolton for **Old-ton**, Madog	The Crown.
Rhosmarket, Ysvael	The Crown.
Robeston West	The Crown.
Roch or **Y Garn**, St. Mary	The Crown.
Hilton Chapel.	
Trevrân, Caradog.	
St. Bride's, Ffraid	Mr. Llaugharn.
Ancient Chapel on beach.[3]	
St. Ishmael's, Ysvael	The Crown.
Steynton, Kewil[4]	The Crown.
Milford, St. Catherine.	
Pill Priory, St. Mary and Budoc.[5]	

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[1] "The old Norse Langheim, of late ignorantly Welshified into Llangwm" (Owen's *Old Pembroke Families*, 69).

[2] "A former structure, which was dedicated to St. Mary, and situated near the beach, was destroyed by an encroachment of the sea, which also laid waste the glebe land originally belonging to the living" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

[3] "There are still the remains of an ancient chapel on the beach [of St. Bride's haven], which, according to tradition, was subsequently appropriated as a salting-house for curing the fish [of a considerable herring fishery, now discontinued for many years]. In the cemetery belonging to this chapel were numerous stone coffins, of which several have been washed away by the encroachment of the sea, which has here gained considerably on the shore, as was proved some years ago, during an extraordinary recess of the tide, by the discovery of several stumps of trees" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

[4] Kewil looks like an old form of Kywil, which would now be written Cywil, and pronounced and even written Cowil. On Pencaer there is a place called Carngowil, Cowil's Cairn.

[5] "Near the head of Hubberston Pill are the remains of Pill Priory, founded in the year 1200 by Adam de Rupe, for monks of the order of Tyrone, who afterwards became Benedictines: the priory, which was dedicated to St. Mary and St. Budoc, flourished till the dissolution, at which time its revenue was estimated at £67 15*s*. The site

St. Catherine's Chapel, St. Catherine.[1]	
St. Budoc's Chapel, Budoc.[2]	
Talbenni, St. Mary	Mr. Owen.
Trevgarn	Mr. Fowler and Mr. Jones.
Walton West	Sir Thomas Stepney.
Walwyn's Castle or **Castell Gwalchmai**, St. James	The Crown.

II. ARCHDEACONRY OF BRECON.

5. Deanery of Brecon First Part, *Breconshire.*

	Patrons in 1717.
Aberyscir, Cynidr	Mr. Flower.
Brecon or **Aberhonddu**, St. John Evangelist	Sir Edward Williams.
Battle, Cynog	Heirs of Mr. Williams.
Benni Chapel.[3]	
Brecon, St. Mary.	

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and buildings were granted, in the 38th of Henry VIII, to Roger and Thomas Barlow, and are now [1833] the property of the Hon. Fulke Greville. The ruins, which are very small, consist chiefly of some fragments of the walls: the low entrance gateway leading into the garden is still remaining, but the arch above it fell down in 1826" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, *s* Steynton).

[1] "A chapel of ease to the mother church [of Steynton], dedicated to St. Catherine, is situated at the eastern extremity of the street fronting the haven: it was erected chiefly at the expense of the Hon. Charles Francis Greville, lord of the manor, and was consecrated for divine service in the year 1808. . . . . A little to the east of the present edifice are the remains of an ancient chapel, which was also dedicated to St. Catherine, and, after having been desecrated for many years, was converted into a powder magazine: it consisted of a nave and chancel, with a finely vaulted roof, which is still entire [1833]: the western end has fallen down, but the boundaries of the ancient cemetery may be distinctly traced" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, *s* Steynton).

[2] Botolph has now been substituted for Budoc, which, written St. Buttock's, offended the delicacy of a former owner. May no ill dreams disturb his rest.

[3] See "Forgotten Sanctuaries", by Miss Gwenllian Morgan in the *Arch. Camb.* for July, 1903.

Brecon Castle Chapel, St. Nicholas.[1]	
Llanywern, Cynidr.[2]	The Parishioners.
Prisoners' Chapel.[1]	
St. Catherine's Chapel, St. Catherine.	
Slwch Chapel, Eiliwedd.	
Garthbrengi, David	Prebendary of Garthbrengi.
Christ's College, Holy Trinity	Bishop of St. David's Patron of the 21 Prebends there.
Friary Church, St. Nicholas.	
Llanddew *or* Llandduw, God	Archdeacon of Brecon.
Llanvaes, David[3]	Archdeacon of Brecon.
Llandeilo'r Van, Teilo	Mr. Jeffrys.
Capel Maes y Bwlch.	
Llandyvaelog Vach, Maelog	The Crown.
Llanvihangel Vechan, St. Michael.	
Merthyr Cynog, Cynog	The Crown.
Capel Dyffryn Honddu *or* Capel Ucha, Cynog.	
Llanvihangel Nantbran, St. Michael	Mr. Jeffrys.

6. Deanery of Brecon Second Part, *Breconshire.*

	Patrons in 1717.
Devynock or **Dyvynog**, Cynog	Bishop of Gloucester.
Capel Callwen, Callwen.	
Llanilltyd *or* Glyn, Illtyd.[4]	
Llanilud *or* Crai Chapel, Ilud.	
Ystrad Vellte, St. Mary.	

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[1] See "Forgotten Sanctuaries", by Miss Gwenllian Morgan in the *Arch. Camb.* for July, 1903.

[2] Browne Willis places Llanywern in the Deanery of Brecon Third Part (*Par. Anglic.*, ed. 1733, p. 182).

[3] Browne Willis places Llanvaes juxta Brecon in the Deanery of Brecon Second Part (*Ibid.*, p. 181).

[4] "On an adjoining eminence [in the Llanilltyd division of Devynog], near a pool, are two large stones, placed six feet asunder, at each end of a small tumulus, which is called Bedd Gwyl Illtyd, or 'the grave of Illtyd's Eve', from the ancient custom of watching there on the eve of the festival of that saint, who was supposed to have been buried here" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, *s* Glyn).

Llanspyddid, Cadog	Mr. Jeffrys.
Capel Bettws *or* Penpont.	
Llywel, Llowel[1]	Chapter of St. David's.
Dolhowel, David.	
Rhydybriw Chapel.	
Trallwng, David[2]	Prebendary of Trallwng.
Penderin, Cynog	Dr. Winter.
Vaenor or **Maenor Wynno,** Gwynno	The Crown.
Ystrad Gynlais, Cynog.	
Capel Coelbren.[3]	

7. Deanery of Brecon Third Part, *Breconshire.*

	Patrons in 1717.
Cantrev, Cynidr[4]	Mr. Powell.
Capel Nantddu.	
Cathedin or **Llanvihangel Gythedin,** St. Michael	Duke of Beaufort.
Llanbedr Ystrad Yw, St. Peter	Duke of Beaufort.
Partrisho, Issiu.	
Llanddetty, Detty	Mr. Jones.
Capel Tav Vechan.	
Llangasty Talyllyn, Gastayn	Mr. Parry.
Llangadog Crug Howel, Cadog	Duke of Beaufort.
Crickhowel *for* Crug Howel, St. Edmund[5]	Duke of Beaufort.
Llanelli, Elli.	
Llangeneu, Ceneu.	

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[1] Llywel, pronounced and even written Llowel, like Howel for Hywel, bowyd for bywyd, etc. *Cf.* Llanllowel in Monmouthshire, where also Llowel is assumed to be a saint's name. According to the poem of Gwynvardd Brycheiniog (1160-1200), entitled *Canu y Dewi,* Llywel is "owned" by David (Anwyl's *Gogynfeirdd,* 82, col. ii, line 15 from bottom).

[2] Browne Willis places Trallwng in the Deanery of Brecon First Part (*Par. Anglic.,* ed. 1733, p. 180).

[3] Browne Willis has "Capell *Colven* St. *Colven*" (*Par. Anglic.* 181).

[4] *Cat. of MSS. rel. to Wales in Brit. Mus.,* by Ed. Owen, III, 597.

[5] Crickhowel "was formerly a chapelry within the parish of [Llangadog], the rectors of which received one-third of its tithes . . . . . The church, dedicated to St. Edmund the King and Martyr, was founded and endowed by the munificence of Lady Sibyl de Pauncefote, and consecrated, in 1303, by David de Sancto Edmundo, Bishop of St. David's" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales,* ed. 1833).

Llanvair Chapel, St. Mary.[1]
Supposed Oratory, Ceneu.[2]

Llangors, Peulin *or* Paulinus — Chapter of Windsor.
Llan y Deuddeg Sant, the Twelve Saints.

Llangynidr or **Eglwys Iail**, Cynidr[3] — Duke of Beaufort.
Eglwys Vesey.[4]

Llanhamlach[5] — Mr. Gabriel Powel.
Llechvaen Chapel.[6]

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[1] "About a mile and a half from the town [of Crickhowel] formerly stood the 'baptismal and parochial chapel' of St. Mary, still known by its Welsh name, Llanvair, or 'Mary-church'. That its erection was of a date long prior to that of the present parochial church of St. Edmund is certain from the report of Giraldus Cambrensis, in the reign of Henry II, who states that he himself, as archdeacon of [Brecon], was cited to appear *in capellâ Sanctæ Mariæ de Crucohel* . . . . . Having long since fallen into lay hands, it was used, until within the last twenty years, as a barn: it was then taken down, and a new farm building erected upon the spot, so that the name is now the only vestige of the ancient structure" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

[2] Near Ffynnon Geneu was "an ancient building which was supposed to be the oratory of St. Ceneu" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*).

[3] This church was associated at a later period with the Virgin as well as with Cynidr, for which cause it is called "ll fair a chynydr" in the Peniarth MS. 147 (Evans's *Report*, I, 918, col. ii). It was also know as Eglwys Iail, which appears as Egluseyll in the *Taxatio* of 1291, from a small stream of that name, which passed the church (so says Samuel Lewis in his *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

[4] "An ancient chapel, of which the ruins were formerly visible on the bank of the Crawnant about two miles from the village [of Llangynidr]" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*).

[5] Rice Rees ascribes this church to St. Peter and St. Illtyd; and Lewis to St. Peter alone, as also Browne Willis. It would appear, however, as though it were the *llan* of Anlach, which was the name of Brychan's father (*Y Cymmrodor*, xix, "The Brychan Documents"). "On a farm called Mannest [in Llanhamlach] . . . . are the remains of a kistvaen, under an aged yew tree, and surrounded with stones apparently from a dispersed cairn, under which it had been concealed for many ages: at what period it was opened is not known. It consists of three upright stones, two forming the sides, about five feet in

Llansanffraid, Ffraid	Lord Ashburnham.
Llanveugan, Meugan	Sir Charles Kemmeys.
Capel Glyn Collwyn.	
Pencelli Castle Free Chapel, St. Leonard.	
Llanvihangel Cwmdu, St. Michael	Duke of Beaufort.
Llanddegyman, Degyman.	
Tretower Chapel, St. John Evangelist.	
Llanvihangel Talyllyn, St. Michael	Mr. Philips.
Llanvilo, Bilo	Lord Ashburnham.
Llandyvaelog Trev y Graig, Maelog.	
Llanvrynach, Brynach	Mr. Waters.
Talgarth, Gwen	Chapter of Windsor.

8. Deanery of Buallt, *Breconshire.*

	Patrons in 1717.
Llanavan Vawr, Avan	Bishop of St. David's.
Capel Alltmawr.	
Gelli Talgarth or *Rhos y Capel.*	
Llanavan Vechan, Avan.	
Llanvihangel Abergwesin, St. Michael.	
Llanvihangel Bryn Pabuan, St. Michael.	
Llysdinam.	
Llangamarch, Cynog[7]	Treasurer of Brecon Coll. (now annexed to the See of St. David's in lieu of mortuaries).

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length, and one at the end, about three feet wide: the whole height does not exceed three feet from the ground . . . . . by topographers it is usually designated Ty Illtyd" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales,* ed. 1833).

[6] "In the hamlet of Llechvaen was formerly a chapel of ease, which fell down about a century ago [*i.e.,* about 1733] and has not been rebuilt" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales,* ed. 1833).

[7] It appears from a poem by Cynddelw (1160-1200), entitled *Cán Tyssilyaw,* that Llangamarch at one time was accounted as belonging to Tysilio, which perhaps means Meivod (Rice Rees's *Essay,* 278; Anwyl's *Gogynfeirdd,* 67, col. i, line 2). Previous to this it appears to have belonged to Cynog, son of Brychan, who was known as Cynog

Llanddewi Abergwesin, David.	
Llanddewi Llwyn y Vynwent, David.[1]	
Llanwrtyd, David.	
Llansanffraid Cwmwd-douddwr, Ffraid[2]	Bishop of St. David's.
Capel Nantgwyllt.	
Llanvadog, Madog.	
Llanganten, Canten	Bishop of St. David's.
Llangynog, Cynog.	
Llanwrthwl, Gwrthwl	Prebendary of Llanwrthwl.
Llanlleonvel.	
Maesmynys or **Llanddewi Maesmynys**, David	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanddewi 'r Cwm, David.	
Llanvair ym Muallt *or* Builth, St. Mary	Mrs. Harcourt.
Llanynys, David.	Bishop of St. David's.

9. Deanery of Hay, *Breconshire.*

	Patrons in 1717.
Brwynllys,[4] St. Mary	Mr. Vaughan.
Gwenddwr, Dubricius.[4]	
Hay or **Y Gelli Ganddryll**, St. John (extinct)[3]	

Camarch, apparently from the river Camarch, on which the *llan* is situated. That the parish wake fell on Cynog's Day, October 8th, is shown by the assigning of that day to the manufactured "Saint Camarch". For the early eighteenth century local traditions relative to Cynog, collected by the Breconshire herald, Hugh Thomas, see *Lives of the British Saints*, ii, 266-8, where they are printed from the Harleian MS. 4181 (ff. 70a-71b).

[1] "At a place called Llwyn y Vynwent [in Trevllys hamlet, Llangamarch parish] tradition reports that a chapel of ease anciently stood, but no traces of it can now be discovered" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, *s* Trevllys).

[2] Llansanffraid Cwmwd-douddwr is in Radnorshire (as are also its two chapels), and is placed by Browne Willis in the Deanery of Maeliennydd (*Par. Anglic.* ed. 1733, p. 185).

[3] "The ancient parish church, dedicated to St. John, and situated in the centre of the town, was, in 1684, in sufficient repair to be used as a school-house, though it had long ceased to be appropriated to the performance of divine service. In 1700 part of this building fell

Hay, St. Mary	Prince of Wales.
Chapel in suburb (Leland).	
Llandyvalle, Tyvalle[4]	Mr. Vaughan.
Crickadarn, St. Mary.[4]	
Llaneigion, Eigion	Mr. Wellington.
Capel y Ffin.	
Cilonw Chapel.	
Llanelyw, Elyw	Lord Ashburnham.
Talachddu, St. Mary	Mr. Lewis.
Llys Wen[4]	Sir Edward Williams.

Herefordshire.

Clodock, Clydog	Edward Harley, Esq.
Craswell, St. Mary.	
Llanveuno, Beuno.	
Llanwynnog, Gwynnog.	
Longtown, St. Peter.	
Ewyas Harold, St Michael *or* St. James	Bishop of Gloucester.
Dulas, St. Michael	Edward Harley, Esq.
Llansilo, older **Lann Sulbiu,** Sulbiu	Edward Harley, Esq.
Michaelchurch Eskley, St. Michael	Edward Harley, Esq.
Rowlston, St. Peter	Edward Harley, Esq.
St. Margaret, St. Margaret	Edward Harley, Esq.
Walterston, St. Mary	Edward Harley, Esq.

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down, since which time the whole has been removed, and the site is now occupied by a small prison, or lock-up house" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833). Browne Willis mentions *Haye Capella* St. *John Baptist ruinosa* (*Par. Anglic.*, ed. 1733, p. 183).

[4] Gwenddwr is one of the five parishes which, according to the Peniarth MS. 147, of about 1566, made up the Cymwd known as *Cymwd Cantrev Selyv,* the others being Llandyvalle, Brwynllys, Llys Wen, and Crickadarn. Llandyvalle seems to carry the name of its saint in its own name, and Brwynllys is ascribed (probably by the Normans of its castle) to St. Mary. Crickadarn also is given to St. Mary. There seems to be some uncertainty as to the remaining two, for Browne Willis, Rees, and Lewis are all silent as to Llys Wen, and so are Browne Willis and Rees with regard to Gwenddwr, but Lewis ascribes it to Dubricius. One would hesitate the more in accepting this last were it not that the district on the west of the Wye between the parishes of Llys Wen and Gwenddwr contains the Llandaff possession called "In Cantref Selim. Lann Coit" (*Book of Llan Dâv,* 255). Within this district places will be found on the larger maps

Monmouthshire.

Cwm Yoy, St. Michael	Edward Harley, Esq.
Llanthony or **Llanddewi Nant Honddu,** David	Edward Harley, Esq.
Oldcastle, St. John Baptist	Edward Harley, Esq.

10. Deanery of Elvael, *Radnorshire.*[1]

	Patrons in 1717.
Aberedw, Cewydd	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanvaredd, St. Mary.	
Bochrwyd or **Boughrood,** Cynog	Prebendary of Boughrood.
Llanbedr Painscastle, St. Peter	Bishop of St. David's.
Bryngwyn or **Llanvihangel y Bryngwyn,** St. Michael	Bishop of St. David's.
Cregrina for **Craig Vuruna,** David	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanbadarn y Garreg,[2] Padarn.	
Llan Non, Non.	
Cleirw or **Clyro** for **Cleirwy,** St. Michael	Bishop of St. David's.
Bettws Cleirw *or* Capel Bettws.	

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with such suggestive names as Llanvawr, Llangoed, Bwlch Henllan, and Llan-eglwys. The boundaries of Lann Coit in Cantrev Selyv, are not given in the *Book of Llan Dâv* (166-7), but the possession appears to have been a gift to Arwystl, the disciple of Dubricius, which Arwystl was consecrated Bishop by him. It appears therefore to have been at first a "Dubricius" possession, and so its *llan* would have regularly become a "Dubricius church". Gwenddwr, Crickadarn, and Llys Wen are presumably subsequent to the orignal *llan*, for none of them appears in the *Taxatio* of 1291. A theory in the *Lives of the British Saints*, i, 176, supposes that Lann Coit is Lancaut, near Tidenham, which "must have been devastated by the Saxons, and then, perhaps, the Church of Llandaff laid claim to another Llangoed on the strength of the name". Whatever may be thought of this, the ascription of the church of Gwenddwr to Dubricius appears to have some bearing on the matter. Moreover, Lancaut, near Tidenham, is not for Lann Coit but Lann Ceuid, *i.e.*, Llangewydd.

[1] For the saints of Radnorshire, see the *Church Plate of Radnorshire* (Stow, Glos., 1910), by the Rev. J. T. Evans, with notes and special essay on the subject in the appendix.

[2] Llanbadarn y Garreg appears as a chapel under Bryngwyn in Browne Willis's *Par. Anglic.*, ed. 1733, p. 184.

Diserth or **Y Diserth yn Elvael,** Cewydd Bettws Diserth [1]	Bishop of St. David's.
Gladestry or **Llanvair Llwyth Dyvnog,** St. Mary	The Crown.
Glasgwm, David Colva, David. Rhiwlen, David.	Bishop of St. David's.
Llandeilo Graban, Teilo	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanelwedd, Elwedd	Bishop of St. David's.
Llansanffraid yn Elvael, Ffraid	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanstephan or **Llanystyffan,** Ystyffan	Archdeacon of Brecon.
Llanvihangel Nant Melan, St. Michael *Llanivan,* St. John.[2]	The Crown
Llowes, Llowes *and* Meilig Llanddewi Vach, David.	Archdeacon of Brecon.
Newchurch or **Llan Newydd,** St. Mary	Bishop of St. David's.

Breconshire.

Glasbury or **Y Clas ar Wy,**[3] Cynidr *Aberllyvni* or *Pipton Chapel,* St. Mary. *Velindre Chapel.*	Bishop of Gloucester.

11. Deanery of Maeliennydd, *Radnorshire.*

	Patrons in 1717.
Bleddva for **Bleddvach,** St Mary	Bishop of St. David's.
Bugeildy or **Llanvihangel y Bugeildy,** St. Michael *Velindre Chapel.*	Bishop of St. David's.
Casgob, St. Michael	Bishop of St. David's.
Ceven Llys or **Llanvihangel Ceven Llys,** St. Michael	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanbadarn Vawr ym Maeliennydd, Padarn	Bishop of St. David's.

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[1] Ascribed to St. Mary by Browne Willis *(Ibid.).*

[2] In the One Inch O.S. Map (1899) Bron yr Eglwys is marked a little to the east of Llan-Evan.

[3] Browne Willis, in 1733, says, "The church newly rebuilt, Co. *Brecon,* it was antiently on the other side the River in *Radnorshire*" (*Par. Anglic.,* p. 183).

Llanbister, Cynllo[1]	Bishop of St. David's.
Abbey Cwm Hir *or* Mynachlog, St. Mary.[2]	Sir Richard Fowler.
Caervaelog for *Gordd Vaelog*,[3] Maelog.	
Llananno, Anno.	
Llanbadarn Vynydd, Padarn.[4]	
Llanddewi Ystrad Enni, David.	
Llanvair Trellwydion, St. Mary.	
Llanvihangel Rhyd Ieithon, St. Michael.	
Llandegle,[5] Tegle	Bishop of St. David's.

[1] Croes Cynon, Craig Cynon, and Nant Cynon are place names, which point to a possible St. Cynon within the Llanbister district. There is a spot "in the parish of Llanbister, designated by the appellation of Nant Castell Gwytherin . . . . . This dingle is very lonesome and retired, and is situated near a place called Arthur's Marsh, not far from the source of the Prill, Nant Caermenin. In its neighbourhood is a row of stones, or cairn, called Croes Noddfa, that is, the Cross of Refuge". Williams's *Radnorshire*, p. 134. Williams identifies this Gwytherin with Vortigern. Gwytherin, however, is from Victorinus. With the name Llanbister, compare Llanveistr in Anglesey (*Report* I, 912, col. iii; and Leland's *Itin. in Wales*, ed. 1906, 133.)

[2] Browne Willis, in 1733, says, "Now distinct and presented to by Sir *Richard Fowler*" (*Par. Anglic.*, p. 185). Abbey Cwm Hir did not really become a separate parish till about 1832.

[3] "In the year 1805, at a place called Lower Cyfaelog, near to the village of Llanbister, was dug up a great quantity of freestone out of some ruins; particularly a curious old baptismal font; whence it is conjectured that a religious edifice of the Roman Catholic denomination once stood here, which, perhaps, was dedicated to St. Cyfaelog, a Welsh propagator of Christianity" (Jonathan Williams's *Radnorshire*, p. 232). This writer does not seem to mean what he says, unless he really thought that the ancient British Church of Wales was a "Roman Catholic denomination", which would be nearly as bad as saying that she belonged to the "Anglican communion". No saint of the name of Cyfaelog is known to me. The place referred to seems to be Caervaelog.

[4] There is, or was, a well within this parish called Ffynnon Ddewi, Dewi's Well, perhaps from Llanddewi Ystrad Enni (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

[5] On a part of Radnor Forest, within this parish, there is marked on the One Inch O.S. Map (1899) a place called Cowlod, 1611 feet high, which name is the same as that referred to in the bounds of

Llandrindod formerly **Llandduw,** God	Prebend of Llandrindod.
Llanvaelon, Maelon.	
Llangynllo, Cynllo	Prebend of Llangynllo.
Llan y Bryn hir.	
Pileth *or* Pilale, St. Mary	
and probably	
Heyop *or* Llanddewi Heiob, David	Bishop of St. David's.
Whitton *or* Llanddewi'n Hwytyn, David	Bishop of St. David's.
Llansanffraid Cwmwd-douddwr. See Llangamarch, Deanery of Buallt.	
Nantmel, Cynllo	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanŷr *or* Llanllyr yn Rhos, Llyr	
Llanvihangel Helygen, St. Michael.	
Pant yr Eglwys (near Rhaeadr).[1]	
Rhaeadr Gwy, Cynllo.[2]	
St. Mary's Well, St. Mary.	
St. Harmon's, Garmon[3]	Bishop of St. David's.
Drysgol Chapel.	

Radnor Forest in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (Williams's *Radnorshire,* 358) "a brooke or water called Cume Colloyd". This to me is strangely reminiscent of Cwm Cawlwyd, where the ancient owl of *Kulhwch and Olwen* lived. A little to the north, in the parish of Llanvihangel Rhyd Ieithon, is a spot, 980 feet high, called Kilmanawydd.

[1] "On the bank of the rivulet Rhydhir, at a small distance east from the town of [Rhaeadr], whither it is supposed the town formerly extended, and where a church, as tradition reports, once stood, upon an adjoining piece of ground named Clytiau or Pant-yr-Eglwys, that is, the church-yard, is a solitary tumulus, or barrow, destitute of a moat or vallum, and consequently sepulchral. It is named Cefnceidio, which signifies the ridge of Ceidio, who was a Welsh saint that lived about the middle of the fifth century" (Williams's *Radnorshire,* 281).

[2] The association of this former chapel with St. Clement may have risen from an early confusion of Clement and Cynllo, as in such cases as Bernard and Brynach, Lawrence and Llawddog, Julitta and Ilud, etc., etc. A fair on December 3rd seems to represent an earlier fair on November 22nd, which is St. Clement's Eve. Other fairs, however, seem to be associated with St. Mary.

[3] Garmon after *Llan* (as in *Par. Anglic.,* 185) or *Eglwys* would become Armon (Llanarmon *or* Eglwys Armon); hence the first step in the origin of the modern name.

Montgomeryshire.

Kerri or **Llanvihangel yng Ngherri**, St. Michael	**Bishop of St. David's.**
Gwernygo Chapel.	
Mochdre or **Moughtre**, All Saints	**Prebendary of Mochdre.**

III. ARCHDEACONRY OF CARMARTHEN.

12. Deanery of Carmarthen, *Carmarthenshire.*

	Patrons in 1717.
Abernant, St. Lucia	The Crown.
Capel Troed y Rhiw.	
Cynwyl Elved, Cynwyl.	
Carmarthen or **Caervyrddin**, Teulyddog (extinct)	
Carmarthen, St. Peter	The Crown.
Carmarthen Castle, King's Chapel.	
Capel y Groesveini.	
Llangain, Cain	Mr. Blodworth.
Llanllwch, Llwch.[1]	
Llan Newydd *or* Newchurch.[2]	
Rood Church, St. Mary.	
Cil y Maen llwyd, St. Philip and St. James[3]	The Crown.
Castell Dwyran.[4]	

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[1] Llwch is a well authenticated personal name in Welsh, as shown by Mr. Phillimore in *Y Cymmrodor*, xi, p. 50, note *p*.

[2] Lewis mentions "the remains of an ancient chapel which has been converted into a barn", situated "to the east of the church" (*Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, *s* Newchurch). This place is not referred to by Browne Willis unless it be the "Capell *Llannewyd destructa*", which he places under "*Llanwndle* Cur. St. *Michael*", which I am unable to identify in the Deanery of Carmarthen. Willis gives the Patron of this last as Mr. Manwaring, and the Religious House, to which it was anciently appropriated, as the Priory of Carmarthen.

[3] Cil y Maen llwyd does not appear to be mentioned in the *Taxatio* of 1291, or in the *Inventories of Church Goods*, 1552 (Evans's *Church Plate of Carmarthenshire*, pp. 121-7). It possesses, however, an Elizabethan chalice of about 1574, inscribed, *Poculum Eclesie de Kilyemaynloyd* (*ibid.* p. 26)

Eglwys Gymyn, Cymyn	The Crown.
Egremont, St. Michael	Mr. Mansel.
Henllan Amgoed or **Llanddewi o Henllan,** David Eglwys Vair a Chirig, St. Mary and Cirig.	The Freehold Inhabitants.
Llanboidy or **Llan y Beudy,** Brynach Eglwys Vair ar lan Tâv, St. Mary.	Bishop of St. David's.
Llandawc[5] Pendine *for* Llandeilo Pentywyn, Teilo.	Mr. Stedman.
Llanddowror for **Llandeilo Llanddyvrwyr,** Teilo[6]	
Llandeilo Abercowyn, Teilo	Mr. Geers [? Meers], who has restored all the Tithes.
Llandysilio yn Nyved, Tysilio	Prebend of Llandysilio.
Llangan, Canna	Prebendary of Llangan.
Llanglydwyn, Clydwyn	The Crown.
Llansadyrnin, Sadyrnin.	
Llanstephan, Ystyffan Llangynog, Cynog. *Llanybri* or *Llanvair y bri,* St. Mary. *Marble* or *Marbel Church.* St. Anthony's Well, St. Anthony.	The Crown.
Llanvallteg,[7] Mallteg	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanwynio, Gwynio	Mr. Jones.

[4] Mr. Phillimore is inclined to regard the "Llandeilo Welfrey", mentioned by Browne Willis under the Deanery of Carmarthen and in the county of Carmarthen (*Par. Anglic.*, p. 187), as representing Crinow; but it may, in his opinion, be Castell Dwyran under Cilymaenllwyd in Carmarthenshire (Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, i, 166, note 1). Crinow is really in Pembrokeshire. Another Teilo church omitted by Browne Willis, which I have here inserted, is Llanddowror.

[5] Llandawc has now for some time been associated with St. Margaret Marlos but the place-name clearly indicates a founder of the Golden Age of the British Saints of Wales.

[6] Llanddowror is omitted by Browne Willis, like Crinow and Castell Dwyran, which are also Teilo churches.

[7] Llanvallteg *church* is in Pembrokeshire.

Merthyr[1]	The Crown.
Meidrym, David[2]	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanvihangel Abercowin, St. Michael.	
St. Clear's[3]	All Souls College, Oxford.
Llangynin, Cynin.	
Talacharn or **Laugharne**	Chapter of Winchester.
Craseland.	
Cyffig, Cyffig.	
Marros, St. Lawrence.	
Trelech, Teilo	Bishop of St. David's.
Capel Bettws.	

Pembrokeshire.

Lampeter Velffre or **Llanbedr Velffre,** St. Peter	The Crown.
Llanddewi Velffre, David	The Crown.
Henllan, Teilo.	
Llandeilo Llwyn Gwaddan, Teilo.	

13. Deanery of Kidwely, *Carmarthenshire.*

	Patrons in 1717.
Kidweli, St. Mary	The Crown.
Capel Coker.[4]	
Capel Teilo, Teilo.	
Llangadog, Cadog.	
Llanvihangel, St. Michael.	
St. Thomas's Chapel, St. Thomas.	

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[1] Owen's *Pembrokeshire,* ii, 360, n. 3.

[2] Llanycrwys, *i.e.,* the *llan* of the crosses, is called **Llanddewi'r** Crwys by Gwynvardd Brycheiniog (1160-1200), who also in the same poem claims Meidrym for St. David (Anwyl's *Gogynfeirdd,* 82, col. ii, lines 12 and 25 from bottom).

[3] The *ecclesia de Sancto Claro,* of the Taxatio of 1291, excludes any St. Clara as patron of this church. *Sanctus Clarus* is otherwise unknown, and may be a Normanization of Celer of Llangeler.

[4] Rice Rees notes that this was "named after Galfridus de Coker, Prior of Kidwelly, in 1301", in which case we should add Galfridus's name as the "saint" if we were strictly to follow the original custom of the British Church of Wales and the Devonian peninsula.

Llandyvaelog, Maelog — Duke of Somerset.
Bettws.
Capel Ivan, St. John.
Llangyndeyrn, Cyndeyrn.
Llangynheiddon,[1] Cynheiddon.
Llanllyddgen, Llyddgen.
Llanedi, Edi — The Crown.
Llanelli, Elli — Duke of Somerset.
Capel Dewi in Berwick, David.
Capel Dyddgu in Hengoed, Dyddgu.
Capel Ivan in Glyn, St. John.
Capel y Drindod, Holy Trinity.
"*Chaple of Saynt Gwnlet*", Gwnlet.[2]
Llangennych.[3]
Llangynnor, Cynnor — Bishop of St. David's.
Penbre, Illtyd — Lord Ashburnham.
Llandyry.
Llan Non, Non.
Capel Cynnor ym Mhendryn, Cynnor.
St. Ishmael or **Llanishmael,** Ysvael.
Ferryside, St. Thomas.[4]
Llansaint.[5]

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[1] The old church was known as Capel Llangynheiddon, and it is said that according to tradition the bell now used at Llangain church was taken from Capel Llangynheiddon when the latter became disused. A Calvinistic Methodist chapel now occupies the spot, which is called Banc-y-capel. It is described by a modern writer as being fifteen or twenty minutes' walk from Mynydd Cyvor. This saint is the *Keneython filia Brachan jn y Minid Cheuor jn Kedweli* of the *De situ Brecheniauc (Y Cymmrodor,* xix, 26).

[2] For these chapels of Llanelli see the *Inventories of Church Goods* of 1552, as printed in the Rev. J. T. Evans's *Church Plate of Carmarthenshire,* p. 122; also notes by Alcwyn Evans to the less accurate transcription of the same in Daniel-Tyssen's *Royal Charters,* p. 30; also Browne Willis's *Par. Anglic.,* p. 189.

[3] If this name carries that of the saint, it postulates a Cennych. The annual fair fell on October 23rd, which *season* is associated in numerous calendars with Gwynnog. Browne Willis appears to call this place Llangwynnock, which he ascribes to St. Gwynnock (*Par. Anglic.,* 1733, p. 189).

[4] A modern chapel of ease opened in 1828.

[5] Llansaint is said to be the same as the Hawlkyng Church of the *Church Goods Inventories* of 1552, also spelt Alkenchurch in the

14. Deanery of Llandeilo and Llangadog, *Carmarthenshire.*

	Patrons in 1717.
Abergwili, David	Bishop of St. David's.
Bettws Ystum Gwili.	
Capel Bach.	
Capel Llanddu.	
Henllan.	
Llanllawddog, Llawddog.	
Llanvihangel uwch Gwili, St. Michael.	
Llanpumpsaint, Celynin, Ceitho, Gwyn, Gwynno, Gwynoro.	
Bettws, David	Bishop of St. David's.
Pentre'r Eglwys.	
Brechva, Teilo	Lady Rudd and Mr. Lewis.
Cil y Cwm or **Llanvihangel Cil y Cwm,** St. Michael	Mr. Morgan.
Cynwyl Gaeo, Cynwyl	The Crown.
Aberbranddu.	
Cwrt y Cadno.	
Henllan or *Bryn Eglwys.*	
Llansadwrn, Sadwrn	Mr. Cornwallis.
Llansawel, Sawel.	
Llanwrda, Gwrdav.[1]	
Maes Llanwrthwl, Gwrthwl.	
Pumsaint, Celynin, Ceitho, Gwyn, Gwynno, Gwynoro.	
Llanarthneu, Arthneu[2]	Bishop of St. David's.

Terrier of 1636. All trace of this latter name is now lost (Evans's *Church Plate of Carmarthenshire,* p. 121 and n. 1).

[1] The name Llanwrda postulates Gwrda and not Cwrda. In a charter of Edward I, printed in Daniel-Tyssen's *Royal Charters,* ed. by Alcwyn Evans, Llanwrda appears as Lanurdam (p. 63), which looks like an archaic form of what would now be written Llanwrdav, postulating Gwrdav as the saint's name. In a 1670 calendar Gwrda's day is given as December 5th, which probably means that he is there identified with Cowrda, or Cawrdav, whose festival falls on that day according to some authorities. Lewis, in his *Top. Dic. Wales,* ed. 1833, *s* Llanwrda, states that the annual fair is held on October 5th.

[2] Rice Rees identifies the Llanadneu of Gwynvardd Brycheiniog's poem to St. David with Llanarthneu "as it harmonises admirably

Capel Dewi, David.
Capel Llanlluan, Lluan.[1]

Llanddarog, Darog — Bishop of St. David's.
Capel Bach.
Capel Brynach, Brynach.

Llandeilo Vawr, Teilo — Bishop of St. David's.
Capel Taliaris, Holy Trinity.
Capel yr Ywen.
Carreg Cennen Castle Chapel.
Llandyvaen.[2]

Llandingat for **Llanddingad,** Dingad — Bishop of St. David's.
Capel Newydd.
Capel Peulin, Peulin.
Llangynvab, Cynvab.
Llanvair ar y bryn, St. Mary.
Nant y Bai Chapel.[3]

Llandybie, Tybie. — Bishop of St. David's.
Capel yr Hendre.
Glyn yr Henllan.

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with the preceding word in the original, according to the laws of the metre; and there is no place in the Principality which bears the name of Llanadneu" (*Essay*, p. 51; Anwyl's *Gogynfeirdd*, 82, col. ii line 18 from the bottom).

[1] In view of the fact that a Lluan appears in the three best lists of the daughters of Brychan, there is strong temptation to spell this place-name as Llanlluan, and to ascribe the llan to her as in the case of Capel Gwladus under Gelligaer in Glamorganshire, Gwladus like Lluan being a married daughter. The name, however, is spelt Llanllian in *Church Goods Inventories*, 1552 (Evans's *Church Plate of Carmarthenshire*, p. 123), and Capell Llanlloian, with no dedication, by Browne Willis (*Par. Anglic.*, p. 189). The latter may be a misprint for Capell Llanlleian, as though he would have it to mean "the llan of a nun".

[2] Llandyfaen, Rice Rees; Llanduvaen, Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, s Llandilo Vawr; now called Llandyvan. Marked as extinct or in ruins by Rice Rees, it appears as revived in J. T. Evans's *Church Plate of Carmarthenshire*, p. 45, where it is erroneously ascribed to Dyvan. The place-name postulates a Saint Tyvaen.

[3] In the hamlet of Rhandir Abat, in the parish of Llanvair ar y bryn, there existed in 1833 the chapel of Nant y Bai, "re-erected here instead of at Ystrad Ffin, where the original building stood" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*).

Llandyveisant, Tyvai.
Dinevwr Castle Chapel, David.
Llanegwad, Egwad — **Bishop of St. David's.**
Capel Gwilym Voethus.
Capel Gwynllyw, Gwynllyw.
Dolwyrdd Chapel.
Llandeilo Rwnnws, Teilo.
Llanhirnin or *Llanyhernin.*[1]
Llangadog Vawr, Cadog[2] — **Bishop of St. David's.**
Capel Gwynvai.[3]
Capel Tydyst, formerly *Merthyr Tydystl,* Tydystl.
Llanddeusant.[4]
Llangathen, Cathen — **Bishop of Chester.**
Capel Cadvan (in parish church), Cadvan.
Capel Penarw.
Llanllwni, Llwni — **Bishop of St. David's.**
Capel Maesnonni.
Hen Briordy.
Llanvihangel Rhos y Corn, St. Michael.[5]

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[1] Hirnin is the name of a hamlet in Llanegwad parish. Hence, according to Alcwyn Evans, Llanhirnin means Llan yn Hirnin (Daniel-Tyssen's *Royal Charters,* p. 33, note 2). The site is there stated to be on Twyn farm. There may be repetitions in the above list of chapels.

[2] This *llan* was claimed for St. David by Gwynvardd Brycheiniog (1160-1200) in his poem to that saint (Anwyl's *Gogynfeirdd,* 82, col. ii, line 17 from bottom).

[3] Gwynvai = Gwyn + Mai = Whitefield (Owen's *Pembrokeshire,* I, 177, note 2).

[4] The annual fair was held on the 10th day of October, which marks the festival of an obscure pair of saints. The two saints of Llanddeusant are commonly said to be Simon and Jude, perhaps as being the only pair of red-letter saints in October.

[5] Lewis states that "in this parish [of Llanvihangel Rhos y Corn] is a spring called Ffynnon Capel, near which is an ancient yew tree, from which circumstance, combined with the evidence afforded by its name, it is inferred that there was anciently a chapel at this place" (*Top. Dic. Wales,* ed. 1833). Browne Willis calls the place "Capell Llanfihangel-Rosycarne" (*Par. Anglic.,* ed. 1733, p. 190); hence Ffynnon Capel may refer to Llanvihangel itself, which was formerly a chapel to Llanllwni.

Llanvihangel Aberbythych, St. Michael	Marquis of Winchester.
Llanvihangel Cilvargen, St. Michael	Marquis of Winchester.
Llanvihangel Yeroth, St. Michael	Mr. Angel.
Capel Pencader.[1]	
Llanvynydd, Egwad	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanybyddair	Bishop of St. David's.
Capel Abergorlech.	
Capel Iago, St. James.	
Capel Mair, St. Mary.	
Llanycrwys, David[2]	Mr. Lloyd.
Myddvai or **Llanvihangel y Myddvai,** St. Michael	Bishop of St. David's.
Dolhowel Chapel.[3]	
Pencarreg[4]	Mr. Lewis.
Talley or **Tal y llycheu,** St. Michael	Mr. Cornwallis.
Capel Cain Wyry, Cain.	
Capel Crist, Christ.	
Capel Llanvihangel, St. Michael.	
Capel Mair, St. Mary.	
Capel Teilo, Teilo.	

15. Deanery of Gower, *Glamorganshire.*

	Patrons in 1717.
Bishopston or **Llandeilo Verwallt,** Teilo	Bishop of Llandaff.
Caswell Chapel, Teilo.[5]	
Llangynvwr, Cynvwr.	
Cheriton, Cadog	The Crown.
Ilston or **Llanilltyd,** Illtyd	The Crown.
Llan Non, Non.	
Llanddewi in Gower, David	Bishop of St. David's.
Knelston, St. Maurice	Chapter of St. David's.

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[1] Lewis in 1833 says that this "chapel has been in ruins for upwards of a century, but the cemetery attached to it is still preserved from desecration" (*Top. Dic. Wales, s* Pencader).

[2] See note to Meidrym in Deanery of Carmarthen.

[3] This chapel is referred to but not named in the *Church Goods Inventory* of 1552 (Evans's *Church Plate of Carmarthenshire,* 127).

[4] Padarn, with festival on March 15 (Browne Willis); Patrick, with October 11th as fair day (S. Lewis); Rice Rees is silent.

[5] At Caswell "was formerly a chapel which has long since fallen into ruins" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales,* ed. 1833, *s* Bishopston). In the Index to Gwenogvryn Evans's *Book of Llan Dâv* (409), it is identified with a query with Llandeilo Porth Tulon.

Llandeilo Tal y bont, Teilo	Lord Mansel.
Llangiwg, Ciwg	Mr. Herbert.
Llangynnydd, Cynnydd	All Souls' College, Oxford.
Holmes Island Chapel.[1]	
Llangyvelach, Cyvelach *and later* David	Bishop of St. David's.
Llansamlet, Samlet	Bishop of St. David's.
Morriston.[2]	
St. Mary's Chapel, St. Mary.	
Llanmadok for **Llanvadog,** Madog	The Crown.
Llanrhidian, Tridian and Illtyd[3]	Lord Mansel.
Llanelen, Elen.	
Llanrhidian Chapel *or* Llangwynner, Gwynnwr.	Lord Mansel.
Walterston Chapel.	
Lloughor or **Cas Llychwr,** St. Michael	The Crown.
Groft y Capel.[4]	
Nicholaston, St. Nicholas	Lord Mansel.
Oxwich, Illtyd	Lord Mansel.

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[1] "On Holmes island, which is contiguous to this part of the coast, are the remains of an ancient chapel, formerly belonging to the church [of Llangynnydd]" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales,* ed. 1833).

[2] "This village [Morriston], which is of recent origin, derives its name from its founder and late proprietor, Sir John Morris, who built it for the residence of the persons engaged in the various copper works and collieries in this district" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales,* ed. 1833).

[3] "'St. Rhidian' is not very well authenticated, and the *Annals of Margam* (year 1185) mention a St. Illtud's Well at [*Llanridian* in Gower], which suggests an original dedication of the church to that Saint" (Owen's *Pembrokeshire,* ii, 408.) Samuel Lewis ascribes the church to Illtyd, whose well must be that described by him as the "Holy Well, on Cevn y Bryn mountain, to which, in former times, miraculous efficacy was attributed: it was generally frequented on Sunday evenings during the summer season by numbers of persons, who drank the water, and, according to an ancient custom, threw in a pin as a tribute of their gratitude" (*Top. Dic. Wales,* ed. 1833). With regard to the chapels of Llanrhidian, see Owen's *Pembrokeshire,* ii, 357. See also note to Llandridian, *s* St. Nicholas, in Deanery of Pebidiog (Pembrokeshire).

[4] "At a place called Groft y Capel there was formerly a chapel of ease, which has been for many years suffered to fall into decay" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales,* ed. 1833).

Oystermouth, All Saints	Mr. Herbert.
Penard or **Penarth in Gower**[1]	All Souls' College, Oxford.
Penmaen, St. John Baptist	The Crown.
Penrice for **Penrhys,** St. Andrew[2]	Lord Mansel.
Portheinion, Cadog	The Crown.
Reynoldston,[3] St. George	Lord Mansel.
Rhosili, St. Mary	The Crown.
Capel Cynnydd, Cynnydd.	
Swansea or **Abertawe,** St. Mary	Mr. Herbert.
Swansea, St. John Baptist	Lord Mansel.
Swansea, St. Thomas.	

IV. ARCHDEACONRY OF CARDIGAN.

16. Deanery of Emlyn, *Carmarthenshire.*

	Patrons in 1717.
Cenarth, Llawddog	Bishop of St. David's.
Capel y Castell.	
Newcastle Emlyn, Holy Trinity.[4]	
Llangeler, older **Merthyr Celer,** Celer	The Crown.
Capel Mair, St. Mary.	
Penboyr or **Penbeyr,** Llawddog	Marquis of Winchester.
Capel y Drindod, Holy Trinity.	
Pembrokeshire.	
Cilgerran, Llawddog	The Crown.
Capel Bach (in the Castle).	
Cilrhedin, Teilo	The Crown.
Capel Ivan (*Carmarthenshire*), St. John.	
Clydai, Clydai	Bishop of St. David's.

[1] Messrs. Baring Gould and Fisher suggest that Penard is identical with the *Lann Arthbodu* (*hodie* Llanarthvoddw) of the *Book of Llan Dâv,* 144 (*Lives of British Saints,* i, 170).

[2] Rice Rees has St. Mary, but Browne Willis and Fenton say St. Andrew (Owen's *Pembrokeshire,* ii, 361, note 7).

[3] "Near [Reynoldston] Church is a well dedicated to St. George, and at no great distance from it is another, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and supposed to possess medicinal properties" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales,* ed. 1833).

[4] According to an inscription, dated 1856, on a flagon now belonging to this church, the dedication is Holy Trinity (Evans's *Church Plate of Carmarthenshire,* p. 100).

Llanvihangel Penbedw, St. Michael	The Crown.
Capel Colman, Colman.	
Maenor Deivi, David	The Crown.
{ Bridell, David[1]	Freehold Inhabitants.
{ *Capel Meugan,* Meugan.	
Cilvowir Chapel.	
Penrhydd, Cristiolus	The Crown.
Castellan.	

17. Deanery of Cemes, *Pembrokeshire.*

Bayvil, St. Andrew	The Crown.
Castle Bigh, St. Michael	The Crown.
Dinas, Brynach[2]	The Lords of Cemes, Mr. Lloyd and Mr. Vaughan.
Eglwyswrw, Cristiolus	The Crown.
Capel Erw, Erw.	
Chantry Chapel (in churchyard).	
Pencelli Vechan.	
Henry's Moat or **Castell Henri,** Brynach	Mr. Scourfield.
Capel Brynach, Brynach.	
Little Newcastle or **Cas Newy Bach,** St. Peter[3]	Sir Thomas Stepney.
Martel.[4]	
Llantwyd, Illtyd.	
Llanvyrnach, Brynach.	The Crown.
Chapel in ruins.	

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[1] Browne Willis, in 1733, places Bridell in the Deanery of Cemes, Pembrokeshire (*Par. Anglic.*, p. 192).

[2] Lewis, in 1833, says of the Dinas Church of that day that it "occupies a remarkable situation on the beach, and at spring tides the walls of the churchyard are washed by the sea: but it is probable that this was not the site of the original structure, from a place called *Bryn Hênllan,* 'old church hill' in the vicinity" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales, s* Dinas). Only a single wall of the church by the sea referred to by Lewis remains. It is situated in Cwm yr Eglwys and was destroyed in a great storm about the middle of the nineteenth century. A new parish church has been erected since further inland.

[3] This church seems at one time to have been ascribed to St. David (Owen's *Pembrokeshire,* ii, 378, note 6).

[4] In view of the form *Marthel* for *Marther,* i.e., Merthyr, it is advisable to insert here this place name as possibly indicating an ancient ecclesiastical foundation.

Llanychllwydog, David	Lords of Cemes.
Llanllawer.[1]	
Llanmerchan.	
Llanychâr, David	Mr. Warren.
Meline, Dogvael	Lords of Cemes.
Morvil, St. John Baptist.	The Crown.
Moylgrove or **Trewyddel,** Mynno	The Crown.

[1] On the Six Inch O.S. Map, Pembrokeshire, Sheet x, N.W. (second edition, 1908), within the parish of Llanllawer (for older *Llanllawern*), on the right hand side of the road going east from the parish church, and about three-quarters of a mile from the same, is a spot marked "Standing Stones", these being in the hedge of a field along the road, another field adjoining being called "Parc y Meirw". These stones are known as *y pyst hirion* and are traditionally said to mark the site of a battle, in which the defeated were driven south over some high rocks, known as Craigynestra, into the river Gwaun. Some of the bodies were carried down by the river to Cwm Abergwaun, or Fishguard Bottom. The folk add no explanation of the name Craigynestra, which may be for Craig lanastra. In the *Arch. Camb.* for April 1868, in a paper by Mr. Barnwell, there is a reference to these stones, which are described as "a single line of stones of great size, which Fenton does not mention, although he deliberately pulled to pieces a fine cromlech near it". "Local tradition (says Mr. Barnwell) adds an account of a desperate battle fought on the spot, among the pillar-stones themselves . . . . . The height of the stones is not so striking, as their lower part is embedded in the tall bank of earth that does the duty of an ordinary hedge; but some of them are full sixteen feet long . . . . . There were no traces to be discovered of any second or other lines of stone, so that this seems to have always been a single line; but although single, it must have been a striking object at a time when no enclosures existed, and the present level of the soil lower than it is now." A plate, in which the hedge-bank is omitted, accompanies Mr. Barnwell's article. The mountain, on the slope of which Parc y Meirw is situated, is known from the southern side as *Mynydd Llanllawer*, and from the Dinas side as *Y Garn Vawr*. Under this last name it is mentioned by George Owen (see Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, i, 108, ii, 506, where it is wrongly identified in the notes with Trevasser mountain of the same name in Pencaer). From the Fishguard side the mountain resembles a breast with the *carn* as nipple. The whole, rising a thousand feet above the sea, is very conspicuous from the south and west, the spot where the stones are situated being in full view of Fishguard. From the top may be seen Trevgarn rocks,

Nevern from **Nant Hyver,** Brynach	The Crown.
Capel Cilgwyn, St. Mary.	
Capel Gwenddydd, Gwenddydd.	
Capel Gwenvron, Gwenvron.	
Capel Padrig, Patrick.	
Capel Rhiell, Rhiell.	
Capel Sanffraid, Ffraid.	
Capel St. George, St. George.	
Capel St. Thomas, St. Thomas.	
Newport or **Trevdraeth,** St. Mary[1]	Lords of Cemes.
Capel Cirig, Cirig.	
Capel Dewi, David.	
Capel St. Milburg, St. Milburg.	
Pontvaen, Brynach	The Crown.
Puncheston or **Cas Mâl,** St. Mary	Mr. Warren.
St. Dogmael's or **Llandydoch,** Dogvael	The Crown.
Capel Crannog, Carannog.	
Capel Degwel.	
St. Dogmael's Abbey, St. Mary.	
Monington *or* Eglwys Wythwr, Gwythwr.	
Whitchurch or **Eglwys Wen,** St. Michael	Lords of Cemes.
Llanvair Nantgwyn, St. Mary.	Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Jones and Mr. Howel.
Llanvoygan, Meugan.	

18. Deanery of Sub Aeron, *Cardiganshire.*

	Patrons in 1717.
Aberporth, Cynwyl	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanannerch.	
Bangor, David	Bishop of St. David's.
Heullan, David	Bishop of St. David's.
Bettws Bledrws, Bledrws	Bishop of St. David's.

Ramsey Island, and the country below Haverfordwest. Surrounded by lesser carns such as Carn Sevyll, Carn Blewyn, Carn Madog, etc., its commanding position gains for it the distinctive name of *Y Garn Vawr,* the great carn. This spot meets the conditions demanded in *Historia hen Gruffud vab Kenan vab Yago* for the site of the famous Battle of Mynydd Carn (A.D. 1079).

[1] The great fair of Newport called *Ffair Girig,* Cirig's Fair, is now held on June 27th, *i.e.,* eleven days after Cirig's day, June 16th. This fair suggests that St. Mary has supplanted Cirig in the "dedication" of the parish church.

Blaenporth, David	Bishop of St. David's.
Cardigan or **Aberteivi,** St. Mary	The Crown.
Tremaen, St. Michael	Bishop of St. David's.
Cellan, Callwen	Bishop of St. David's.
Dihewyd or **Llanwyddalus,** Gwyddalus[1]	Bishop of St. David's.
Henvynyw, David	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanddewi Aberarth, David[2]	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanarth, Meilig and David[3]	Bishop of St. David's.
Capel Crist, Holy Cross.	
Llanina, Ina.	
Llanbedr Pont Stephen or **Lampeter,** St. Peter	Precentor of St. David's.
Capel Ffynnon Vair, St. Mary.	
St. Thomas's Chapel, St. Thomas.[4]	
The Priory.[5]	
Llandygwy, Tygwy	Bishop of St. David's.
Chapel at Noyadd, i.e., *Neuadd.*[6]	
Chapel near Cenarth Bridge.[6]	

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[1] Gwyddalus is commonly identified with St. Vitalis, and in the *Report on MSS. in Welsh,* i, 916, col. ii, this parish appears as Llan Vitalis, but if of early foundation Vitalis should have become *Gwidol,* and the church name *Llanwidol.*

[2] Placed in the Deanery of Ultra Aeron in Browne Willis's *Par. Anglic.,* ed. 1733, p. 195. A private chapel known as Capel Alban was erected here in 1809.

[3] For David see the enumeration of David's churches about the close of the twelfth century by the poet Gwynvardd Brycheiniog (Anwyl's *Gogynfeirdd,* 82); for Meilig see Mr. Edward Owen's *Catalogue of MSS. relating to Wales in British Museum,* ii, 504.

[4] "a plot of ground, to the south-west of the town, being still called Mynwent Twmas, 'St. Thomas's Churchyard', where fragments of leaden coffins have been frequently dug up: the street leading towards it is also called St. Thomas's Street, and tradition reports the ruins of the edifice to have been visible about two hundred years ago" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales,* ed. 1833, *s* Lampeter).

[5] "A house in the town, called the Priory, is supposed to occupy the site of a conventual establishment, of which no record has been preserved: there are some low ruined walls in the garden belonging to it" (*Ibid*).

[6] "There were formerly two chapels of ease, one at Noyadd, of which some vestiges may still be traced in a field called Parc y Capel,

Llandysilio Gogo, Tysilio	Bishop of St. David's.
Capel Cynon, Cynon.	
Llandysul, Tysul[1]	Annexed to the Principalship of Jesus College, Oxford.
Capel Borthin.	
Capel Dewi, David.	
Capel Ffraid, Ffraid.	
Llandysulved.	
Llanvair, St. Mary.	
Vaerdre.	
Llandyvriog, Briog	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanvair Trev Helygen,[2] St. Mary	Bishop of St. David's.
Llangoedmor, Cynllo	The Crown.
Llechryd, Holy Cross	Prebend of Llechryd.
Mount, Holy Cross[3]	
Llangrannog, Carannog	Bishop of St. David's.
Llangybi, Cybi	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanllwchaearn, Llwchaearn	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanvair y Clywedogau, St. Mary	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanvair Orllwyn, St. Mary	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanwennog, Gwennog[4]	Bishop of St. David's.
Capel Bryneglwys.	
Capel Santesau.	
Capel Whŷl.	
Llanvechan.	
Penbryn or **Llanvihangel Penbryn,** St. Michael	Bishop of St. David's.
Bettws Ivan, St. John.	

and the other near Cenarth bridge, which has totally disappeared, the site having been levelled in the formation of the turnpike road" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales,* ed 1833).

[1] Llandysul "is divided into seven hamlets . . . . . in each of which, with the exception only of that in which the parish church is situated, was formerly a chapel of ease, all of which have fallen to ruins" (Lewis's *Top Dic. Wales,* ed. 1833).

[2] "The church, dedicated to St. Mary, having been suffered to fall into decay for want of due repair, is now in ruins" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales,* ed. 1833, s Llanvair Trev Helygen).

[3] Mount is called "Y Grog o'r Mwnt" in *Report,* i, 916. col. ii.

[4] "There were formerly four chapels of ease to the mother church of [Llanwennog], of which there is not one now in existence" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales,* ed. 1833).

Bryngwyn.	
Capel Gwnda, Gwyndav.	
Silian or **Llansilian,** Silian.	
Llanwnnen, Gwynen	Bishop of St. David's.
Trevdreyr,[1] St Michael	The Crown.
Capel Twr Gwyn.	
Verwick, Pedrog	The Crown.

19. Deanery of Ultra Aeron, *Cardiganshire.*

	Patrons in 1717.
Caron or **Tregaron,** Caron	Bishop of St. David's.
Ystrad Fflur *or* Strata Florida, St. Mary	Bishop of St. David's.
Ciliau Aeron, St. Michael	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanavan, Avan.	
Llanwnnws, Gwynws.	
Ysbytty Ystrad Meurig, St. John Baptist.	
Ysbytty Ystwyth, St. John Baptist.	
Llanbadarn Odyn, Padarn	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanbadarn Treveglwys, Padarn	Bishop of St. David's.
Cilcennin, Holy Trinity	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanbadarn Vawr, Padarn	Bishop of St. David's.
Aberystwyth, St. Michael.	
Llangowrda, Cawrdav.	
Llangorwen.	
Llanychaearn,[2] Llwchaearn	Bishop of St. David's.
Ysbytty Cynvyn, St. John Baptist.	
Llanddeiniol or **Carrog,** Deiniol	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanddewi Brevi, David	Bishop of St. David's.
Blaenpennal, David.	
Capel Bettws Leuci, Lleuci.	
Capel Gartheli, Gartheli.	
Capel Gwenvyl, Gwenvyl.	
Llanio.	

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[1] Troed yr Aur is the popular abomination by which this place is now known.

[2] Llanychaearn appears as ll. llwch hayarn, *i.e.*, Llanllwchaearn in the *Peniarth MS.*, 147, of about the year 1566 (*Report*, i, 916, col. i). Browne Willis, in 1733, places it in the Deanery of Sub Aeron (*Par. Anglic.*, p. 194).

Llangeitho,[1] Ceitho	The Freehold Inhabitants.[2]
Llangynvelyn, Cynvelyn	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanilar, Ilar *Llanddwy,* God.	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanrhystud, Rhystud *Capel Cynddylig,* Cynddylig.	Bishop of St. David's.
Llansanffraid, Ffraid or Bridget *Llan Non,* Non.	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanvihangel Genau'r Glyn, St. Michael Llanvihangel Capel Edwin, St. Michael. *Ynys y Capel.*[3]	Bishop of St. David's.

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[1] This place name is spelt Llangeithion and Llangeithon in *Report on MSS. in Welsh,* I, 916, col. i, and note 9.

[2] It will come as a surprise to many readers to learn that the patronage of Llangeitho, the famous storm centre of the Welsh religious movement in the eighteenth century, was at this time in the hands of the Freehold Inhabitants of the parish. In view of the controlling power, which the right of church patronage places in the hands of those who wield it, even when exercised on a comparatively small scale, it cannot but be that this fact bears largely on the much discussed question of the position of the celebrated religious leader, Daniel Rowlands, with regard to the church at Llangeitho. It seems that when Daniel was ordained in 1733 he became curate to his brother John, who at that time held the two benefices of Llangeitho and Nantgwnlle. When John died in 1760, we find that Daniel's connection with Llangeitho was by no means severed, for the new incumbent was none other than Daniel's son, who very accommodatingly went away in 1764 to serve as curate in Shrewsbury, and remained away till 1781, leaving his father in occupation of Llangeitho Vicarage, where he died in 1790. The late Archdeacon Bevan, whose account is here followed, goes on to say that "the bishop would hardly have promoted the son if he wished to get rid of the father". But whether the bishop wished or did not wish to get rid of Daniel Rowlands does not appear from the new appointment to Llangeitho, for the presentation apparently was not in the bishop's hands, but in those of the Freehold Inhabitants of the parish. It is clear that they, at least, did not wish to drive him away. What the parishioners of Nantgwnlle thought of Daniel Rowlands is not to be found in the new appointment at that parish, for the presentation

Llanvihangel Lledrod, St. Michael	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanvihangel Ystrad, St. Michael	Bishop of St. David's.
Capel Sant Silin, Silin.	
Llanllyr, Llyr.	
Llanygwryddon[4]	Bishop of St. David's.
Nantgwnlle, Gwynlleu	Bishop of St. David's.
Rhosdie or **Llanvihangel Rhosdie,** St. Michael	Bishop of St. David's.
Trevilan,[5] Cyngar	Bishop of St. David's.

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there lay not with them, but with the bishop, and he did *not* appoint Daniel Rowlands's son (Bevan's *Diocesan History of St. David's,* pp. 218-9).

[3] "The Welsh tradition made St. Bride land in the estuary of the Dovey, perhaps at the place called Ynys-y-capel, near Tal-y-bont" (Mr. Phillimore in *Gossiping Guide to Wales,* 213).

[4] This spelling is taken from the Peniarth MS. 147 of about 1566 (*Report,* I, 916, col. i.). It is said to signify *the Church of the Virgins* with reference to St. Ursula and her companions, but one would like to know the evidence.

[5] "In the southern part of [Trevilan] parish is the small village of Tâlsarn. . . . . Fairs are held at this village on September 8th and November 7th" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales,* ed. 1833). Trevilan is represented in the *Peniarth MS.,* 147, (*cir.* 1566), by "tal y sarn grin" (*Report,* i, 916, col. i), which is referred to by Leland as a village hard by Llanllyr "caullid Talesarne Greene" (*Itin. in Wales,* ed. 1906, p. 51). The days of the fairs are those of Cynvarch and Cyngar respectively, who have proved very liable to confusion, as in the noted case of the "dedication" of Hope in Flintshire. Sept. 8th, is also the day of the Virgin's birth, but whether in honour of this event or of Cynvarch, the saint of Talysarn would seem to be Cyngar ab Garthog ab Ceredig ab Cunedda Wledig (*Myv. Arch.,* ii, 23), whose son Gwynlleu is remembered in the adjoining parish of Nantgwnlle.

Diocese of Llandaff.

In 1733 this diocese comprised:—

1. Glamorganshire, over three-fourths of,
2. Monmouthshire (except *Dixton, Welsh Bicknor, St. Mary's Monmouth,* and part of *Welsh Newton,* in Hereford diocese; and *Cwm Yoy, Oldcastle,* and *Llanthony,* in St. David's diocese).

At that time there was only one Archdeaconry, viz., the Archdeaconry of Llandaff, containing the following Rural Deaneries:—

1. Llandaff 2. Groneath, *alias* Cowbridge	Glamorganshire.
3. Abergavenny 4. Newport 5. Netherwent 6. Usk	Monmouthshire.

The members of the Cathedral were:—

Bishop, also said to be styled Quasi Decanus, and holding, in addition to the Episcopal throne, the Decanal Stall in the Choir.
Archdeacon.
Treasurer.
Chancellor.
Precentor.
Nine Prebendaries.

The above fourteen constituted the Chapter.

Two Priest-Vicars.
Schoolmaster.
Virger.
Bellringer.

"Here were, 'till about the Year 1696, four Lay-Vicars, an Organist, four Choristers, and a Chief or *Latin* Schoolmaster: But these being then put down, or laid aside, on pretext of applying their Stipends towards repairing the Fabrick of the Cathedral, their Salaries or Dividends have been, as 'tis commonly reported in these Parts, ever since shared and applied to augment the Income of the abovesaid fourteen Members of the Chapter, notwithstanding they have never resided, and have neglected repairing the Cathedral."

ARCHDEACONRY OF LLANDAFF.

1. Deanery of Llandaff, *Glamorganshire.*

	Patrons in 1719 A.D.
Barry, St. Nicholas	Evan Seys, Esq.
Barry Island,[1] Barrwg.	
Bonvilston, St. Mary	Miles Basset, Esq.
Cadoxton juxta Barry, Cadog	Mr. Popham and Mr. Morgan by turns.
Caerau, St. Mary	Prebendary of Caerau.
Cardiff or **Caerdydd,** St. Mary.[2]	
Cardiff, St. John Baptist	Chapter of Gloucester.
Cardiff, Perin.	
Cardiff, St. Thomas.	
Cogan, St. Peter	Mr. Herbert.
Eglwys Ilan, Ilan	Chapter of Llandaff.
Llanvabon, Mabon.	
Caerffili, St. Martin.	
Gelligaer for **Y gelli gaer,** Cadog[3]	Lord Windsor.

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[1] "On the western side of [Barry] island, opposite to the ruins of Barry castle, are faint vestiges of a similar structure, and of two ancient chapels, in one of which [Barrwg] was interred." (Lewis' *Top. Dic. Wales,* ed. 1833.)

[2] Browne Willis in 1733 describes St. Mary's as *ecclesia destructa* united to St. John's (*Parochiale Anglicanum,* 198). "Ther be 2. paroche chirchis in the towne, wherof the principale lying sumwhat by est is one, the other of our Lady is by southe on the water side. There is a chapelle beside in Shoe-Maker streat of S. Perine, and a nother hard within Meskin Gate side [to the north west]." Leland's *Itin. in Wales,* ed. 1906, pp. 34-5. St. Mary's, however, was the old parish church of Cardiff, "ecclesia beate Marie de kerdyf" (Appendix I to *Bk. of Llan Dâv,* 319).

[3] The following incident deserves mention as a warning to all who are tempted to dabble with the subject of place-names. It appears that two or three years ago at a meeting of the newly constituted Urban District Council of Gelligaer a resolution was carried "committing the Council in its official and corporate capacity to the spelling of the place-name in the form 'Gell-y-gaer'. It was alleged that this latter form was historically the correct orthography—the root-words being Cell (a cell), y (the), and Gaer (a fort)."! A poet was called in "charged with the task of embodying the 'Cell' idea in an alliterative line with the object of supplying the Council with a motto for its new seal, and perpetuating for all time the all-important dis-

Llanvihangel Penbedw, St. Michael	The Crown.
Capel Colman, Colman.	
Maenor Deivi, David	The Crown.
{ Bridell, David[1]	Freehold Inhabitants.
{ *Capel Meugan,* Meugan.	
Cilvowir Chapel.	
Penrhydd, Cristiolus	The Crown.
Castellan.	

17. Deanery of Cemes, *Pembrokeshire.*

Bayvil, St. Andrew	The Crown.
Castle Bigh, St. Michael	The Crown.
Dinas, Brynach[2]	The Lords of Cemes, Mr. Lloyd and Mr. Vaughan.
Eglwyswrw, Cristiolus	The Crown.
Capel Erw, Erw.	
Chantry Chapel (in churchyard).	
Pencelli Vechan.	
Henry's Moat or **Castell Henri,** Brynach	Mr. Scourfield.
Capel Brynach, Brynach.	
Little Newcastle or **Cas Newy Bach,** St. Peter[3]	Sir Thomas Stepney.
Martel.[4]	
Llantwyd, Illtyd.	
Llanvyrnach, Brynach.	The Crown.
Chapel in ruins.	

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[1] Browne Willis, in 1733, places Bridell in the Deanery of Cemes, Pembrokeshire (*Par. Anglic.*, p. 192).

[2] Lewis, in 1833, says of the Dinas Church of that day that it "occupies a remarkable situation on the beach, and at spring tides the walls of the churchyard are washed by the sea: but it is probable that this was not the site of the original structure, from a place called *Bryn Hênllan*, 'old church hill' in the vicinity" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, *s* Dinas). Only a single wall of the church by the sea referred to by Lewis remains. It is situated in Cwm yr Eglwys and was destroyed in a great storm about the middle of the nineteenth century. A new parish church has been erected since further inland.

[3] This church seems at one time to have been ascribed to St. David (Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, ii, 378, note 6).

[4] In view of the form *Marthel* for *Marther*, i.e., Merthyr, it is advisable to insert here this place name as possibly indicating an ancient ecclesiastical foundation.

Llanychllwydog, David	Lords of Cemes.
Llanllawer.[1]	
Llanmerchan.	
Llanychâr, David	Mr. Warren.
Meline, Dogvael	Lords of Cemes.
Morvil, St. John Baptist.	The Crown.
Moylgrove or **Trewyddel,** Mynno	The Crown.

[1] On the Six Inch O.S. Map, Pembrokeshire, Sheet x, N.W. (second edition, 1908), within the parish of Llanllawer (for older *Llanllawern*), on the right hand side of the road going east from the parish church, and about three-quarters of a mile from the same, is a spot marked "Standing Stones", these being in the hedge of a field along the road, another field adjoining being called "Parc y Meirw". These stones are known as *y pyst hirion* and are traditionally said to mark the site of a battle, in which the defeated were driven south over some high rocks, known as Craigynestra, into the river Gwaun. Some of the bodies were carried down by the river to Cwm Abergwaun, or Fishguard Bottom. The folk add no explanation of the name Craigynestra, which may be for Craig lanastra. In the *Arch. Camb.* for April 1868, in a paper by Mr. Barnwell, there is a reference to these stones, which are described as "a single line of stones of great size, which Fenton does not mention, although he deliberately pulled to pieces a fine cromlech near it". "Local tradition (says Mr. Barnwell) adds an account of a desperate battle fought on the spot, among the pillar-stones themselves . . . . . The height of the stones is not so striking, as their lower part is embedded in the tall bank of earth that does the duty of an ordinary hedge; but some of them are full sixteen feet long . . . . . There were no traces to be discovered of any second or other lines of stone, so that this seems to have always been a single line; but although single, it must have been a striking object at a time when no enclosures existed, and the present level of the soil lower than it is now." A plate, in which the hedge-bank is omitted, accompanies Mr. Barnwell's article. The mountain, on the slope of which Parc y Meirw is situated, is known from the southern side as *Mynydd Llanllawer*, and from the Dinas side as *Y Garn Vawr*. Under this last name it is mentioned by George Owen (see Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, i, 108, ii, 506, where it is wrongly identified in the notes with Trevasser mountain of the same name in Pencaer). From the Fishguard side the mountain resembles a breast with the *carn* as nipple. The whole, rising a thousand feet above the sea, is very conspicuous from the south and west, the spot where the stones are situated being in full view of Fishguard. From the top may be seen Trevgarn rocks,

Nevern from **Nant Hyver,** Brynach	The Crown.
Capel Cilgwyn, St. Mary.	
Capel Gwenddydd, Gwenddydd.	
Capel Gwenvron, Gwenvron.	
Capel Padrig, Patrick.	
Capel Rhiell, Rhiell.	
Capel Sanffraid, Ffraid.	
Capel St. George, St. George.	
Capel St. Thomas, St. Thomas.	
Newport or **Trevdraeth,** St. Mary[1]	Lords of Cemes.
Capel Cirig, Cirig.	
Capel Dewi, David.	
Capel St. Milburg, St. Milburg.	
Pontvaen, Brynach	The Crown.
Puncheston or **Cas Mâl,** St. Mary	Mr. Warren.
St. Dogmael's or **Llandydoch,** Dogvael	The Crown.
Capel Crannoy, Carannog.	
Capel Degwel.	
St. Dogmael's Abbey, St. Mary.	
Monington *or* Eglwys Wythwr, Gwythwr.	
Whitchurch or **Eglwys Wen,** St. Michael	Lords of Cemes.
Llanvair Nantgwyn, St. Mary.	Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Jones and Mr. Howel.
Llanvoygan, Meugan.	

18. Deanery of Sub Aeron, *Cardiganshire.*

	Patrons in 1717.
Aberporth, Cynwyl	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanannerch.	
Bangor, David	Bishop of St. David's.
Henllan, David	Bishop of St. David's.
Bettws Bledrws, Bledrws	Bishop of St. David's.

Ramsey Island, and the country below Haverfordwest. Surrounded by lesser carns such as Carn Sevyll, Carn Blewyn, Carn Madog, etc., its commanding position gains for it the distinctive name of *Y Garn Vawr,* the great carn. This spot meets the conditions demanded in *Historia hen Gruffud vab Kenan vab Yago* for the site of the famous Battle of Mynydd Carn (A.D. 1079).

[1] The great fair of Newport called *Ffair Girig,* Cirig's Fair, is now held on June 27th, *i.e.,* eleven days after Cirig's day, June 16th. This fair suggests that St. Mary has supplanted Cirig in the "dedication" of the parish church.

Blaenporth, David	Bishop of St. David's.
Cardigan or **Aberteivi,** St. Mary	The Crown.
Tremaen, St. Michael	Bishop of St. David's.
Cellan, Callwen	Bishop of St. David's.
Dihewyd or **Llanwyddalus,** Gwyddalus[1]	Bishop of St. David's.
Henvynyw, David	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanddewi Aberarth, David[2]	Bishop of St. David's.
Llanarth, Meilig and David[3]	Bishop of St. David's.
Capel Crist, Holy Cross.	
Llanina, Ina.	
Llanbedr Pont Stephen or **Lampeter,** St. Peter	Precentor of St. David's.
Capel Ffynnon Vair, St. Mary.	
St. Thomas's Chapel, St. Thomas.[4]	
The Priory.[5]	
Llandygwy, Tygwy	Bishop of St. David's.
Chapel at Noyadd, i.e., *Neuadd.*[6]	
Chapel near Cenarth Bridge.[6]	

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[1] Gwyddalus is commonly identified with St. Vitalis, and in the *Report on MSS. in Welsh,* i, 916, col. ii, this parish appears as Llan Vitalis, but if of early foundation Vitalis should have become *Gwidol,* and the church name *Llanwidol.*

[2] Placed in the Deanery of Ultra Aeron in Browne Willis's *Par. Anglic.,* ed. 1733, p. 195. A private chapel known as Capel Alban was erected here in 1809.

[3] For David see the enumeration of David's churches about the close of the twelfth century by the poet Gwynvardd Brycheiniog (Anwyl's *Gogynfeirdd,* 82); for Meilig see Mr. Edward Owen's *Catalogue of MSS. relating to Wales in British Museum,* ii, 504.

[4] "a plot of ground, to the south-west of the town, being still called Mynwent Twmas, 'St. Thomas's Churchyard', where fragments of leaden coffins have been frequently dug up: the street leading towards it is also called St. Thomas's Street, and tradition reports the ruins of the edifice to have been visible about two hundred years ago" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales,* ed. 1833, *s* Lampeter).

[5] "A house in the town, called the Priory, is supposed to occupy the site of a conventual establishment, of which no record has been preserved: there are some low ruined walls in the garden belonging to it" (*Ibid*).

[6] "There were formerly two chapels of ease, one at Noyadd, of which some vestiges may still be traced in a field called Parc y Capel,

Lantwit juxta Neath or **Llanilltyd Vach,** Illtyd.	
Capel Ynys Vach.[1]	
Neath *or* Castell Nedd, St. Thomas.	Lord Windsor.
Resolven.	
Lantwit Major or **Llanilltyd Vawr,** Illtyd	Chapter of Gloucester.
Lady Chapel, St. Mary.	
Llanbleddian, Bleddian	Chapter of Gloucester.
Cowbridge, St. Mary.[2]	
Llanddunwyd *or* Welsh St. Donat's,[3] Dunwyd.	
Llangwyan, Cwyan.[4]	
Llandough[5] (near Cowbridge), Cyngar	Lord Mansel.
Llandow,[6] God	Chapter of Llandaff.
Llandyvodwg, Tyvodwg	Mr. Turbervill.
Llangan, Canna	Sir Edward Stradling and Mr. Edwin.
Llangeinor for **Llan Gain Wyry,** Cain the Virgin	Lord Mansel.
Llangynwyd Vawr, Cynwyd	Lord Mansel.
Bayden Chapel.[7]	

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[1] "There was formerly a chapel in [Lantwit juxta Neath] parish, called Ynys Vâch, but it was never consecrated and was suffered many years ago to fall into decay," (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales,* ed. 1833). Browne Willis, in 1773, places Lantwit as a chapelry under Neath (*Par Anglic.,* p. 201).

[2] Browne Willis ascribes Cowbridge Chapel to St. John Baptist (*Par. Anglic.,* ed. 1733, p. 200).

[3] Welsh St. Donat's is placed under Deanery of Llandaff by Browne Willis (*ibid*).

[4] "Landcouian" "Lancovyan" "Llancovian" are earlier spellings, now locally pronounced Llancwian (Rev. John Griffith's *Edward II in Glamorgan,* p. xliv).

[5] See note to Llandough (near Cardiff) under Deanery of Llandaff.

[6] Lewis *s* Llandow says that this place is called by the Welsh Llandwv, which is the ll. dwf of the Peniarth MS. 147 (*Report,* I, 919, col. ii). It appears as Llandov in the *Taxatio* of 1291, *i.e.,* Llandou for later Llanddwy, *ecclesia Dei.*

[7] "In the hamlet of Bayden there was formerly a chapel of ease, which is now in ruins" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales,* ed. 1833).

Llanilud, Ilud[1]	The Crown.
Llanharan.	
Llanmaes, Cadog	Lord Mansel.
Llanvihangel y Bontvaen, St. Michael	Mr. Edwin.
Llanvrynach, Brynach.	
Penllin, Brynach	Mr. Edwin.
Llysworney, Tydvil	Mr. Lewis.
Little Nash Chapel.	
Marcross, Holy Trinity	Chapter of Llandaff.
Margam, St. Mary	Lord Mansel.
Craig y Capel.	
Eglwys Nunyd, Nunyd.	
Havod y Porth.	
Taibach (modern 1827).	
Trisant.	
Merthyr Mawr	Archdeacon of Llandaff.
Capel St. Roque.	
Monknash, St. Mary	Sir Edward Stradling.
Newcastle or **Castell Newydd ar Ogwr,** Illtyd	The Crown.
Bettws, David.	
Laleston.	
Llangewydd, Cewydd.[2]	
Tithegston *or* Llandyddwg, Tyddwg.	
Newton Nottage, St. John Baptist	Mr. Herbert, Mrs. Llougher and Mrs. Edwards, by turns.
St. Andrew's Minor, St. Andrew[3]	John Curre, Esq.
St. Bride's Major, Ffraid	Mr. Turberville.
Lampha, Tyvai.	
Ogmor Chapel.	
Wick, St. James.	
St. Bride's Minor, Ffraid	Earl of Leicester.
St. Donat's, Dunwyd	Sir Edward Stradling.

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[1] This place is referred to in the Peniarth MS. 147 of *circa* 1566 as *ll. ilid a chirig,* and in the Appendix I to the *Bk. of Llan Dâv* (p. 325), as *ecclesia de Sancta Julitta.* Ilud, of course, was a daughter of Brychan.

[2] "Ecclesia que fuit in veteri Cimiterio de Langewy" (*Book of Llan Dâv,* App. i., 325).

[3] Described by Browne Willis as a "Ch. dilapidated" (*Par. Angl.,* p. 200, ed. 1733).

St. Marychurch or **Eglwys Vair,** St. Mary	Lord Mansel.
Castle Chapel.	
St. Maryhill or **Eglwys Vair y Mynydd,** St. Mary	Sir John Awbrey.
St. Tathan's, Tathan *alias* Meuthi	Sir Edward Stradling.

3. Deanery of Abergavenny, *Monmouthshire.*[1]

	Patrons in 1717.
Abergavenny or **y Venni,** St. John.[2]	
Abergavenny, St Mary	Mrs. Gunter.
Abergavenny, Holy Rood.[3]	
Abergavenny Chapel, St. John Baptist.[4]	
Coldbrook Chapel.[5]	
Bryngwyn, St. Peter	Lord Abergavenny.
Dingatstow or **Llanddingad,** Dingad	Chapter of Llandaff.
Tre'r gaer, St. Mary.	
Grosmont, St. Nicholas[6]	The Crown.
Goytre for **y Goed-dre,** St. Peter	Lord Abergavenny.
Llanarth, Teilo	Chapter of Llandaff.
Bettws Newydd *formerly* Bettws Aeddan.[7]	
Clytha Chapel *formerly* Capel Aeddan.[7]	

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[1] I am indebted to Colonel J. A. Bradney for kindly looking over the list I had prepared of Monmouthshire churches and chapels, and especially for some modern Welsh equivalents of place-names with which he has supplied me.

[2] The ancient parish church of St. John "was settled by Henry VIII on a grammar school which was held in the building till about 1900 when the new school was built. It is now the property of the Freemasons, who conduct their ceremonies in the ancient church".—J.A.B. St. Mary's became the parish church at the dissolution of the monasteries.

[3] "p. y Grog o Venni" (*Report on MSS. in Welsh,* i, 920, col. iii).

[4] "This has been disused time out of mind. A huge barn at the house called *The Chapel* is all that marks the site."—J.A.B.

[5] "Now a grotto and at one time a bathing place."—J.A.B.

[6] Browne Willis, however, says St. Lawrence (*Par. Anglic.,* 202).

[7] "Clytha chapel, now a heap of stones with remains of arch stones of door; called Capel Aeddan from Aeddan or Aythan who took the

Llanddewi Ysgyryd, David	Lord Brook.
Llanddewi Rhydderch, David	The Crown.
St. Michael's Chapel, St. Michael.	
Llandeilo Bertholey or **Llandeilo Porth Halog,** Teilo	Chapter of Llandaff.
Bettws.	
Llandeilo Groes Ynyr or **Llandeilo Cresenni,** Teilo	Chapter of Llandaff.
Llanvair Cilgoed,[1] St. Mary.	
Penrhos *or* Llangadog Penrhos, Cadog.	
Llanelen, Elen	Mrs. Gunter.
Llanffoist	Lord Abergavenny.
Llangadog Dyffryn Wysg, Cadog	Lord Abergavenny.
Llangadog Lingoed or **Llangadog Lenig,**[2] Cadog	The Crown.
Llangadog Veibion Avel, Cadog	Mr. Evans.
St. Maughan's *or* Llanvocha, Machutus.	
Llangiwa, Ciwan	Mr. Scudamore.
Llanhyledd, Hyledd[3]	Lord Abergavenny.
Llanover, Movor	Chapter of Llandaff.
Capel Newydd.	
Mamhilad.	
Trevethin, Cadog.[4]	
Llansanffraid[5] (near Abergavenny), Ffraid	William Jones, Esq.
Llanvair Gilgydyn, St. Mary	Mr. Morgan.
Llanvapley, Mable	Lord Abergavenny.
Llanvetherin, Gwytherin	Lord Abergavenny.

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cross from Archbishop Baldwin in 1177. Aeddan also founded Bettws, called Bettws Aeddan, now Bettws Newydd, and Bryngwyn."—J.A.B. Bettws Newydd is placed by Browne Willis in Usk Deanery (*Par. Anglic.*, 206) "Near [Clitha House] are the remains of an ancient chapel" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. England,* ed. 1844).

[1] "The walls of the old chapel are still standing."—J.A.B.

[2] "In Welsh Llangadog Gellennig, apparently from three tenements called Gelli."—J.A.B.

[3] "ll. hyledd vorwyn" *i.e.* Llan Hyledd the Virgin, in *Report on MSS. in Welsh,* i, 920, col. ii.

[4] "in this Chapelry stands Pontypool" Browne Willis (*Par. Anglic.*, 203), who however writes "Pont-y-Pwll".

[5] Browne Willis calls this St. Bride's Major (*Par. Anglic.*, 202).

Llanvihangel Crug Corneu, St. Michael *Staunton.*	The Crown.
Llanvihangel Dyffryn Wysg or **Llanvihangel y Govain,** St. Michael	Mr. Cecill and Mr. Hughes.
Llanvihangel Ystum Llywern, St. Michael	Lord Abergavenny.
Llanwenarth, Gwenarth Aberystrwyth *or* Blaenau Gwent, St. Peter.	Lord Abergavenny.
Rockfield, Goronwy	Mr. Powell.
Skenfreth or **Ynys Gynwraidd,** Cynwraidd	Mr. Cecil.
St. Thomas' Chapel, Monmouth. See under Monmouth, Diocese of Hereford.	
Wonastow or **Llanwarrw,** Gwennolé	Mr. Milbourne.

4. Deanery of Newport, *Monmouthshire.*

	Patrons in 1717.
Basaleg[1] Henllys, St. Peter. Risca, St. Peter.	Bishop of Llandaff.
Bedwas, Barrwg[2] Rhydri (*Glamorganshire*), St. James.[3]	Bishop of Llandaff.
Bedwellty for **Bod Vellteu,** Sannan *Mamhole,* Macmoil.[4]	Bishop of Llandaff.
Coedcerniw, All Saints	Bishop of Llandaff.
Llansanffraid (in Gwynllwg), Ffraid	Bishop of Llandaff.
Machen, St. Michael	Mr. Morgan.
Malpas, St. Mary	Lord Windsor.
Marshfield or **Maerun** *Llanarthen,* Arthen.	Chapter of Bristol.
Michaelston Vedw or **Llanvihangel Gwynllwg,** St. Michael	Sir Charles Kemmeys.

[1] Dr. Hugh Williams, of Bala, regards Basaleg as being from the Latin *basilica* in its ecclesiastical sense of a church. It is used by the anonymous author of the *Excidium Brittaniæ,* ch. 12 (Williams' *Gildas,* 28-9).

[2] Near Bedwas Church is Ffynnon Varrwg.

[3] In the Deanery of Llandaff.

[4] "At the farm now called Ty'r Capel."—J.A.B.

Mynyddislwyn, Tewdwr ab Howel	Bishop of Llandaff.
Newport or **Cas Newydd,** Gwynllyw Bettws, David.	Bishop of Gloucester.
Peterston Wentloog or **Llanbedr Gwynllwg,** St. Peter	Chapter of Bristol.
Rumney or **Tredelerch,**[1] St. Augustine	Chapter of Bristol.
St. Melon's,[2] Melanus	Bishop of Llandaff.

5. Deanery of Netherwent or Chepstow, *Monmouthshire.*

	Patrons in 1717.
Caerlleon, Cadog	Chapter of Llandaff.
Caerwent, Tathan *or* Meuthi[3] *Dewstow,* David.	Chapter of Llandaff.
Caldicot[4]	Sir Charles Kemmeys.
Chapel Hill or **Abbey Tintern,** St. Mary[5]	Duke of Beaufort.
Christ Church or **Eglwys y Drindod,** Holy Trinity *Christ Church,* Aaron. *Christ Church,* Alban.[6] *Christ Church,* Julius.	Eton College.

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[1] Leland's *Itinerary in Wales* (ed. 1906), p. 13.

[2] The Welsh name for St. Melon's as spelt in the Peniarth MS. 147, of about the year 1566 is "ll. lirwg". It is now called in Welsh Llaneirwg, or as spelt by Colonel Bradney Llaneurwg, Can it be, therefore, that the "ll. lirwg" of the *Report on MSS. in Welsh,* i, 920, col. i, is a mistake for ll. eirwg, i.e. Llaneirwg ?

[3] Ascribed later to St. Stephen, whose day is the same as that of Tathan, viz., Dec. 26.

[4] In Owen's *Pembrokeshire,* iii, 294, n. 1, the *Sant Ilien* of the *Book of Llan Dâv,* p. 234, is said to have been near Caldicot. Lewis writes, "The church, dedicated to St. Mary [Browne Willis is silent. *Par. Anglic.,* 203] . . . . . consists of a nave, chancel, and north aisle, with a square tower rising between the chancel and nave, and a very large south porch, supposed to have been a chapel" (*Top. Dic., England,* ed. 1844).

[5] Browne Willis in his *Par., Anglic.,* ed. 1733, p. 205, writes as follows:—"Tinterne *Abbatia* St. *Mary.* Here are the Ruins of one of the most stately Abbies in the Kingdom; it belongs to the Duke of *Beaufort,* and is included in a little Parish called *Chapelfield,* into which the Duke of *Beaufort* puts in a Minister".

[6] "Caerleon is equally pre-eminent in the annals of the church: here St. Julius and St. Aaron are said to have suffered martyrdom,

Goldcliff, St. Mary Magdalene — Eton College.
Nash *or* Tre'r Onnen, St. Mary.
Ifton.[1]

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and two chapels were erected to their honour; one near the present site of St. Julian's, to which it communicated the name, and the other at Penros, in the vicinity of the town. *A third chapel was dedicated to St. Alban, another martyr, which was constructed on an eminence to the east of Caerleon, overlooking the Usk. A yew tree marks the site; an adjoining piece of land is still called the chapel yard, and in 1785 several stone coffins were discovered in digging for the foundations of a new house*" (Coxe's *Historical Tour through Monmouthshire*, 1801, reprinted in 1904, p. 103). I would call special attention to the part which I have italicized, as the site of a shrine of St. Alban, near Caerlleon, is practically unknown to students; and certainly for long centuries its importance has never been realized. The site is in the parish of Christ Church on Mount St. Alban about two miles further up the river Usk than Caerlleon, on the side of the river opposite to Caerlleon and about half-a-mile from the river. The statement in the *Lives of the British Saints*, i, 145, that Christ Church itself was formerly dedicated to St. Alban, appears to be unfounded. "Towards the beginning of the twelfth century, Caerlleon was possessed by Owen, surnamed Wan, or the feeble, from whom it was conquered by Robert de Chandos, founder of Goldcliff Priory. According to an old deed cited by Dugdale, among other possessions, he assigned to the monks the tythes of a mill and an orchard at Caerlleon, together with the churches of St. Julius, St. Aaron, and St. Alban, and their appurtenances" (Coxe's *Hist. Tour*, p. 105). There is, however, some obscurity in the passage from Dugdale, which seems to imply that there was only one church called after the three saints—"et ecclesiam sancti Julii et Aaron atque Alban cum pertinenciis" (*Monasticon*, ii, 904). Mr. Idris Bell has kindly supplied me with another reference from the *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, ii, 362—"Charter of Henry, Duke of Normandy and Anjou [afterwards Henry II. No date, but wrongly dated as A.D. 1142-1146. As Henry's father died in 1151 and he became Duke of Aquitaine at the end of 1152, and he here calls himself Duke of Normandy and Count of Anjou only, the date must be 1151 or 1152]. Among other possessions he mentions 'ecclesiam sanctorum Julii et Aaron atque Albani cum omnibus pertinentiis suis et ecclesiam Sancti Marie Magdalenæ de Golcliva'". Here again it is implied that there was only a single church named after the three saints. But this

[1] "Church dilapidated and united to *Rogiet*" Browne Willis in 1733 (*Par. Anglic.*, 204). "Only site left."—J.A.B.

Itton or **Llanddeiniol,** Deiniol.	Mr. Jeffrys.
Kemes Inferior	Mr. Lord.
Henrhiw, St. John Baptist in the wilderness[1]	Duke of Beaufort.

much is clear that as early as the mid-twelfth century the name of St. Alban was associated with a church near Caerlleon. Again, in the *Book of Llan Dâv,* compiled in this same century, but from much older material, what appears to be the same place is called *martyrium* or *merthir Julii et Aaron* with no mention of Alban. On the evidence so far, then, it would look as though there was only one shrine, bearing first the names of Julius and Aaron, and later (though as early as the twelfth century) that of Alban. In Geoffrey of Monmouth's celebrated *Historia Regum Brittaniæ,* however, Book ix, ch. 12, three special buildings are referred to as existing at Caerlleon: "Duabus autem eminebat ecclesiis quarum una in honore Julii martyris erecta, virgineo Deo dicatarum puellarum choro perpulchre ornabatur: altera vero in beati Aaron ejusdem socii nomine fundata, canonicorum conventu subnixa, tertiam metropolitanam sedem Brittaniæ habebat. *Præterea gymnasium ducentorum philosophorum habebat; qui astronomia atque caeteris artibus eruditi, cursus stellarum diligenter observabant, et prodigia eo tempore ventura regi Arturo veris argumentis prædicebant*" (San-Marte's ed., 1854, p. 132). "Caerlleon was famous for two churches, one of which, raised in honour of the martyr Julius, was most becomingly adorned by a convent of virgins who had dedicated themselves to God; and the second, founded in the name of the blessed Aaron his companion, maintained by a brotherhood of canons, was the third metropolitan see of Britain. *It had, in addition, a school of two hundred philosophers who, learned in astronomy and other arts, diligently observed the courses of the stars, and by true inferences foretold the prodigies which, at that time, were about to happen to King Arthur*". Notwithstanding then the evidence of the above charters that there was only one Church of SS. Julius, Aaron and Alban, Geoffrey clearly knew of two Caerlleon Churches, called after Julius and Aaron respectively, and a third building besides, which he describes as a school of astronomical philosophers. As Geoffrey does not mention Alban in connection with the churches of Julius and Aaron, and as we now know that even at the time in which Geoffrey was writing St. Alban was one of the three saintly names of the place, the third building cannot but be that on Mount St. Alban,

[1] Browne Willis places this in the Deanery of Usk (*Par. Anglic.,* 206)

Langstone	**Mr. Gore.**
Chapel of St. Cyriac, Cirig.[1]	
Llanbedr, St. Peter.[2]	
Llandavaud, Tavaud.[2]	
Llangadwaladr or **Bishopston**, Cadwaladr	**Archdeacon of Llandaff.**
Ecclesia S. Ciuiu, Civiw.	

being in fact a third church called after Alban. It would appear that Geoffrey would not allow himself to believe that this third building on the mount had anything to do with St. Alban, whom he had learnt from Bede and the *Excidium Brittaniæ* to associate with Verulamium or St. Alban's in Hertfordshire. But as the third building was there, he had to account for it. First, we find it on a hill; secondly, as St. Alban's Eve falls on June 21st, the day of the summer solstice, the name Alban might have become a technical term in astrology and astronomy as we find to be actually the case in later Welsh, where *alban* signifies solstice or equinox; lastly, there was no room for Geoffrey to believe that Alban suffered at Caerlleon, for Bede and the *Excidium Brittaniæ* said Verulamium. And so Geoffery might be conceived to have concluded that the building on *Mons Albani* was an observatory. It is clear from the way in which St. Alban's is referred to in the above Charters, and from its absence in the "edited" *Book of Llan Dâv*, as well as from the manner in which Geoffrey treats it, that the current traditions in the twelfth century, relative to the hill and its ruin, had become uncertain. In the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for July, 1905, pp. 256-259, I have submitted that Mount St. Alban, near Caerlleon, is the true site of the "martyrdom" of St. Alban. Bold as Geoffrey was in his elucidation of the history of Brittania (which, like others before him, he identified with the *island* of Britain instead of with Wales *plus* the Devonian peninsula) he either failed to see the absurdities involved in connecting Alban's death, as quoted in the *Excidium Brittaniæ* of the pseudo-Gildas and in Bede, with Verulamium in modern Hertfordshire, or, if he did suspect them, he feared to challenge the overwhelming authority of the Venerable Bede. What with Bede's evidence and the actual presence of the great monastery in Hertfordshire, the local tradition of Caerlleon gave way. Moreover, even in Wales the anonymous work known as

[1] "This would be Cat's Ash, now a barn with East window remaining, the Cathonen of the Liber Landavensis."—J.A.B.

[2] "Two ruined Churches under the Prebendary of *Warthacwm* in Landaff Cathedral" (Browne Willis's *Par. Anglic.*, ed. 1733, p. 204).

Llanmartin, St. Martin	Mr. Jeffrys.
Llansanffraid (in Nether Went), Ffraid	Mr. Jeffrys.
Llanvaches, Maches	Mr. Morgan.
Llanvair Disgoed, St. Mary	Chapter of Llandaff.
Dinam Chapel.[1]	
Llanvihangel Nether Went, St. Michael	Mr. Morgan.
Llanwern, Gwaryn	Mr. Vann.
Magor for **Magwyr**[2]	Duke of Beaufort.
Redwick, St. Thomas.	
Mathern formerly **Merthyr Tewdrig,** Tewdrig	Chapter of Llandaff.
Crick.	
Merthyr Gerein, Gerein.[3]	
Runston.	
St. Pierre, St. Peter	Mr. Lewis.
Mounton for **Monkton,**[4] Audoenus	Mrs. Lister.
Newchurch or **Eglwys Newydd ar y Ceven**	Duke of Beaufort.
Penhow, St. John Baptist[5]	Mr. Lloyd of Bristol.
Penterry, Bedeui	Prebendary of Caerau.
Roggiet	Mr. Morgan.

Excidium Brittaniæ had long been attributed to Gildas ab Caw, and this work also said that St. Alban had suffered at Verulamium, what though it located Verulamium on the river Thames! What though there was no river anywhere near Verulamium sufficiently large to have given rise to the legend! And so Verulamium grew fat and our City of Legions grew thin. But Mount St. Alban still exists to tell its tale, situated on the side of the river opposite to the city where Alban dwelt, and on a hill about half-a-mile from the river, where doubtless he was once supposed to have been martyred and where his *martyrium* or *merthyr* was erected to preserve his relics.

[1] "Now a cowhouse with two Gothic windows."—J.A.B.

[2] Browne Willis and Rice Rees ascribe this church to St. Mary, but according to Messrs. Gould and Fisher it was formerly associated with Cadwaladr (*Lives of British Saints*, ii, 45).

[3] "*Merthirgerin Eccl. destructa,* and Site unknown, otherwise than it stood near *Tinterne* Abby" (Browne Willis's *Par. Anglic.*, ed. 1733, p. 204).

[4] "*Eccl. destructa*" in 1733 (*Par. Anglic.*, p. 204).

[5] Mr. Phillimore suggests that this name may involve that of Huui, one of the four saints of Llangwm (Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, iii, 276, note 1).

St. Arvan's, Jarmen *and* Febric	Duke of Beaufort.
Howick or *Howig Vach.*	
Porthcaseg.	
St. Kingmark's, Cynvarch.[1]	
St. Lawrence's, St. Lawrence.[1]	
St. Kinmark's or **Llangynvarch,** Cynvarch	Duke of Beaufort.
Chepstow *or* Cas Gwent, St. Mary	Mr. Williams and Mrs. Davies.
Shire Newton or **Trenewydd Gellivarch,** St Thomas the Martyr	The Crown.
Portskewet for **Porth Ysgewydd,** St. Mary.	
Sudbrook or *Southbrook,*[2] Holy Trinity	Mr. Rumsey.
Tintern Parva, St. Michael	Mr. Fielding.
Undy or **Gwndi**	Archdeacon of Llandaff.
Whitson	Chapter of Llandaff and Eton College, alternatively.
Wilcrick or **y Voelgrug**	Mr. Jeffrys.

6. Deanery of Usk, *Monmouthshire.*

	Patrons in 1717.
Bettws Newydd. See Llanarth in Deanery of Abergavenny.	
Cilgwrrwg	Archdeacon of Llandaff.
Gwernesney, St. Michael	Mr. Nicholas.
Kemes Commander, All Saints	Mr. Gore.
Henrhiw. See Kemes Inferior in Deanery of Nether Went.	
Llambadoc	Lord Windsor.
Llanddewi Vach, David	Treasurer of Llandaff.
Llandegvedd, Tegvedd	Sir Hopton Williams.

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[1] "Remains exist of two ancient chapels, dedicated respectively to St. Kingsmark and St. Lawrence" (Lewis's *Top. Dic., England,* ed. 1844, *s.* Arvans).

[2] Browne Willis omits Portskewet in his *Parochiale Anglicanum,* ed. 1733, but inserts Sudbrook, which he describes as in his time an *ecclesia destructa* (p. 204). "The ruined church of Sudbrook is now railed in."—J.A.B.

Llandenni *alias* **Mathenni**	Duke of Beaufort.
Llanevrddil, Evrddyl.	
Llandogo for **Llaneuddogwy**, Euddogwy	Prebendary of Caerau.
Llangiviw, Civiw	Sir Hopton Williams.
Llangoven, Coven	Chapter of Llandaff.
Penclawdd, St. Martin	Chapter of Llandaff.
Llangwm Ucha, Mirgint, Cinficc, Huui and Eruen[1]	Prebendaries of Llangwm and Warthacwm in Llandaff Cathedral.
Llangwm Isa, Mirgint, Cinficc, Huui and Eruen.	
Llangybi, Cybi	Sir Hopton Williams.
Llangynog, Cynog.[2]	
Llanhynwg[3]	Chapter of Llandaff.
Llanishen, Nisien	Duke of Beaufort.
Llanvair, St. Mary.	
Llanwynny.	
Llanllowel, Llowel	Sir Charles Kemmeys and Mr. Jenkins.
Llansoy, Tysoy	Lord Windsor.
Llangynog, Cynog.	
Llantrisaint, the Three Saints[4]	Mr. Morgan and Mr Waters.
Bertholeu.[5]	
Llanvihangel Llantarnam or **Llanvihangel Ton y Groes**,[6] St. Michael	Mr. Bray

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[1] These are described as the *quattuor sancti de Lann Cum* in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 274.

[2] Llangynog is not mentioned by Browne Willis. There is a place near the site of this church called *Cwrt Brychan* on which account Rice Rees would identify this Cynog with Cynog ab Brychan.

[3] Both Browne Willis and Rice Rees ascribe this church to St. John Baptist.

[4] Browne Willis and Rice Rees say SS. Peter, Paul, and John; Colonel Bradney gives SS. David, Padarn, and Teilo, "the blessed visitors of Britain". Perhaps, like the Seven Saints of Mathry, etc., their names are lost.

[5] Browne Willis has Penthoyly for Perthoyly.

[6] "Llantarnam is called, colloquially, in Welsh Llanvihangel y Vynachlog."—J.A.B.

Llandderval, Dervel.[1]	
St. Dial's Chapel, Dial.	
Llanvihangel Tor y Mynydd, St. Michael	Archdeacon of Llandaff.
Llanvrechva[2]	Chapter of Llandaff.
Mitchel Troy or **Llanvihangel Troddi**, St. Michael	Lord Windsor.
Cwmcarvan Chapel, St. Michael.	
Llanthomas, St. Thomas.	
Monkswood or **Capel Coed y Mynach**	Duke of Beaufort.
Panteg, St. Mary	John How, Esq.
Raglan,[3] David	Duke of Beaufort.
Trosdre, David	Mr. Hughes.
Tredunnock or **Tre Redynog**, St. Andrew[4]	John How, Esq.
Trelleck or **Trillech**, St. Nicholas	The Crown.
Penallt.	
Trelleck's Grange	Duke of Beaufort.
Usk or **Bryn Buga**, St. Mary	Sir Hopton Williams.
Wolves Newton or **Trenewydd dan y gaer**, St. Thomas the Martyr	The Crown.

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[1] "Four walls remain, about two feet high. It is on the side of the mountain two-and-a-half miles N.W. of Llantarnam church."—J.A.B.

[2] Browne Willis says All Saints, but Rice Rees is silent.

[3] Rhygyvarch, in his *Vita S. David*, states that Raglan was founded by St. David, which would shew at least that it was a "David church" at the close of the eleventh century, but whether David of Mynyw, or one of those bearing the same name and mentioned in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, is doubtful. Browne Willis says Cadog.

[4] A church, which would now be known as Llanddyvrwyr, the *llan* of the water-men, is mentioned as having been granted to Cybi by Edelig, son of Glywys, of Glywysing, and regulus of Edeligion. This church was in Edeligion, now included in Monmouthshire. It is stated in the *Lives of British Saints*, ii, 235, to be probably Tredunnock.

Diocese of Bangor.

In 1733 this diocese comprised:—

1. Anglesey *or* Môn.
2. Carnarvonshire (except *Llysvaen*, *Eglwys Rhos*, and *Llangystennin* in St. Asaph diocese).
3. Merionethshire, the better half of,
4. Denbighshire, the Deanery of Dyffryn Clwyd in,
5. Montgomeryshire, the Deanery of Arwystli in,

There were three Archdeaconries, including nine Deaneries:—

I. Bangor	1. Arvon 2. Arllechwedd 3. Llŷn	Carnarvonshire.
II. Anglesey	4. Lliwan and Talybolion 5. Menai and Malldraeth 6. Twrcelyn and Tindaethwy	Anglesey.
III. Merioneth	7. Eivionydd	Carnarvonshire.
	8. Ystum Aner 9. Ardudwy	Merionethshire.

The two remaining Deaneries. viz.:—

10. Dyffryn Clwyd, Denbighshire.
11. Arwystli, Montgomeryshire.

were under no Archdeaconry, but were subject to the Bishop's immediate jurisdiction.

Moreover, the two Archdeaconries of Bangor and Anglesey had been annexed to the Bishopric by Act of Parliament in 1685; and so only the Archdeaconry of Merioneth was "collected or instituted to".

The members of the Cathedral were:—

Dean.
Three Archdeacons (two now annexed to the Bishopric).
Treasurer.
Two endowed Prebendaries (*Llanvair* and *Penmynydd*).

Precentor
Chancellor
Canonicus I, II, and III
} =five unendowed Prebendaries.

The above twelve constituted the Chapter.

Two Priest-Vicars Choral Organist Four Singing-men Four Choristers Verger Sexton Bellringer	Inferior Members.

"By some Statutes of the Free-school, made *Tempore Reginæ Elizabethæ*, there are ten Boys belonging to that School appointed to wear Surplices, and are ordered to attend the Choir."

I. ARCHDEACONRY OF BANGOR.

1. Deanery of Arvon, *Carnarvonshire.*

	Patrons in 1721.
Bangor, Deiniol	The Crown of Bishopric; Bishop and Chapter of Vicarage.
Bangor St. Mary[1]	
Capel Gwrvyw,[2] Gwrvyw.	
Pentir *or* Llangedol, Cedol.	
Clynnog Vawr, Beuno	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanaelhaearn, Aelhaearn	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanbeblig, Peblig	Bishop of Chester.
Carnarvon, St. Mary.	
Carnarvon, St. Helena.	
Llanberis, Peris	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanddeiniolen, Deiniolen	Prince of Wales.
Dinas Dinorwig Chapel.	
Llandwrog, Twrog	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanllyvni, Rhedyw	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanrhug or **Llanvihangel yn Rhug,** St. Michael	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanvair-is-gaer, St. Mary	Bishop of Bangor.
Bettws Garmon, Garmon.	
Llanwnda, Gwyndav	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanvaglan, Baglan.	

[1] "Of the ancient parochial church . . . . . dedicated to St. Mary, not a single fragment is remaining" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, *s* Bangor).

[2] Probably referred to by Lewis in the following (*ibid*). "The site of an old chapel was sold, some years since, and the money applied to the redemption of the land-tax."

2. Deanery of Arllechwedd, *Carnarvonshire.*

	Patrons in 1721.
Aber or **Abergwyngregyn,** Bodvan	Lord Bulkely.
Caer Rhun, St. Mary	Bishop of Bangor.
Conway or **Aberconway,** St. Mary	Bishop of Bangor.
Cyffin, St. Mary[1]	Bishop of Bangor.
Dolwyddelan, Gwyddelan	Bishop of Bangor.
Dwygyvylchi, Boda and Gwynnin[2]	Mr. Rutter.
Llanbedr y Cennin, St. Peter	Bishop of Bangor.
Llandegai, Tegai	Bishop of Bangor.
Capel Curig, Cirig.	
St. Ann's Chapel, St. Ann.[3]	
Llandudno, Tudno	Bishop of Bangor.
Llangelynin, Celynin[4]	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanllechid, Llechid	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanvair Vechan, St. Mary	Bishop of Bangor.
Seiriol's Hermitage, Seiriol.[5]	
Penmachno, Tudglyd	Bishop of Bangor.
Trevriw, St. Mary	Bishop of Bangor.
Bettws y Coed *or* Llanvihangel y Bettws,[6] St. Michael.	
Llanrhychwyn, Rhychwyn.	

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[1] *Report on MSS. in Welsh,* i, 913, note 3.

[2] Sir John Wynn of Gwydir's Ancient Survey of Penmaen Mawr (1906, pp. 18-9), quoted in *Lives of British Saints,* i, 224; also *Gossiping Guide to Wales* (ed. 1907), pp. 250-1, as revised by Mr. Egerton Phillimore.

[3] "A chapel, dedicated to St. Anne, was erected near the slate quarries by the late Lord Penrhyn, at an expense of £2,000, for the accommodation of persons engaged in those works; it was consecrated in 1813, and endowed in 1815 by Lady Penrhyn; it is a neat, well-built edifice, and is appropriately fitted up for the performance of divine worship." (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales,* ed. 1833, *s* Llandegai.)

[4] "The north and south transepts in this church were called respectively Capel Meibion and Capel Arianws." (*Lives of British Saints,* ii, 105, n. 1.)

[5] On Penmaenmawr Mountain "was the solitary retreat of Seiriol, a British anchorite, who had his hermitage between the two summits where his bed and his well are still to be seen." (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales,* ed. 1833.)

[6] *Report on MSS. in Welsh,* i, 913.

3. Deanery of Llŷn, *Carnarvonshire.*

	Patrons in 1721.
Aberdaron, Hywyn *Capel Anhaelog,*[1] Anhaelog. *Eglwys Vair,* St. Mary. Llanvaelrhys, Maelrhys.	Bishop of Bangor.
Abererch, Cadvarch *and* Cawrdav *Llangedwydd,* Cedwydd. Penrhos *or* Llangynwyl, Cynwyl.	Bishop of Bangor.
Bodvuan, Buan	Bishop of Bangor.
Ceidio or **Llangeidio,** Ceidio	Bishop of Bangor.
Edern or **Llanedern,** Edern Carngiwch, Beuno. Pistyll, Beuno.	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanbedrog, Pedrog *Capel Cir Verthyr,* Cir the Martyr.[2] Llangian, Cian *and* Peris. Llanvihangel Bachellaeth, St. Michael.	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanengan, Einion Vrenhin *Ynys Tudwal,* Tudwal.	Bishop of Bangor.
Llangwnadl or **Nantgwnadl,** Gwynhoedl	Bishop of Bangor.

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[1] Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales,* ed. 1833, *s* Aberdaron. There is a well called Ffynnon Ddurdan in Aberdaron Parish.

[2] On a mountain, partly in this parish, and partly in that of Llangian, there was a well called *Ffynnon Dduw,* God's Well, "about three yards square, enclosed with a wall from four to five feet high, the waters of which were formerly much esteemed for their efficacy in rheumatic complaints; and adjoining to it was another, about one yard square, from which the invalids used to drink the water. Around this well it was customary for the people of the neighbouring country to assemble for the celebration of rustic sports, but it has now [1833] for many years been neglected". (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales,* *s* Llanbedrog.) With this compare the following from the *Lives of British Saints,* ii, 199, "In the parish of Llangian, Carnarvonshire, was formerly a well called Ffynnon Fyw (the Living Well), now dried up, celebrated for the cure of rheumatism. It was dedicated to S. Cyr, the martyr, whose chapel stood close by". It is said there was formerly a Capel Eurgan in Llangian parish (*Arch. Camb.,* 1874, pp. 87-8, as quoted in *Lives of British Saints,* ii, 474, n. 5).

Bryn Croes.[1]
Tudweiliog, Cwyvan.
Ty Vair, St. Mary.[1]

Llaniestin, Iestin — Bishop of Bangor.
Bodverin, Merin.
Capel Odo, Odo.[2]
Llandygwynnin, Gwynnin.
Penllech, St. Mary.
St. Julian's Chapel, St. Julian.

Llannor or **Llanvawr yn Llŷn.**[3]
Pwllheli *or* Eglwys Dyneio, Tyneio.

Melldyrn, St. Peter ad Vincula — Bishop of Bangor.
Bottwnog, Beuno.

Nevin, St. Mary — Mr. Griffith.

Rhiw, Aelrhiw *or* y Ddelw Vyw — Bishop of Bangor.
Llandudwen, Tudwen.

II. ARCHDEACONRY OF ANGLESEY.

4. Deanery of Lliwan and Talybolion, *Anglesey.*

Patrons in 1721.

Holyhead or **Caergybi,** Cybi — Bishop of Bangor.
Bodedern, Edern.
Bodwrog, Twrog.

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[1] Rice Rees gives Holy Cross as the dedication of Bryn Croes, but Lewis in his *Top. Dic. Wales* (ed. 1833), *s* Bryncroes is silent. The latter, however, states "An ancient chapel, called Tŷ Vair, or 'St. Mary's Chapel', formerly stood near the church; in the vicinity of which also are Ffynnon Vair, 'St. Mary's Well', and Cae Vair 'St. Mary's Field'".

[2] "On the side of a hill, called Mynydd Moelvre, or Mynydd yr Ystum, are the ruins of an ancient chapel, named Capel Odo; and in the vicinity there is a tumulus, called Bedd Odo, or Odo's grave, which, according to tradition, covers the remains of a giant of that name" Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, *s* Bôdverin. With Odo the giant compare Edi the giant of Ogo'r Cawr or Ogov Gwyl Edi in Llanedi (J. T. Evans' *Church Plate of Carmarthenshire*, p. 48, note 6).

[3] Evans's *Report on MSS. in Welsh*, i, 913, col. ii, where the "ll. fair yn llyn" of the Peniarth MS. 147 is corrected by Dr. John Davies, of Mallwyd (note 14), into "ll. vawr yn lleyn". In Lucy Toulmin Smith's edition (1906) of Leland's *Itinerary in Wales*, p. 89, the *Llan Egluis* which is "a 3 myles" to Nevin Church is identified with a query with Llannor. Browne Willis ascribes the church to Holy Cross (*Par. Anglic.*, 211).

Capel Gorlas.[1]
Capel Gwyngeneu, Gwyngeneu.[2]
Capel Sanffraid or *Towyn y Capel*, Ffraid.[3]
Capel Ulo (in Kingsland).[4]
Capel y Llochwyd.[5]

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[1] "The site of [Capel Gorlas] is unknown, although very probably it was near the well [Ffynnon Gorlas]. Some doubt exists as to whether *Gorlas* is a proper name." Archdeacon Jones in *Arch. Camb.*, 1870, p. 355. "The well has never, apparently, been enclosed in masonry." Report of meeting, *ibid*, p. 359. Ffynnon Gorlas is situated not a mile from St. Cybi's Church to the left of the road towards Penybonc and the South Stack.

[2] "Capel Gwyngeneu stood at the parting of the roads to Pontrhydpont and Rhoscolyn from Holyhead. For generations it was known as 'Capel Gwyn'; then it came down to 'Capel', and, as a matter of fact, a Methodist Chapel stands on the site at this day"—so writes Mr. Edward Owen of the India Office, Whitehall. Leland refers to it as Llan Wyn Gene (*Itin. in Wales*, ed. 1906, p. 131).

[3] Capel or Llan-sanffraid was situated on a mound of sand at Towyn y Capel. This mound of sand is described as a tumulus or burial mound "on the margin of a little bay on the western shore of Holyhead Island". It contained a large number of skeletons both of adults and children, the former in stone cists. "The mound, having subsequently become breached by violence of storms, has wholly perished, and the graves have from time to time been seen on all its sides. They may have been about four hundred in number. The bodies had all been placed with the heads towards the west." The Hon. W. O. Stanley in *Arch. Camb.*, 1868, p. 399. "No ornament, or any object whatsoever, has been found with [the bodies]. The Chapel was from thirty to thirty-five feet long by little more than twenty-two broad." Report of Holyhead meeting in August 1870, *Arch. Camb.*, 1870, p. 362.

[4] Mr. Edward Owen tells me that Ffynnon Ulo was known until recently.

[5] "The site of Capel y Llochwyd ['towards the precipitous northern side of the island' between the North and South Stacks 'at the foot of the mountain'] is now marked by a heap of shapeless ruins. Not far distant there is a remarkable precipitous gulley, or crevice, through which a dangerous path descends to a spring of fresh water near the shore. The spot is indicated in Speed's map, 1610—'Chap. Yloughwid.' Amongst many wild traditions connected

Gwndy *or* Gwyndy.[1]
Llandrygarn.
Llanygwyddyl or *Eglwys y Bedd.*[2]

Llanbadrig, Padrig — The Crown.
Bettws y Naw Sant, the Nine Saints.[3]
Llanlleianau.

Llanbeulan, Peulan — Bishop of Bangor.
Ceirchiog *or* Bettws y Grog, Holy Rood.
Llannerchymedd, St. Mary.
Llanvaelog, Maelog.
Llechulched, Ulched.
Talyllyn.[4]

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with this singular place may be mentioned that of a gold image of a female, with one arm, concealed amongst the ruins of the chapel; to this popular fable very probably the total overturning of the remains of the little building may have been due. No trace of wall can now be recognised". The Hon. W. O. Stanley in the *Arch. Camb.*, 1868, p. 398. "The remains of the small chapel called Llochwydd are very insignificant. Near the sea-level is a well with which a tradition is connected, namely, that whoever can carry a mouthful of water to the top of the gully near the chapel will succeed in his undertaking." Archdeacon J. W. Jones in *Arch. Camb.*, 1870, p. 355. "It is not easy to trace the outlines ['of this ancient chapel'] which were very plain a few years ago." Report of meeting at Holyhead of Camb. Arch. Association in August 1870, *ibid*, p. 360. The chapel is called "Capel olychwyd Cybi" in *Report on MSS. in Welsh*, i, 912, col. ii.

[1] "The chapelry of Gwyndy [under Llandrygarn] appears to have derived that appellation from the White House, formerly the half-way hotel and posting-house between Bangor and Holyhead, but which, since the building of the bridge at Bangor, and the diversion of the road, has fallen into comparative disuse" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, *s* Llandrygarn).

[2] Eglwys y Bedd and Llanygwyddel are identified in the *Arch. Camb.*, 1870, pp. 358-9, with Dr. Wynne's school founded in 1748, which last is said by Lewis to have been in the churchyard (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, *s* Holyhead). This no doubt is the present building in the S.W. corner of the churchyard.

[3] Leland's *Itin. in Wales*, ed. 1906, p. 132; also called Llan y Naw Sant (Evans's *Report on MSS. in Welsh*, i, 912, col. iii). The spot, now known as Bettws in Llanbadrig parish, is on the right hand side of the road from Cemes Bay to Amlwch.

[4] St. Mary according to Browne Willis and Rice Rees; *Ll. V'el tal y llyn*, St. Michael, in Evans's *Report*, i, 912, note *.

Llanddeusant, Marcellus *and* Marcellinus[1] — **Bishop of Bangor.**
Llanbabo, Pabo.
Llanvairynghornwy,[2] St. Mary.
The Skerries or *Ynys y Moel Rhoniaid,* Deiniol.

Llanrhyddlad, Rhyddlad — **Bishop of Bangor.**
Bettws Perwas or *Llanberwas,* Perwas.[3]
Llanfflewin, Fflewin.
Llanrhwydrys, Rhwydrys.

Llantrisant, Sannan, Avan, *and* Ieuan — **Bishop of Bangor.**
Bettws Bwchwdw.
Ceidio *or* Rhodwydd Geidio, Ceidio.
Llanllibio, Llibio.
Llanvair yng Ngwaredog, St. Mary.
Llech Cynvarwy, Cynvarwy.

Llanvachreth, Machreth — **Bishop of Bangor.**
Llanenghenedl, Enghenedl.
Llanvigel,[4] Gwyndeyrn.

Llanvaethlu, Maethlu — **Bishop of Bangor.**
Llanvwrog, Mwrog.[5]

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[1] Leland says Marcellus and Marcellianus (*Itin. in Wales,* ed. 1906, p. 131); Evans's *Report,* i, 912, note 17, reads "Marcel a Marceli".

[2] Leland spells this place-name "*Llan Vair y Kaer Noy*", in which parish he notes places called "*Y Gadair-y Kaer Noy* (cathedra gigantis Noe), *Porth y Gadair*" (*Itin. in Wales,* ed. 1906, p. 132).

[3] Leland's *Itin. in Wales,* ed. 1906, p. 131; Evans's *Report,* i, 912, col. ii.

[4] Some, including Leland, have thought that Llanvigel is composed of *llan* and *bugail,* a shepherd (*Itin. in Wales,* ed. 1906, p. 131). But according to Evans's *Report,* i, 912, note 16, Llanvigel was also known as Llanwyndeyrn, whence it may be gathered that the original saint was Gwyndeyrn. The ascription to St. Vigilius is out of the question. Bugail, as a personal name, appears to be instanced in Merthir Buceil mentioned in the *Book of Llan Dâv* (Owen's *Pembrokeshire,* 316, note 1). If Llanvigel stands for Llanvugail with *bugail* as common noun, it may find a parallel in the possible but unusual Llanveistr of Llanbedr Goch (see Deanery of Twrcelyn).

[5] "According to tradition, there was anciently a chapel in a field called Monwent Mwrog, on the farm of Cevn Glâs in [Llanvwrog]; but not a vestige of it is now to be seen." Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales,* ed. 1833.

Llanvechell, Mechell	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanddogwel,[1] Dogvael.	
Rhoscolyn or **Llanwenvaen,** Gwenvaen	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanvair yn Neubwll, St. Mary.	
Llanvihangel yn Nhywyn, St. Michael.	

5. Deanery of Menai and Malldraeth, *Anglesey,*

	Patrons in 1721.
Aberffraw, Beuno	Prince of Wales.
Capel Mair o Dindryvol,[2] St. Mary.	
Eglwys y Baili.[3]	
Heneglwys or **Llan y Saint Llwydion,** Faustinus *and* Bacellinus[4]	Bishop of Bangor.
Trewalchmai, Morhaearn.	
Llanddwyn or **Llanddwynwen,** Dwynwen	Bishop of Bangor.
Llangadwaladr or **Eglwys Ael,** Cadwaladr	Prince of Wales.
Llanveirian, Meirian.[5]	

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[1] Leland places Llanddogwel under Llanrhyddlad (*Itin. in Wales,* ed. 1906, p. 131). Lewis, in 1833, writes under Llanvechell, "The township of [Llanddygwel] was formerly a parish of itself, and is exempt from the payment of church rates to the parish of Llanvechell: the church is now a ruin, and the rectorial tithes are taken alternately by the rectors of [Llanvechell] and Llanrhyddlad" (*Top. Dic. Wales,* ed. 1833).

[2] Leland's *Itin. in Wales,* ed. by L. Toulmin Smith in 1906, p. 130, where "*Capell: Mair* (Maria) *o Dindryvol;* ij myles fro ye shore by north" is wrongly identified with Tal y llyn, which is mentioned separately in the same column in its proper place under Llanbeulan. Capel Mair appears as "ll. vair yn Nin tryfor" in Evans' *Report on MSS. in Welsh,* i, 912, col. i. In the one-inch O.S. Map, 1899, sheet 105 (Carnarvon), Tindryvol appears as Tyndryfol about four miles to the N.N.E. of Aberffraw Church.

[3] A ruined church re-built for a school in 1729, and endowed with £4 a year for the instruction of six poor children in the Welsh language (Lewis's *Top. Dict. Wales,* ed. 1833).

[4] Evans's *Report on MSS. in Welsh,* i, 912, col. i, *and* note 4; Baring Gould and Fisher's *Lives of British Saints,* ii, 180-1, where Corbre is maintained to have been the original saint of Heneglwys.

[5] "About three-quarters of a mile to the south [of Llangadwaladr] are the ruins of the ancient chapel of Llanveirian [also so spelt in Evans's *Report,* i, 912, col. i], which appears to have been originally

Llangevni, Cyngar	**Bishop of Bangor.**
Tregaean, Caean.	
Llangeinwen, Ceinwen	**Earl of Pembroke.**
Llangaffo *olim* Merthyr Caffo, Caffo.	
Guirt Chapel.[1]	
Llangristiolus, Cristiolus[2]	**Bishop of Bangor.**
Cerrig Ceinwen,[3] Ceinwen.	
Llangwyllog, Gwrddelw[4]	**Bishop of Bangor.**
Llan Nidan, Nidan	**Thomas Lloyd, Esq.**
Capel Beuno, Beuno.	
Capel Cadwaladr (Hen Vonwent), Cadwaladr.	
Llanddeiniol Vab, Deiniol Vab.[5]	
Llanedwen, Edwen.	
Llanvair y Cwmwd, St. Mary.	
Llanvihangel Ysgeiviog, St. Michael	**Bishop of Bangor.**
Capel Berw.	
Llanffinan, Ffinan.	
Newborough or **Rhosyr** (for **Rhos Vyr**) or **Llananno,** Anno	**Prince of Wales.**

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a parish church, and afterwards a chapel, having been finally suffered to fall into decay about the year 1775" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales,* ed. 1833, *s* Llangadwaladr). See p. 95, note 2, *infra.*

[1] "At Guirt [spelt Quirt on the one-inch O.S. map sheet 105, published 1889] are the remains of a chapel, for many years used as a stable, and now converted into a dairy. Previously to its application to its present use, the figures of the Apostles painted on the walls were remaining, and over the last window are still preserved allegorical figures of Time and Death" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales,* ed. 1833, *s* Llangeinwen).

[2] "Christiolus Hoeli, ut ferunt, Armoricani filius" (Leland's *Itin. in Wales,* ed. 1906, p. 130).

[3] In Leland's time Cerrig Ceinwen was known as Llangeinwen Vechan (*op. cit.,* 130).

[4] In Evans's *Report,* i, 912, col. i, this parish is given in one list as "ll. gwyllog. Gwrdduw Gwrddell," which looks like a double attempt at giving the saint's name, that intended being Gwrddelw; for January 7th was the date of the festival in this parish, which day is marked as that of Gwrddelw in the Peniarth MS., 219, of about 1615, A.D. (Evans's *Report,* i, 1043).

[5] "Erat ut ferunt discipulus Kibii, vel, ut quidam volunt, Beunoi" (Leland's *Itin. in Wales,* ed. 1906, p. 129).

Trevdraeth, Beuno — Bishop of Bangor.
Llangwyvan, Cwyvan.[1]

6. Deanery of Twrcelyn and Tindaethwy, *Anglesey.*

Patrons in 1721.

Amlwch, Elaeth — Bishop of Bangor.
Capel Euddog, Euddog.[2]
Llaneuddog, Euddog.[2]
Llangadog, Cadog.
Llanwenllwyvo, Gwenllwyvo.

Llanddona, Dona — Bishop of Bangor.

Llanddyvnan, Dyvnan — Bishop of Bangor.
Llanbedr Goch, St. Peter.[3]
Llanvair ym Mathavarn Eithav, St. Mary.
Pentraeth *or* Llanvair Bettws Geraint, St. Mary.

Llandegvan, Tegvan — Lord Bulkeley.
Beaumaris, St. Mary.
Beaumaris Castle Chapel.

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[1] Old Llangwyvan Church is situated "on a small island on the sea, connected with the land by a causeway, sometimes covered by the tide". Lewis, in 1833, says of it that "during the prevalence of easterly winds it is utterly inaccessible, on which account divine service is seldom performed in it during the winter months". A more accessible church was erected in 1871, but services are still held in the old church on the patronal festival. On the occasion of that held on Monday, June 3, 1907, I had the privilege of preaching the Welsh sermon at the Welsh service held at 2 p.m.

[2] In the 6-inch O.S. map, Anglesey, sheet vii, N.E. (second ed. 1901), Capel Euddog is marked about 400 feet from the site of Llangadog, and Llaneuddog about quarter of a mile from the same, both towards the north. It seems to be the "ll. eiddig," *i.e.*, Llaneiddig of Evans' *Report on MSS. in Welsh,* i, 912, col. iii, and seems also to be involved with Llangadog and Llanvair yng Ngwaredog in Leland's mysterious "*Llan Vair yn llan Ciddog* (proprium nomen loci)" *Itin. in Wales,* ed. 1906, p. 132. Otherwise none of these places is referred to by him, nor is Llanwenllwyvo.

[3] Llanbedr Goch is equated with "ll. faystr" in Evans' *Report,* i, 912, col. iii and note g. Leland has *Llan Vaystr* with the gloss *magistri* as though it were Llanveistr, the llan of the master (*Itin. in Wales,* ed. 1906, p. 133). See p. 44, note 1, *supra.*

Capel Meugan, Meugan.[1]
Capel Tydecho, Tydecho.
Llanvaes, St. Catherine.[2]

Llandyvrydog, Tyvrydog — Bishop of Bangor.
Llanvihangel Tre'r Beirdd, St. Michael.[3]

Llaneugrad, Eugrad — Bishop of Bangor.
Capel Ffynnon Allgo, Gallgo.
Hen Gapel Llugwy, St. Michael.[4]
Llanallgo, Gallgo.

Llanelian, Elian — Bishop of Bangor.
Bodewryd, Ewryd.[5]
Capel Elian, Elian.
Capel Ffynnon Elian, Elian.
Coedaneu, Blenwydd.[6]
Rhosbeirio, Peirio.[7]

Llaniestin, Iestin — Bishop of Bangor.
Llangoed, Tangwn *and* Cawrdav.
Llanvihangel Tinsylwy, St, Michael.

Llansadwrn, Sadwrn — Bishop of Bangor.

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[1] "Near the castle was formerly situated an ancient chapel, or oratory, dedicated to St. Meugan, of which there are no vestiges" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833). Browne Willis in 1733 describes it as being in ruins (*Par. Anglic.*, 216).

[2] Llanvaes appears in Leland (*op. cit.* 133) as Llan Saint y Katerin, as also in one of the lists in Gwenogvryn Evans's *Report* i, 912, note 28. In the Peniarth MS. 147 itself, however, "llan y saint" and "saint kadrin" appear as though they denoted two distinct parishes.

[3] Tre'r *Bardd* both in Leland (*op. cit.* 133) and in *Report* i, 912, col. iii, but Leland gives *villa vatum* in Latin.

[4] Hen Gapel Llugwy, a chapel to Llanallgo, is in Llaneugrad parish.

[5] Leland (*op. cit.* 133) describes Bodewryd as an *ecclesia appropriata monasterio de Penmon.* In the original draft of Peniarth MS. 147 it is not mentioned (*Report* i. 912, note 20). Lewis, in 1833, writes "This small parish [of Bodewryd] was formerly comprehended in that of Llaneilian, from which it was detached, and formed into a parish of itself, within the last thirty years" (*Top. Dic. Wales*, *s* Bodewryd).

[6] Leland (*op. cit.* 133) has *Bettws y Coydane.* Blenwydd is mentioned as the saint in J. G. Evans's *Report* i, 912, col. i.

[7] *Bettws Rosbeirio* in Leland (*op. cit.* 133).

Llanvair Pwll Gwyngyll, St. Mary. Llandysilio, Tysilio.	Bishop of Bangor.
Penmynydd, Gredivael	Bishop of Bangor.
Penmon, Seiriol *Ynys Seiriol,* Seiriol.	Bishop of Bangor.
Penrhos Llugwy, St. Michael Capel Halen.[1]	Thomas Lloyd, Esq.

III. ARCHDEACONRY OF MERIONETH.

7. Deanery of Eivionydd, *Carnarvonshire.*

	Patrons in 1721.
Beddgelert, St. Mary *Nant Hwynen Chapel.* *Capel Nant Gwynant.*	Bishop of Bangor.
Criccieth, also formerly **Merthyr Meirion,** Meirion, *later* St. Catherine[2]	Bishop of Bangor.

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[1] "On the [estate of Llugwy in the parish of Penrhos Llugwy] are some remains of an ancient chapel, situated on an eminence overlooking the bay of Llŷs Dulas: the architecture, which is of the very rudest kind, bears testimony to its great antiquity: it is said to have been a private chapel belonging to the family mansion. On digging out a fox which had taken shelter in the ruins of this building, a large square vault was discovered, containing several human skeletons, which, on exposure to the air, crumbled into dust; and, on searching farther into the interior of the building, the ground which it enclosed was found to consist of a large mass of human bones, several feet in depth, and protected only by a covering of plaster, which formed the floor of the chapel" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales,* ed. 1833). Whether this refers to Capel Halen I do not know. There is a holy well in Moylgrove, or Trewyddel, Pembrokeshire, sometimes called Ffynnon Halen.

[2] "According to Ecton and Browne Willis, Criccieth was also known as Merthyr; and in the *Record of Carnarvon* (p. 233), the Bishop of Bangor is said to have had in the cymwd of Eifionydd a Vill called Merthyr . . . . . If we could find, therefore, the full name of the Merthyr in Eifionydd, we should probably get that of the saint who was credited with the foundation of what is now St. Catherine's Church". Prof. J. E. Lloyd in *Archæologia Cambrensis* for October 1905 (p. 301). I believe Prof. Lloyd will find the full name of the *merthyr* in the Hafod MS. 16 copy of *Bonedd y Saint,* as printed in the *Myv Archaiol. of Wales* (second ed.), 415, which should read as follows: "*A meiryaun ymmerthyr meiryaun yngkantref meibyon owein danwyn m. einyaun yrth. m. kuneda wledic,*" and Meirion in

Trevlys,[1] St. Michael.	
Ynys Cynhaearn, Cynhaearn.	
Ynys Gyngar, Cyngar.	
Llangybi, Cybi	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanarmon, Garmon.	
Llanvihangel y Pennant, St. Michael.	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanystumdwy, St. John Baptist	Bishop of Bangor.
Penmorva, Beuno	Bishop of Bangor.
Dolbenmaen, St. Mary.[2]	

8. Deanery of Ystum Aner, *Merionethshire.*

	Patrons in 1721.
Dolgelly, St. Mary	Prince of Wales.
Yspytty Gwanas Chapel, St. John Baptist.	
Llanegryn, Egryn	Henry Arthur Herbert, Esq.
Llangelynin, Celynin	Earl of Pembroke.
Arthog Chapel.	
Llanvachreth, Machreth	Bishop of Bangor.
Capel Gwannog, St. John Baptist.	
Cymmer Abbey, St. Mary.	
Llanelltyd, Illtyd.	
Towyn ym Meirionydd, Cadvan	Bishop of Bangor.
Capel Cadvan, Cadvan	
Llangedris.[3]	
Llanvihangel y Pennant, St. Michael.	
Pennal, St. Peter ad vincula.	
Talyllyn, St. Mary.	

Merthyr Meirion in the cantrev of the sons of Owen Danwyn ab Einion Yrth ab Cunedda Wledig, *i.e.*, the cantrev of Eivionydd, in which Criccieth stands. See *Y Cymm.*, ix, 177, note 7.

[1] "That part of the shore to the east of Greigddu, in the parish of Treflys, Carnarvonshire, is known as Porth S. Dyfynog" *Lives of British Saints*, ii, 398.

[2] Beuno according to Sam. Lewis.

[3] Mr. Phillimore thinks that the "Kerdych filia Brachan que iacet inthywin in Merioneth" of the Brychan documents (*Y Cymm*, xix, 26, etc.) may be commemorated in Cedris on the Dysynni below Aber Gynolwyn, which was anciently called Maes Llangedris (*Lives of the British Saints*, ii, 100).

9. Deanery of Ardudwy, *Merionethshire.*

	Patrons in 1721.
Ffestiniog, St. Michael	Bishop of Bangor.
Maentwrog, **Twrog.**	
Llanaber, St. Mary	Prince of Wales.
Barmouth *or* Abermaw Chapel.[1]	
Llandanwg, Tanwg	Bishop of Bangor.
Harlech, St. Mary Magdalene.	
Llanbedr, St. Peter.	
Llandecwyn, Tecwyn	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanvihangel y Traetheu, St. Michael.	
Llanenddwyn, Enddwyn	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanddwywe, Dwywe.	
Trawsvynydd, Madrun *and* Anhun	Bishop of Bangor.

10. Deanery of Dyffryn Clwyd,[4] *Denbighshire.*

	Patrons in 1721.
Clocaenog, Meddwyd	Bishop of Bangor.
Derwen yn Iâl, St. Mary	Bishop of Bangor.
Evenechtyd, St. Michael	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanbedr Dyffryn Clwyd, St. Peter	Bishop of Bangor.
Llandyrnog, Tyrnog	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanelidan, Elidan[2]	Bishop of Bangor.
Llangwyven, Cwyvan	Bishop of Bangor.
Llangynhaval, Cynhaval	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanhychan, Hychan	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanrhaeadr yng Nghinmerch, or Llanddyvnog, Dyvnog	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanrhudd or Llanveugan, Meugan	Dean of Westminster.
Ruthin, St Peter.	
Ruthin Castle Chapel.	
Llanvair Dyffryn Clwyd, Cynvarch, *and* St. Mary	Bishop of Bangor.
Jesus Chapel.[3]	

[1] This chapel was erected in 1830 (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales,* ed. 1833).

[2] This is probably Geoffrey's Eledanius upon whom was bestowed the *pontificalis insula Alclud* (*Hist. Regum. Britt.,* ix, 15).

[3] "In the township of Eyarth is Jesus Chapel . . . . . founded in 1619 by Mr. Rice Williams, Verger of Westminster Abbey, London, a native of this township" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales,* ed. 1833, *s.* Llanvair D.C.).

Llanvwrog, Mwrog	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanynys, Saeran	Bishop of Bangor.
Cyffylliog, St. Mary.	

11. Deanery of Arwystli,[4] *Montgomeryshire.*

	Patrons in 1721.
Carno, St. John Baptist	Mr. Lanoy.
Llandinam, Llonio	Bishop of Bangor.
Benhaglog *or* Pen Halwg Chapel.	
Llangurig, Cirig	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanidloes, Idloes	Bishop of Bangor.
Llanwnnog, Gwynnog	Bishop of Bangor.
Penystrowaid, Gwrhai	Bishop of Bangor.
Treveglwys, St. Michael	Bishop of Bangor.

[4] The Deaneries of Arwystli and Dyffryn Clwyd were in Browne Willis's day in no Archdeaconry, but were subject to the immediate jurisdiction of the Bishop.

Diocese of St. Asaph.

In 1733 this diocese comprised:—

1. Flintshire (except *Hanmer*, *Hawarden*, *Bangor Iscoed*, *Overton*, and *Worthenbury*, in Chester diocese; and the chapelry of *Penley* in Lichfield diocese).
2. Denbighshire (except the DEANERY OF DYFFRYN CLWYD, in Bangor diocese; the chapelries of *Holt* and *Iscoed* in Chester diocese).
3. Merionethshire, nearly half of,
4. Carnarvonshire, the three parishes of *Eglwys Rhos*, *Llangystennin* and *Llysvaen* in,
5. Montgomeryshire (except *Kerry* and *Mochdre* in St. David's diocese; and *Montgomery*, *Churchstoke*, *Snead*, *Hyssington*, *Forden*, and *Buttington* in Hereford diocese; and the DEANERY OF ARWYSTLI in Bangor diocese).
6. Shropshire, eleven churches and chapels in,

At that time there was only one Archdeaconry, viz., the Archdeaconry of St. Asaph, which had for upwards of a century been held *in commendam* with the bishopric and contained the following Rural Deaneries:—

1. Tegeingl } Flintshire.
2. Mold }
3. Rhos, Denbighshire and Carnarvonshire.
4. Bromfield and Yale (or Iâl), Denbighshire.
5. Marchia, Denbighshire and Shropshire.
6. Mawddwy } Merionethshire.
7. Edernion and Penllyn }
8. Cedewain } Montgomeryshire.
9. Cyveiliog }
10. Pole and Caereinion }

The members of the Cathedral were:—

Dean.
Archdeacon (who was the Bishop).
Six Prebendaries.
Seven Canons Cursal.

The above fifteen constituted the Chapter.

Master of the Grammar School.
Four Priest-Vicars.

Organist.
Four Singing Men *or* Lay-Vicars.
Four Choristers.
Verger.
Bellringer.

ARCHDEACONRY OF ST. ASAPH.

1. Deanery of Tegeingl, *Flintshire.*

	Patrons in 1720.
Bodvari, Dier	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Hwlkin's Chapel.	
Caerwys, St. Michael	Bishop of St. Asaph.
St. Michael's Chapel (near the Well), St. Michael.	
Cilcain[1]	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Cwm yn Nhegeingl[2]	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Dyserth, Cwyvan	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Rhiwlyvnwyd *or* Newmarket, St. Michael[3]	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Gwaunysgor, St. Mary	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Halkin, St. Mary	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Holywell or **Treffynnon,** Gwenvrewi	Nominated by Jesus College, Oxford, and confirmed by Robert Davis, Esq.
The Well Chapel, Gwenvrewi.	

[1] Rice Rees ascribes this church to St. Mary which of course must be late. The place-name, however, could mean and perhaps does mean Cain's Retreat, for in a vale under Moel Vamma within this parish a female saint is said to have "built a cell, and lived in solitude and devotion . . . . . The vale in which she dwelt is still called Nant Cain, and the brook which runs from the mountain that shelters it also retains the name of Cain" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, *s* Kilken). Without accepting Lewis's identification of this Cain with the Eurgain of Northop, who was a daughter of Maelgwn Gwynedd; and without insisting that she is the well-known Cain Wyry, daughter of Brychan, who has left her name throughout the Western Brittania of the fifth and sixth centuries from Anglesey to Somerset and Cornwall, one may still surmise that a Cain is the primitive saint of Cilcain. See, however, Sir John Rhys's *Celtic Folklore*, ii, 513, n. 2.

[2] There is a *Ffynnon Asa*, "Asa's Well" in this parish.

[3] Rice Rees's *Essay on the Welsh Saints*, p. 37.

Llanasa, Asa	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Gwespyr (*Capel Beuno*), Beuno.	
Meliden or **Allt Meliden**[1]	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Nannerch, St Mary	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Northop or **Llaneurgain,** Eurgain[2]	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Flint, St. Mary.	
Rhuddlan, St. Mary	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Cevn Du Chapel.	
St. Asaph or **Llanelwy,** Asa[3]	The Crown of Bishopric; the Bishop of Vicarage.
Wigvair Chapel, St. Mary.[4]	
Tremeirchion or **Cwm Dymeirchion,** Holy Rood[5]	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Whitford[6]	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Capel Tre'r Abad.	
Capel y Gelli.	
Ysgeiviog, St. Mary	Bishop of St. Asaph.

[1] Browne Willis ascribes this church to a St. Melid (*Par. Anglic.*, 219).

[2] St. Peter later.

[3] The association of this cathedral church with St. Kentigern of Strathclyde is suspiciously like that of Llandaff with Dubricius, for as Teilo is undoubtedly the original saint and founder of the latter, so Asa seems to be of the former. There is a strange absence of Kentigern's name in connection with the place names around St. Asaph, whereas that of Asa is found in abundance. The common name of Cambria for the old kingdom of Cumbria and for Wales would partly account for the story of his visit to the latter, whilst the greater fame of Kentigern, as compared with Asa, might possibly incite the St. Asaph ecclesiastics to welcome him as their founder, especially if their house was in any danger of absorption by a stronger house, like that of Bangor in Gwynedd. The whole subject, however, wants carefully working out. It is curious that St. Asaph in Welsh takes its name from the river Elwy, as Llandaff from the river Tâv.

[4] "Near the river Elwy in the township of Wigvair is Ffynnon Vair" (Mary's Well). "Adjoining the well are the ruins of an ancient cruciform chapel, which, prior to the Reformation, was a chapel of ease to St. Asaph" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, *s* Asaph).

[5] *Report on MSS. in Welsh*, i, 914, note 26, "y grog lan". There is, however, a Ffynnon Veuno (Beuno's Well) in this parish. Dymeirchion is for older Din Meirchion.

[6] "It seems probable that Whitford Church, now dedicated to St. Mary, was at first dedicated to St. Beuno. It was evidently

2. Deanery of Mold, *Flintshire.*

	Patrons in 1720.
Estyn or **Hope,** formerly **Llangyngar,** Cyngar	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Plas y Bwl Chapel.	
Mold or **Y Wyddgrug,** St. Mary and Y Ddelw Vyw	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Nerquis, St. Mary.	
Treddin, St. Mary	
Capel y Spon.	

3 Deanery of Rhôs, *Carnarvonshire.*

	Patrons in 1720.
Eglwys Rhôs, St. Hilary	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Penrhyn Chapel, St. Mary.[1]	
Llangystennin. See Abergele below.	
Llysvaen. See Llandrillo below.	

Denbighshire.

Abergele, St Michael	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Abergele, Chapel in churchyard, St. Michael	
Bettws Abergele, St. Michael	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llangystennin (Carnarvonshire), Constantine	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanwddin, Gwddin.	

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the mother church of Holywell, and the *Valor* of 1535 records the annual payment by the latter of two shillings to S. Beuno, which may have been the formal acknowledgment of such connection. A piece of land at Holywell still goes by the name of Gerddi Beuno (his gardens); and his stone is shewn in the Well there" (*Lives of the British Saints,* i, 219, where reference is made to Thomas' *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph,* 1st ed., pp. 466-7, 488).

[1] "At a short distance from the house [*i.e.*, Penrhyn, now an old farm house to the left of the road past the Little Orme to Llandrillo] is the family chapel, now desecrated into a stable; it is about twenty-five feet long, by fifteen wide; the altar table of stone is recollected by several now living; by a grant of Pope Nicholas, three fourths of the tithe of Penrhyn were attached to this chapel, and the same is now vested in the estate. The family for a long period after the reformation professed the Roman Catholic religion, and they kept a priest, who officiated in this chapel for themselves and a few [Roman] Catholic neighbours" (Rev. Robert Williams's *Aberconwy,* 1835, p. 128).

Cegidog or **Llansansior,** St. George[1]	Prince of Wales.
Cerrig y Drudion[2] or **Llanvair Vadlen,** St. Mary Magdalene	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Eglwys Vach, St. Martin[3]	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Gwytherin or **Pennant Gwytherin,** Eleri	Bishop of St. Asaph.
St. Winefred's Chapel, Gwenvrewi.	
Henllan, Sadwrn	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Abbey Chapel.	
Llanddoged, Doged	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanddulas, Cynbryd	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llandrillo yn Rhôs, Trillo[4]	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Capel Sanffraid, Ffraid.	
Llanelian yn Rhos, Elian	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llansanffraid Glyn Conwy *or* Diserth, Ffraid	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llysvaen *or* Llangynvran (Carnarvonshire), Cynvran	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llangernyw, Digain Vrenin	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Marchaled *or* Capel Voelas.	
Llangwm Dinmael	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanyvydd[5]	Bishop of St. Asaph.

[1] "The parish church of Llansansior (St. George), near Abergele, seems to have been at first the board land chapel of Dinorben and of Isdulas commot. It stands in the same township (Cegidog ucha) as the maerdref. Its advowson was in the hands, not of the bishop, but of the lord of Denbighland, in which lordship Isdulas was" (Palmer and Owen, *Ancient Tenures,* 110).

[2] *i.e.,* the Stones of the Brave, though there are who will still have it that the name refers to Druids!

[3] "In a will dated 1648 mention is made of a meadow called 'Gweirglodd Ffynnon Asaph' in Erethlyn in the parish of Eglwys Fach, Denbighshire" (*Lives of the British Saints,* i, 184, where reference is made to *Arch. Camb.,* 1887, p. 158).

[4] Rice Rees places Llandrillo yn Rhos over Llanelian, Llansanffraid, and Llysvaen on the strength of a statement in Edwards' *Cathedral of St. Asaph* to the effect that these three are supposed to have been chapels of ease to Llandrillo "because the Rector and Vicar have a share of the tithes in each".

[5] This name is so spelt in the Peniarth MS. 147, of about 1566 (J. Gwenogvryn Evans's *Report,* i, 914, col. i), and Llan Heueth in Leland's *Itin. in Wales,* ed. 1906, p. 98. "In a field belonging to

Llanrwst, Grwst	**Bishop of St. Asaph.**
Capel Garmon, Garmon.	
Capel Marchell, Marchell.	
Capel Rhyddyn.	
Gwydir Chapel.	
Llansannan, Sannan	**Bishop of St. Asaph.**
Llanvair Talhaearn, St. Mary[1]	**Bishop of St. Asaph.**
Llanvihangel Glyn Myvyr, St. Michael	**Bishop of St. Asaph.**
Nantglyn, St. James	**Bishop of St. Asaph.**
Whitchurch or **Eglwys Wen** or **Llanvarchell,** Marchell	**Bishop of St. Asaph.**
Capel Fleming, St. Ann.	
Denbigh *or* Dinbych, St. Hilary.[2]	
Denbigh Castle Chapel.	
St. Mary's Priory, St. Mary.	
Ysbytty Ivan, St. John Baptist	**Sir Geo. Williams and Mr. Edwards, the impropriators.**
Capel Pentre.	

4. Deanery of Bromfield and Iâl, *Denbighshire.*

	Patrons in 1720.
Bryn Eglwys, Tysilio	**W. Williams Wynne, Esq.**
Llandysilio yn Iâl, Tysilio	**W. Williams Wynne, Esq.**
Llanegwest or *Valle Crucis,* St. Mary.	

Llechryd, in the parish of Llannefydd, is another well called **Ffynnon** Asa. It forms the source of the brook Afon Asa, which runs into the Meirchion, a tributary of the Elwy. The field, as 'Kae ffynnon Assaphe' is mentioned in an indenture dated February 16, 1656" (*Lives of the British Saints,* i, 184).

[1] In J. G. Evans' *Report,* i, 914, col. i, this place is called "ll. fair ddol hayarn".

[2] "The chapel of St. Hilary, Denbigh, is known to represent the domestic chapel of the lord of the commot of Isaled; its advowson was in the gift of the lord of Denbigh, but the history of its tithes has not been unravelled" (Palmer and Owen's *Ancient Tenures,* 1910, p. 110, note 1).

Erbistock, Erbyn[1]	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Gresford, All Saints[2]	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Allington or *Rosset Green Chapel.* St. Peter.[3]	
Capel Iscoed, St. Paul.[4]	
Holt, St. Chad.[4]	Chapter of Winchester.
Holt Castle Chapel.	
St. Leonard's Chapel of the Glyn, St. Leonard.[5]	
Llanarmon yn Iâl, Garmon	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llandegle, Tegle	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanverrys or **Llanverreis**[6]	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Marchwiel. See Bangor Iscoed, Diocese of Chester.	

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[1] "Saynt Erbyns" appears under Erbistock in the *Valor* of 1535, as quoted in the *Lives of British Saints,* ii, 458, where it is also stated that there is a "Vale of Erbine" below the church.

[2] Lhuyd in 1699 mentions a "Fynon Holhseint" in this parish (*Arch. Camb*, 1905, p. 283).

[3] In 1833 no vestiges of this chapel were discernible except the cemetery (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales, s* Gresford). For this and other interesting particulars, see Mr. A. N. Palmer's valuable article in *Arch. Camb.*, 1905, pp. 184-5. "St. Peter's chapel, otherwise known as 'the board land chapel', mentioned under that title in 1562, and not pulled down until about the end of the eighteenth century. This building represented the Welsh chieftain's chapel, and long continued as a chapel-of-ease to the parish church" (Palmer and Owen's *Ancient Tenures,* 108-9).

[4] "Js koed, kappel wrth Resfford" (J. G. Evans's *Report,* i, 914, col. iii). Capel Iscoed and Holt were chapelries in Chester diocese in 1733 (*Par. Anglic.*, 218). See also *Arch. Camb.*, 1910, pp. 358-368.

[5] Presumably in the township of Llai (*Arch. Camb.* 1904, p. 179).

[6] These names presuppose either Merrys and Merreis, or Berrys and Berreis. From the latter arose the common ascription of this church to St. Britius, successor of St. Martin in Tours, under his popular name of St. Brice. This ascription appears to be as old as the end of the sixteenth century (*Lives of British Saints,* i, 207). Notwithstanding the support given to this view by Browne Willis and subsequent writers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Rice Rees is discreetly silent.

Ruabon for **Rhiw Vabon**, St. Mary[1]	**Bishop of St. Asaph.**
Capel Collen, Collen.	
Wrexham, Silin	**Bishop of St. Asaph.**
Berse Drelincourt Chapel.	
Capel Silin, Silin.	
Minera Chapel *or* Capel Mwnglawdd.[2]	

5. Deanery of Marchia, *Denbighshire.*

	Patrons in 1720.
Chirk or **Eglwys y Weun**, St. Mary	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanarmon Dyffryn Ceiriog, Garmon	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llangollen, Collen	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Trevor.[3]	
Llanrhaeadr ym Mochnant, Doewan[4]	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanarmon Mynydd Mawr, Garmon.	
Llangadwaladr, Cadwaladr.[5]	
Llangedwyn, Cedwyn.	
Llanwddin (Montgomeryshire), Gwddin.	
Llansanffraid Glyn Ceiriog, Ffraid	J. Middleton, Esq.
Llansilin yng Nghynllaith, Silin	Bishop of St. Asaph.

[1] Llangollen appears to have been the mother church of Wrexham, Ruabon, Llansantffraid Glyn Ceiriog, and Llandegle, which last were once all chapels (although Rice Rees is followed here as generally elsewhere in this present list). Ruabon itself also appears to have had a Collen ascription before the present one of St. Mary (Archdeacon Thomas's *St. Asaph*, ed. 1888, pp. 40 and 43, note 10).

[2] Minera is "a low Latin term meaning 'ore' or 'mine', and applied to this township (which has also a corresponding Welsh designation 'Mwnglawdd') as early as 1339" (Palmer and Owen's *Ancient Tenures*, 243-4).

[3] This chapel (now a parish church) was built for private use in 1742, and not consecrated till 1772 (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, *s* Trevor-Traian). "There is a Chapel of Ease to *Llangollen* at *Trevorissa*" (*Par Anglic.*, ed. 1733, p. 232).

[4] "On the Berwyns grows the Cloudberry (Rubus Chamœmorus) called in Welsh Mwyar Berwyn, and also sometimes Mwyar Doewan, from Doewan, the patron saint of Llanrhaiadr-ym-Mochnant" (*Gossiping Guide to Wales*, ed. 1907, p. 147, as revised by Mr. Phillimore).

[5] Called Bettws Cadwaladr in Taxatio of 1291, p. 286, which indicates, as does the fact that it was a chapel, that it is not one of the oldest foundations.

Shropshire.

Kinnerley[1]	The Crown.
Knockin,[2] St. Mary	Sir John Bridgman.
Llanyblodwel or **Llanvihangel ym Mlodwel,** St. Michael	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Moreton Chapel	Sir John Bridgman.
Llanymynech,[3]	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Melverley. See Llandrinio in Deanery of Pole and Caereinion.	
Oswestry or **Croes Oswallt,** St. Oswald	Duke of Powis.
Aston Chapel	Robert Lloyd, Esq.
St. Martin's, St. Martin	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Selattyn, St. Mary	Robert Lloyd, Esq.
Whittington, St. John Baptist	Robert Lloyd, Esq.

6. Deanery of Mawddwy, *Merionethshire.*

	Patrons in 1720.
Llan ym Mawddwy, Tydecho	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Caereinion Vechan or *Llandybbo.*	
Dinas Mawddwy Chapel.	
Garthbeibio (Montgomeryshire), Tydecho[4]	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Mallwyd, Tydecho	Bishop of St. Asaph.

7. Deanery of Edernion and Penllyn, *Merionethshire.*

Edernion.

	Patrons in 1720.
Bettws Gwervyl Goch, St. Mary[5]	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Corwen, Mael *and* Sulien	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Rhûg Chapel.[6]	

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[1] This church, ascribed by Browne Willis to St. Mary, "had, it would appear, an earlier dedication to S. Ffraid" (*Lives of the British Saints*, ii, 283).

[2] There is said to have been a chapel to St. John and St. David, formerly in Knockin (*Arch. Camb*, 1910, p. 484).

[3] Browne Willis ascribes Llanymynech to St. Agatha; the name signifies the *llan* of the monks. There is a St. Bennion's Well in this parish, supposed to represent Beuno (*Lives of the British Saints*, i, 210, note 4).

[4] Browne Willis in 1733 places Garthbeibio in the Deanery of Welshpool and Caereinion (*Par. Anglic.*, 220).

[5] Near this church is a Ffynnon Veuno, Beuno's Well.

[6] "Founded by Colonel William Salusbury, who was governor of Denbigh Castle during the parliamentary war" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

Gwyddelwern, Beuno	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llandderfel, Dervel Gadarn	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llandrillo, Trillo	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llangar, All Saints	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llansanffraid Glyn Dyvrdwy, Ffraid	Bishop of St. Asaph.

DEANERY OF EDERNION AND PENLLYN, *Merionethshire.*

Penllyn.

	Patrons in 1720.
Llangowair, Cowair	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanuwchllyn, Deiniol	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanvawr ym Mhenllyn, Deiniol[1]	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanycil, Beuno	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Bala Chapel[2]	

8. DEANERY OF CEDEWAIN, *Montgomeryshire.*

	Patrons in 1720.
Aberhavesp, Gwynnog	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Berriew for **Aber Rhiw,** Beuno	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Bettws Cedewain, Beuno	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llandysul, Tysul	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanllwchaearn, Llwchaearn	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llam-yr-ewig, Llwchaearn	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanllygan	Richard Hughes, Esq.
Llanwyddelan, Gwyddelan	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Manavon, St. Michael	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Dolgynvelin Chapel.	
Newtown, St. Mary	Bishop of St. Asaph.

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[1] This church, commonly known as Llanvor, together with Llannor or Llanvor in Carnarvonshire, which also stands for Llan Vawr, *i.e.*, the great Llan, and also Llanynys in Denbighshire, are ascribed by Rice Rees, either wholly or in part, to a saint Mor. The poem quoted by him on pp. 117-8 of his *Essay* from the *Myv. Archaiology*, i, 120, in support of his contention, contains no reference to any saint of this name, nor does Browne Willis appear to have heard of him. It is right to say, however, that the poet Lewis Glyn Cothi, according to the printed text, refers to such a saint in one of his poems—

Nawdd Mair, nawdd ei mab, ar El'sabedd;
Nawdd Ilar, nawdd Mor, a nawdd Elwedd;

(L. G. Cothi's *Works*, ed. 1837, vol. i, 88).

[2] Bala Chapel was erected by subscription in 1811 (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, *s.* Bala).

Tregynon,[1]	— Weaver, Esq.

9. Deanery of Cyveiliog, *Montgomeryshire.*

	Patrons in 1720.
Cemes, Tydecho	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Darowen, Tudur	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanbrynmair, St. Mary	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Talerddig Chapel.	
Llanwrin, Gwrin	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Machynlleth, St. Peter	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Penegos *or* Penegwest *alias* Llangadvarch,[2] Cadvarch	Bishop of St. Asaph.

10. Deanery of Pole and Caereinion, *Montgomeryshire.*

	Patrons in 1720.
Castell Caereinion, Garmon	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Garthbeibio. See Llan ym Mawddwy in Deanery of Mawddwy.	
Guilsfield or **Cegidva,** Aelhaearn	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Hirnant, Illog	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llandrinio, Trinio	Bishop of St. Asaph *in commendam.*
Llandysilio, Tysilio.	
Melverley (Shropshire). St. Peter.[3]	
New Chapel, Holy Trinity.	
Llanervyl, Ervyl	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Dolwen Chapel.	
Llangadvan, Cadvan[4]	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Cyffin.	

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[1] Browne Willis ascribes this church to a "St. Knonkell" (*Par. Anglic.*, 221), the first part of which name looks like Cynon. In the *Progenies Keredic* there is a "kenider Gell. filius kynon filii keredic" (*Y Cymmrodor*, xix, 27).

[2] "Ecclesia de Penegwest alias Llan Gadfarch," quoted in *Lives of British Saints*, ii, 10, as being on a 1728 chalice belonging to this church.

[3] Browne Willis places Melverly in the Deanery of Marchia, Shropshire.

[4] "It is supposed that there were formerly chapels in the townships of Cyffin, Cowny and Maesllymysten, which were served by monks from the adjoining monastery of Cyffin; and, according to tradition, the inhabitants of these townships had no sittings in the parish church, the smallness of which appears to corroborate the account" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833).

Llangynog, Cynog	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llangynyw, Cynyw	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llansanffraid ym Mechain, Ffraid	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanvair Caereinion, St. Mary	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Capel Cil-yr-ych.	
Llanvechain or **Llanarmon ym Mechain,** Garmon	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanvihangel yng Ngwynva, St. Michael[1]	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanvyllin, Myllin	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Llanwddin. See Llanrhaeadr ym Mochnant in Deanery of Marchia.	
Meivod, Gwyddvarch *and* Tysilio	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Pennant Melangell, Melangell	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Hen Eglwys.[2]	
Welshpool or **Trallwng,** Llywelyn[3]	Bishop of St. Asaph.
Buttington, All Saints.[4]	

[1] "It is more commonly called 'Llanvihangel y Gwynt' (St. Michael's the Windy), from the bleakness of its surface, to distinguish it from 'Llanvihangel yng Nghentyn', as the Welsh designate Alberbury, on the confines of Salop" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833). Gwynva, of course, is right, being the old name of the district in which the church is situated.

[2] "On the mountain between Llanwddyn and [Pennant Melangell] there is a circular enclosure surrounded by a wall, called 'Hen Eglwys'" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, *s* Pennant).

[3] There can be no doubt as to Llywelyn being the primitive and original saint of Welshpool. His name appears in connection with this place in the earliest and best copies of *Bonedd y Saint*. The ascription to Cynvelyn is due to confusion with Llywelyn; that to St. Mary is, of course, later.

[4] Buttington was made a distinct parish in 1759, having been a chapelry to Welshpool before that date (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, *s* Buttington).

Diocese of Hereford.

Radnorshire.

	Patrons in 1721.
Knighton *or* Trevýclawdd, St. Edward[1]	Hospital of Clun.
Michaelchurch on Arrow *or* Llanvihangel Dyffryn, St. Michael.[2]	
New Radnor or **Maes Hyvaidd,** St. Mary.[3]	The Crown.
Old Radnor or **Pencraig,** St. Stephen	Chapter of Worcester.
Ednol.[4]	
Kinnarton, St. Mary.	
Llaniago, St. James.	
Presteign or **Llanandras,** St. Andrew	Earl of Oxford and Mortimer.
Discoed, St. Michael.	
Norton *or* Nortyn, St. Andrew	The Crown.
Byton, St. Mary } in Herefordshire.	
Kinsham } in Herefordshire.	
Lingen, St. Michael } in Herefordshire.	

Monmouthshire.

Dixton or **Llandydiwg,** Tydiwg[5]	Lord Gage.

[1] A chapel to Stow (St. Michael), Shropshire. Dona is commemorated near Knighton in Radnorshire, where there is a Craig Dona and a chasm in a rock known as Dona's bed; also a holy well where people used formerly to resort on Sunday evenings (J. T. Evans's *Church Plate of Radnorshire*, 37, notes 5 and 6).

[2] A chapel to Kington (St. Mary), Herefordshire.

[3] "There is an olde churche stondynge now as a chapell by the castle. Not very farre thens is the new paroche churche buildyd by one William Bachefeld and Flory his wyfe" (Leland's *Itin. in Wales*, ed. 1906, p. 10).

[4] "Ednol Chapel now a ruin, four walls and no roof, is used for folding sheep. The font is in the garden at the Grove."—J.A.B. (June 1909).

[5] Dixton *olim* Dukeston = Hennlann Titiuc, Ecclesia Tytiuc, etc., of the *Book of Llan Dâv* (*v*, Index, 404), *i.e.*, Tydiwg or Diwg, whence the names Dukeston and later Dixton have sprung. The saint is the Dwywc of the *Iolo MSS.*, p. 128, and the place name is probably represented in the Peniarth MS., 147, of *circa* 1566, by "ll. giwc" (Evans's *Report*, i, 919, col. iii).

Wyesham Chapel.[1]	
Monmouth or **Trevynwy,** St. Mary	Duke of Beaufort.
Monmouth, St. Thomas.[2]	
Welsh Bicknor or **Llangystennin Garth Benni**, Constantine[3]	The Crown.
Welsh Newton, St. Mary[4]	Sir William Compton.
Montgomeryshire.	
Chirbury or **Ffynnon Wen** (Shropshire), St. Michael	Free School of Salop.
Churchstoke, St. Nicholas.	
Forden.	
Hyssington.	
Montgomery, St. Nicholas	The Crown.
Snead.	

[1] "There was formerly a chapel at Wyesham, where are some slight remains called the 'Friars' stump'" (Lewis's *Top. Dic. England*, ed. 1844, *s.*, Dixton). "A cottage now occupies site of chapel. One small Gothic window remains."—J.A.B.

[2] "*St. Thomas Capella* in *Monmouth*, annext to *Monmouth* St. *Mary's* in the Diocese of *Hereford*, its Parish or Mother-Church" (*Par. Anglic.*, ed. 1733, p. 203).

[3] Welsh Bicknor, although geographically in Herefordshire, was formerly in the county of Monmouth. The later dedication is to St. Margaret.

[4] A part only of this parish was in Hereford Diocese (*Par. Anglic.*, 197).

Diocese of Chester.

Flintshire.

	Patrons in 1720.
Bangor Iscoed or **Bangor ym Maelor,** Deiniol	Mr. Lloyd.
Marchwiel (Denbighshire), Deiniol.	
Overton *or* Orton Madoc, St. Mary.	
Worthenbury, Deiniol	Mr. Puleston.
Hanmer, St. Chad	Sir Thomas Hanmer.
Llaneliver.	
Hawarden, Deiniol[1]	Sir Stephen Glynn.
Broughton, St. Mary.[2]	
Buckley, St. Matthew.[2]	

Denbighshire.

Capel Iscoed Holt	} chapelries.	See Gresford, Deanery of Bromfield and Iâl.

Diocese of Lichfield.

Flintshire.

Penley, St. Mary (chapelry to Ellesmere, Shropshire).[3]

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[1] The dedication of Hawarden Church is given as All Saints in Evans's *Report on MSS. in Welsh*, i, 914, note 32. Holy Cross also puts in a claim, so that judging from Lhuyd's evidence in 1699, there is a third claimant (*Lives of British Saints*, ii, 329, note 1).

[2] Buckley Church was erected in 1822, and Broughton Chapel of Ease before 1833 (Lewis's *Top. Dic. Wales*, ed. 1833, *s* Hawarden).

[3] Browne Willis places Penley in Denbighshire (*Par. Anglic*, ed. 1733, p. 218).

NOTE ON ST. DAVID.

(*a*) *St. David's Paternal Ancestry.*—St. David's paternal pedigree is as follows, *Dewi ab Sant ab Cedig ab Ceredig ab Cunedda Wledig.* There is unanimous agreement on the part of all old and reliable documents as to this pedigree except in one particular, namely, Sant's father. The *De Situ*, the *Cognacio*, and the *Progenies Keredic*, all affiliate Sant to Ceredig and not to Cedig; so also the *White Book* and the various *Vitae S. David* (Welsh and Latin), and the *Jesus College MS. 20.* On the other hand the two oldest copies of *Bonedd y Saint* in the Peniarth collection, MSS. 16 and 45, affiliate Sant to Cedig. It is true that Cedig may merely be a scribal contraction for Ceredig; but that the name did exist seems evident from the *Progenies Keredic*, where we have Kedic or Kedich given as a son of that prince. Nothing seems to be known of Cedig, for which cause it is more likely that his name should have dropped out than that it should have been put in.

It should be noticed that St. David's descent from Cunedda is through the princes of Ceredigion and not through those of Gwynedd or of the rest of North Wales. There are no ancient foundations of St. David in the whole of Gwynedd, nor indeed in the whole of the Cuneddan district with the notable exception of Ceredigion; and it is a remarkable fact that even in Ceredigion they are confined to the southern division. [By the Cuneddan district I here mean the same as defined in the *Harleian MS. 3859* and the *Vita S. Carantoci*, namely, from the river Dee to the river Teivi or the river Gwaun.]

(*b*) *St. David's Maternal Pedigree.*—According to the oldest and most reliable copies of *Bonedd y Saint*, St. David's mother was Non, daughter of Cynyr of Caergawch in Mynyw. Caergawch, as the name implies, would represent a stronghold, and Mynyw the district wherein it was situated, namely, the peninsula, in which St. David's now stands, forming the whole of the northern promontory of St. Bride's Bay in Pembrokeshire. It is to the south of the river Gwaun, and consequently outside the Cuneddan district. Nothing seems to be told us of Cynyr in ancient and trustworthy documents.

Non's mother is given as Anna, daughter of Vthyr Pendragon, in the thirteenth century *Mostyn MS. 117*, but it should be stated as a warning to the unwary that the pedigrees, in which this occurs, are appended to a copy of Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Brittaniae*, are written by the same hand as that work, and are confessedly affected by it. In this particular, however, they contradict Geoffrey, who, in Book ix, ch. 15, describes St. David as Arthur's *avunculus*, that is, Arthur's uncle. In other words, whereas these pedigrees would make St. David to be Arthur's great nephew, Geoffrey would make him brother to one of Arthur's parents.

The evidence seems to shew that St. David, like Brychan Brycheiniog, had more to do with his mother and her kindred and country than with his father. The southernmost boundary reached by the stock of Cunedda in Pembrokeshire was the river Gwaun, but it was in Mynyw, south of the Gwaun, that St. David was born, and it was in Mynyw that he built his chief foundation. Beyond the fact

of paternity Sant's concern with David would seem to have been of the slightest, whilst the close association of the saint with his mother, Non, is witnessed by the curious fact that so many of his churches are accompanied by those of his mother. Mr. Willis Bund goes so far as to write as follows: "That in after-life he adhered to his mother and her people only confirms the view that he had no rights of succession from his father; and that he counted his descent from Cunedda, to which some writers attach so much importance, as less than nothing."

(c) *St. David as Patron of Wales.*—The *Vita S. David* is confessedly written by Rhygyvarch, apparently Rhygyvarch ab Sulien, who died in 1099. He compiled it, so he tells us, from what he had found scattered in the very oldest writings of the country, and especially those of the monastery of St. David's itself, which had survived the ravages of moth and time and were written after the old style of the ancients. By this we understand that he had several written sources in ancient hands, from which he made excerpts, throwing them together into the usual form of a saint's *Vita.*

It is amply clear from this compilation of Rhygyvarch that as early as the eleventh century the Bishops of St. David's were claiming to be metropolitan archbishops. We are told that thirty years before St. David was born, St. Patrick, the future apostle of Ireland, came to Dyved and settled at *Vallis Rosina* where he vowed to serve God. An angel however was sent to inform him that *Vallis Rosina* was reserved for a child unborn, yea, for a child who would not see light for thirty years to come. St. Patrick therefore was obliged to surrender *Vallis Rosina* to St. David and to depart for Ireland. In Brittania, therefore, although St. Patrick was a native and a Briton, St. David was greater than he. Again, it happened that the famous St. Gildas was struck dumb whilst preaching in the presence of Non at the time that she held the unborn St. David in her womb, the reason being that the unborn child excelled him in grace and power and rank, for God had given him status, sole rule, and control of affairs over all the saints of Brittania for ever. Gildas could no longer stay, for to St. David was committed the monarchy over all the men of this island. Necessity was laid upon Gildas to find some other island and to leave the whole of Brittania to St. David, who in honourable rank, effulgent wisdom and eloquence of speech would excel all the doctors of Brittania. And so just as St. David was shewn to be greater than St. Patrick, he was also shewn to be greater than St. Gildas.

In this story the name of Gildas has been substituted for that of Aelvyw, a well known saint and bishop of Munster, to whom the incident is referred both in his *Vita* and also in the *Historia Regum Brittaniae* (Book vii, 3) where he is correctly described as *praedicator Hyberniae*, a preacher of Ireland. Aelvyw was an early Irish saint, a contemporary of St. Patrick, and lived for a while in the *regio* of Mynyw, where his foundation is still extant four miles to the east of St. David's and now known as St. Elvis. He is mentioned in the *Vita S. David* as *Helue Meneviensium* (vel *Muminensium*) *episcopus* and as having baptized St. David. The substitution of Gildas for Aelvyw has been clumsily done for Gildas is made to say that he will have to go to another island which was true of Aelvyw who finally settled in Ireland and not of the substituted Gildas, who finally settled in

Brittany. St. Gildas was eight years younger than St. David, but it served the metropolitan claim to shew that St. David was superior to the really far more celebrated author of the *Epistola Gildae*, who was also the reputed author of the *Excidium Brittaniae.*

St. David is made to go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem with St. Teilo and St. Padarn, the patrons of the two powerful monasteries of Llandâv and Llanbadarn Vawr respectively. When they reach the continent St. David is distinguished from his two companions by being endowed with the gift of tongues like the apostles of old. And so as St. David is superior to St. Patrick and St. Gildas, he is also superior to St. Teilo and St. Padarn; and this is further shewn by the statement that whereas the three were consecrated bishops by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, St. David received the additional honour of being raised to the degree of archbishop.

Again, a great synod is held at Brevi where it is agreed that one should be made metropolitan archbishop. As none present is able to meet the required conditions, St. Daniel, patron of the powerful rival house of Bangor in North Wales, and St. Dubricius, another patron of Llandâv and the consecrator of St. Samson, the reputed metropolitan archbishop of Dol in Brittany,—these two are made to fetch St. David, and lo! in the presence of such celebrities, and with the consent of all the bishops, kings, princes, nobles, and all ranks of the whole Brittanic race, St. David is made Archbishop; and his city, St. David's, is set apart as the metropolis of the whole country, so that whosoever should rule it in future, should be accounted Archbishop. And so St. David was *caput et previus ac bragmaticus omnibus Brittonibus* and so forth to the same primatial effect, by which account we are made sure of this much at least that Mynyw was claiming to be the head and centre of Welsh Christianity before the interminable period when alien or alienized bishops began to be foisted on the see by outsiders.

For the same purpose of shewing forth the glory of St. David, Rhygyvarch tells us that he founded twelve monasteries in all to the praise of God. The list, with which he provides us, is the earliest we have of the possessions and daughter foundations of St. David's, and is as follows:—Glastonia; Bathonia; Croulan; Repetun; Colguan; Glascun; Leuministre; Raglam in Gwent; Langemelach in Guhir; the foundations of Boducat and (?) Martrun in the province of Cydweli, who submitted to him; and Rosina Vallis or Hodnant. In the Welsh version of the *Vita S. David* Glastonia appears as Glastynburi; Bathonia as Yr Enneint Twymyn; Krowlan; Repecwn; Collan; Glasgwin; Lann Llieni on the Severn; Raclan in Gwent: Llann Gyfuelach in Gwyr; Boducat and Nailtrum in Cydweli; and Glyn Rosin or Hodnant. These twelve foundations in modern style would read as follows:—Glastonbury, Bath, Croyland (Lincolnshire), Repton (Derbyshire), Colva, Glasgwm, Leominster, Raglan, Llangyvelach in Gower, two foundations in the Kidwely district, and St. David's. That these are the places intended by the *Vita S. David* there can be little or no doubt.

Rhygyvarch, as son of a bishop of St. David's, was in the best possible position to know what were its possessions and daughter foundations in the century in which he was writing: and wherever in his list he keeps within what was or became the diocese of St. David's, his evidence is confirmed by that to the *Black Book of St. David's*, which

is an extent of the estates of the bishopric in 1326. Of the twelve foundations, Glasgwm in Radnorshire, Llangyvelach in Gower, and of course St. David's itself, are well known possessions of the bishopric as recorded in the extent. Colva is a chapelry under Glasgwm "dedicated" to St. David and therefore goes with the Glasgwm property. The two foundations in the province of Cydweli are doubtless represented by the estates recorded in that district, where we still find Llanarthneu attributed to St. David (with Llanlluan and Capel Dewi given as daughter establishments), also Bettws, to say nothing of a Llan Non under Penbre. Thus six of the twelve monasteries present little or no difficulty. But once Rhygyvarch goes outside the diocese he is clearly following the wild guesses of writers, who were neither so familiar with the possessions of the see nor so well acquainted with the localities. Raglan in Gwent, for example, although also associated with St. Cadog, may very well have been a Dewi church like the neighbouring Llanddewi Rhydderch and Llanddewi Ysgyryd, but it is far more likely to have been so owing to one of the several of this name (all distinct from him of Mynyw) mentioned in the *Book of Llandâv*. Again, Leominster in its Welsh form Llanllieni could easily be a misreading of the well known St. David's property of Llanlluan in Carmarthenshire, mentioned above and in the extent; so also Glastonia for Glascom, misread as Glaston, that is, Glasgwm; Croulan for Rhiwlen, which, like Colva, is a chapelry "dedicated" to St. David under Glasgwm; Repetun, or Repecwn, let us say for Lann Degui Cilpedec, that is, Kilpeck in Herefordshire, also probably after a Dewi other than the son of Non. All, then, that we can so far be certain of from the above list is, that at the time it was drawn up by Rhygyvarch or incorporated by him into his *Vita S. David*, within the second half of the eleventh century, St. David's had daughter foundations in the *regio* of Elvael in modern Radnorshire; in Gowerland in modern Glamorganshire; in the *regio* of Cydweli in modern Carmarthenshire; and in the *regio* of Mynyw in modern Pembrokeshire.

To these we must add, according to the Welsh life, two properties mentioned at the commencement of Rhygyvarch's Latin *Vita*, namely, Linhenlanu (for Linhenlann) near the river Teivi; and Maucanni monasterium, which was also known as Depositi monasterium. The former is identified in the Welsh life with Henllan on the river Teivi, and the other is referred to as Litoninancan (*for* Litonmaucan?) They appear to me to be represented to-day by Glyn Henllan in the parish of Cilgerran, and Llanveugan (pronounced Llanvoygan) in Bridell, in north-east Pembrokeshire, near the river Teivi.

The next list of foundations owned by St. David's is that found in the poem *Canu y Dewi*, by Gwynvardd Brycheiniog, who flourished between 1160 and 1220. They are twenty or so in number, Mynyw or St. David's; Maenordeivi; Llanddewi Brevi; Bangor Esgor; Henllan; Henvynyw; Llanarth; Meidrym; Abergwyli; Llanarthneu; Llangadog Vawr; Llanddewi'r Crwys; Llangyvelach in Gower; Llanvaes; Llywel; Garthbrengi; Trallwng; Glasgwm; Craig Vuruna; and "Ystrad Uynhid". Here, in addition to the establishments in the modern counties of Pembroke, Carmarthen, Radnor, and Glamorgan, we find others in Cardiganshire and Breconshire.

Thus, notwithstanding the fact that it is the object of both Rhygyvarch and the poet Gwynvardd Brycheiniog to exalt St. David and his see, they can recount no genuine foundation belonging to St. David's outside the diocese. And it is questionable whether in Rhygyvarch's time there was a single David church north of the river Teivi. The evidence seems to lead to the view that at the first St. David's monastery was a rival of St. Elvis in the *regio* of Mynyw, north of St. Bride's Bay in Pembrokeshire; that there was an early struggle for the pre-eminence in this *regio* between David and Aelvyw; that Mynyw became the chief religious establishment of Dyved, which at one time included Ystrad Towi; that there was a struggle between St. David's and Llanbadarn Vawr in upper Ceredigion, and with Llandav which claimed rights over the Teilo churches of south-west Wales; and that ultimately St. David's became supreme throughout the Deheubarth (which did not include Morgannwg); and that last of all after having attained this position, it made the bold claim of being the centre and head of all Welsh Christianity.

We are so accustomed to think of St. Davids as a kind of ecclesiastical octopus sprawling at the westernmost point of North Pembrokeshire and throwing its arms throughout Wales and the Devonian peninsula even to Brittany, that it comes to us as a kind of shock to be told that there is not a single ancient foundation of St. David throughout the whole of North Wales. Add to this that the same applies to the northern portion of Cardiganshire; that the David foundations of Monmouthshire and Herefordshire most probably belong in every instance to a David other than the patron saint; and that outside Gower there is no really ancient and genuine David foundation in the whole of Glamorganshire. Add to this again that the evidence is little short of being convincingly in favour of the view that St. Davids grew ecclesiastically with the political growth of the Deheubarth, and it will seem as though the actual St. David, who lived in Mynyw in the fifth century, has an altogether fictitious historic importance; in other words, it would seem as though St. David is not so important as St. Davids.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

Page 29, read after line 19, **Llanycevn.**

Page 31, read after line 8, **Crinow,** Teilo.

Page 55, read after line 25, *Glynn Henllan.*

Page 95, line 15, delete **Meirion,** Meirion, *later.* The note may stand, but I have misread Mr. Phillimore in *Y Cym.*, ix, 177, note 7.

Page 97, read after line 14,

Llanvair juxta Harlech, St. Mary	Bp. of Bangor.
Llanvrothen, Brothen	Bp. of Bangor.

PRIMITIVE SAINTS OF WALES.

PATRONS OF WELSH ECCLESIASTICAL BENEFICES AT THE EVE OF THE RISE OF WELSH METHODISM.

The Chronology of Arthur.

By the Rev. A. W. Wade-Evans,

Vicar of France Lynch, Glos.

"Wele'n awr y mae ein taith o'r diwedd wedi ein harwain ni hyd at vrenhinllys y penadur dieithr ac anirnadadwy hwnnw sy wedi peri cymaint o ddyryswch i hanesyddion a chwilwyr llenyddol yn yr oesoedd diweddar." Carnhuanawc (1836-1842).

CHAPTER I.

(*a*) *Evidence of the* Excidium Brittaniae.

In ch. 26 of the *Excidium Brittaniae* the siege of Badonicus Mons is given as occurring in "the forty-fourth year with one month already elapsed". Bede, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* i, 16, interpreted this passage as meaning the forty-fourth year from the Advent of the Saxons into Brittania at Vortigern's invitation. According to the Bedan date of this last event (449), the siege would have taken place in (449 + 43) = 492. According to a British date (428), it would be (428 + 43) = 471; and as the annalistic year in the fifth century commenced on September 1st with the indiction, 471 would mean *our* September 1st, 470, to August 31st, 471. If, then, the siege took place when the first month of the year had already elapsed, the date would be October, 470.

(*b*) *Evidence of the so-called* Annales Cambriae.

Two incidents in Arthur's life are dated in the so-called *Annales Cambriae* as follows:—

> Annus LXXII. The Battle of Badon, in which Arthur carried the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, for three days and three nights on his shoulders, and the Britons were victorious.

Annus XCIII. The Action of Camlann, in which Arthur and Medraut perished.

In the era of the *Annales Cambriae*, Annus LXXII gives (445+71)=516,[1] which does not correspond with "the forty-fourth year" of the *Excidium Brittaniae* whether this forty-fourth year be computed from 428 or 449. Nor does it give satisfaction if we equate the forty-fourth year with 516, and then compute backwards for the equivalent of Annus I, because we merely reach (516 *minus* 43)=473, which is otherwise unknown as an initial year for chronological calculation. In no way can we make Annus LXXII tally with the forty-fourth year of the *Excidium Brittaniae* by any calculation from initial years which are known to have been used for purposes of chronology, except by computing Annus LXXII from that year of Stilicho's consulship which is actually used as an initial year in the calculations which preface MS. A of the *Annales Cambriæ*, viz., the year 400. If Annus LXXII be computed from this year of Stilicho's consulship, we get 400+71=471; and as 471 means *our* Sept. 1st, 470 to Aug. 31st, 471, and as the siege occurred in the second month, we again arrive at October 470.

The other Arthurian annal from the same initial year gives as the date of the Action of Camlann and Arthur's

[1] There are still many students who do not seem to have observed that the editorial equation of Annus I of the so-called *Annales Cambriae* with the year 444 is in flat contradiction to the editorial equations of the other *Anni* of this chronicle, which are all based on the equation of Annus I with 445. For example, if Annus LXXII in the era of the *Annales Cambriae* is 516, as everybody agrees, then Annus I cannot possibly be 444. Surely it is not necessary to have to explain that if Annus LXXII in the era of the *Annales Cambriae* is the equivalent of 516, as everybody agrees, the way to find the equivalent of Annus I is to subtract from 516 not 72 but 71; or must it be set forth in sober print that if Annus II be 446, Annus I will not be 446 *minus* 2?

death therein (400+92)=492, that is, *our* Sept. 1st, 491 to Aug. 31st, 492.

(*c*) *Evidence of the* Historia Brittonum.

In ch. 56 of the *Historia Brittonum*, the statement that Arthur "carried the image of Saint Mary, perpetual virgin, on his shoulders, and the pagans were put to flight on that day, and a great slaughter was inflicted on them through the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, and through the power of Saint Mary, his mother" is associated with Arthur's eighth victory, viz., the Battle of Castellum Guinnion, and not with the Battle of Mons Badonis.

As to the Battle of Mons Badonis, Arthur is described as having slain 940 or 960 or 440 men in one day; and it is particularly stated that he did this by himself without assistance.

(*d*) *Evidence of the* Historia Regum Brittaniae.

In Book ix, ch. 1, Geoffrey states that Arthur was in his fifteenth year when he began to reign, but does not give the interval of time which elapsed between his succession to power and his first attack on his foreign foe. As he mentions twelve years of the reign in Book ix, ch. 10, and another nine years in the following chapter, Arthur must have ruled at least twelve *plus* nine, or twenty one years.

In the same ch. 11 of Book ix Arthur is made to land in Gaul, which is said to have been committed at that time to the charge of a certain Flollo, tribune of Rome, under the Emperor Leo. This Emperor Leo must either be Leo I, who ruled in the East from 457 to 474, or his successor Leo II, who only ruled for a few months in 474; for the next emperor of this name did not live till the eighth century. Leo is mentioned again as Arthur's con-

temporary in Book x, ch. 6, and in Book xi, ch. 1. As Arthur reigned *at least* twenty one years, and the two Leos only seventeen years between them, a portion of Arthur's regnal period must have fallen within the years 457 to 474, and another portion must have fallen outside them.

In Book viii, ch. 20, Geoffrey tells us that Arthur had a sister called Anna, who was married to Lot (Book viii, ch. 21) and became the mother of Walvanus (Gwalchmai). When Arthur had reached at least the twelfth year of his reign (Book ix, ch. 10), Walvanus was in his twelfth year, having already received arms from Pope Sulpicius or Suplicius, into whose service Arthur had sent him (Book ix, ch. 11). This Pope can be no other than Pope Simplicius, who ruled from 468 to 483. As Arthur's reign reached a tenth year after receiving the boy from Pope Simplicius (Book ix, ch. 11; Book x, ch 13), it must have extended to a tenth year from one of those during which Simplicius was Pope, that is, Arthur's reign must have terminated from (468+9) to (483+9), that is, from 477 to 492. It is certain therefore that Arthur ruled at least three years after the death of the Emperors Leo I and II in 474; and also that Arthur died sometime from 477 to 492.

In Book ix, ch. 4, Geoffrey unexpectedly and as it would seem *unwittingly* clears up the mystery surrounding Arthur's slaughter of 940 or 960 or 440 men at Mons Badonis by giving the number as 470, which is now seen to be none other than the date of the battle in our own familiar era. How the blunder in the *Historia Brittonum* originally arose is not easy to determine. "In uno die dccccxl," etc., may be a misreading for some form of "in a d cccclxx" that is, in anno domini cccclxx; or there may be some other explanation. But in any case Geoffrey

seems to have copied the number 470, which in the light of our other evidence, and especially in the light of the evidence of Geoffrey himself, is clearly a date in the Dionysian era.

Geoffrey therefore *beyond all doubt* is following a consistent tradition which places Arthur's victories and death within the last half of the fifth century. But that he overlooked the limits of time postulated by his references to Pope Simplicius and the Emperor Leo appears evident from the very definite date to which he ascribes Arthur's defeat in Book xi, ch. 2, namely, the year 542. In giving this definite date Geoffrey departs from his usual practice, and as by so doing he here dislocates the chronology which he appears to be unwittingly following, it is clearly an importation from another source. The date 542 is as designed as the implicit dates demanded by the references to Pope and Emperor are undesigned. What then is Geoffrey's authority for 542 as the year of Arthur's fall at Camlan? I do not hesitate to say that it is the *Annales Cambriae*, in which, as we have seen, Camlan is placed opposite Annus XCIII. Geoffrey equated Annus I with the Bedan date of the Saxon Advent, viz., 449, to which he simply added according to his wont Annus XCIII with the above result (449+93)=542.

As Arthur was in his fifteenth year when be began to reign, and as the parents assigned to him by Geoffrey, namely, Uther and Igerna, came together after Uther had been made king, Uther must have reigned at least fifteen years.

In Book viii, chs. 14 and 15, the death of Aurelius Ambrosius, whom Uther succeeded, is made to synchronize with the appearance of a comet of extraordinary brilliance and magnitude. The only phenomenon of this description, which our chronology allows, is the comet which appeared

in the winter of 442-3. It is mentioned by Idatius and Marcellinus, and was visible in Britain. In the following Easter Uther meets Igerna (viii, 19), marrying her soon afterwards, Arthur's birth occurring probably the next year, viz., 444. As Arthur was in his fifteenth year when he began to reign, Uther must have ruled till (444+14)=458. This would mean that Arthur was a contemporary of the Emperors Leo I, Leo II, and Zeno.

Assuming now that Arthur won at Mons Badonis in October 470, let us follow Geoffrey's chronology of subsequent events in Arthur's career, which I read as follows:—

ix, 8. Arthur is made to celebrate the following Christmas at York, *i.e.*, Christmas, 470.

ix, 10. Arthur is made to land in Ireland in the following summer, *i.e.*, the summer of 471. Arthur is made to return to Britain at the close of winter, *i.e.*, the close of winter, 472. Arthur is made to remain in Britain, ordering the affairs of his realm till the twelfth year, *i.e.* 472+11=483.

ix, 11. In 483, then, Arthur is made to attack Norway, Denmark, and Gaul. At this time Walvanus is in his twelfth year, having received arms from Pope Simplicius, who, as a matter of fact, died in this very year, 483. Walvanus, therefore, was born in 472. In the ninth year Arthur is made to return to Britain in early spring, *i.e.*, the early spring of (483+8)=491.

ix, 12. Arthur is made to celebrate the Whitsun Festival at Caerlleon, *i.e.*, Whitsun, 491.

ix, 15. The Romans are made to order Arthur's appearance at Rome by the middle of August

in the following year, *i.e.*, mid-August, 492. For some five years previous to Whitsun, 491, Arthur had engaged in no war (cf. also x, 7), *i.e.* (491 *minus* 4) to 491, *i.e.*, 487 to 491.

ix, 20; x, 2. Arthur is made to start for Rome at the beginning of August, *i.e.*, August, 491.

x, 13. Arthur is made to remain subduing the cities of the Allobroges in Gaul throughout the following winter, *i.e.*, 491-2; and with the opening summer to ascend the mountain passes for the City of Rome, *i.e.*, the opening summer of 492. At this point the news arrives of Modred's rebellion.

xi, 1. Arthur is made to hurry back to Britain, postponing his expedition against the Emperor "Leo". Battles are fought in rapid succession at Richborough, Winchester, and Camlan. In the latter Arthur falls, presumably in the summer of 492.

Geoffrey was certainly wrong in continuing the reign of the Emperor Leo to the year of Arthur's defeat at Camlan, for both Leos died in 474; and, as we have seen, the reference to Pope Simplicius and Walvanus extends Arthur's reign years after the death of the Leos, and indeed makes Arthur's reign to terminate from 477 to 492.

CHAPTER II.

Badonicus Mons.

(*a*) *Evidence of the so-called* Annales Cambriae.

The earliest MS. extant of the document, which now goes under the unsatisfactory title of *Annales Cambriae*, contains two entries, which I read as follows:—

Annus LXXII.—The Battle of Badon, in which Arthur carried the cross of our Lord Jesus

Christ for three days and three nights on his shoulders; and the Britons were the vanquishers.

Annus CCXXI.—The Battle of Badon for the second time.

The first of these, as we have seen, refers to an event which took place in October, 470, A.D.

The second is presumably an event of the latter half of the 7th century, for Annus CCXXI, in the era of the *Annales Cambriae*, is 445+220=665.

(*b*) *Evidence of the* Historia Brittonum.

The *Annales Cambriae* (MS. A) was compiled about the mid-tenth century as a continuation of the *Historia Brittonum* and the other writings, which are associated with the name of Nennius, or, at least, as an addition to them. The *Historia Brittonum*, therefore, is the older authority.

In the enumeration of Arthur's twelve victories in ch. 56 of the *Historia Brittonum* the following items appear among others :—

The eighth was the battle at Castellum Guinnion, in which Arthur carried the image of Saint Mary, perpetual Virgin, on his shoulders, and the Pagans were put to flight on that day, and a great slaughter was inflicted on them through the power of our Lord Jesus Christ and through the power of Saint Mary his mother.

The twelfth was the battle at Mons Badonis, in which 960 men fell in one day through one onset of Arthur; and no one overthrew them except himself alone.

Now it will be immediately observed that the portage of Christian symbols on Arthur's shoulders is stated in

the older tradition of the *Historia Brittonum* to have occurred in the battle of Castellum Guinnion and not in that of Mons Badonis. And as the battle of Castellum Guinnion became much less known than that of Mons Badonis (which last indeed has long been world famous), there would be a greater and an increasing tendency to ascribe these particulars, whereby Arthur figures as a Champion of Christendom, to the battle of Badon rather than the reverse. The older tradition, therefore, of the *Historia Brittonum* is to be preferred to the later statement of the *Annales Cambriae*, and the original pre-eminence of the battle of Castellum Guinnion in this particular is to be restored as against the battle of Badon.

Indeed, if we omit the statement as to the slaughter of 960 men in the battle of Badon (which we have seen to be a mere bungle as to a simple date in the Dionysian era), it will be found that in the list of Arthur's victories the battle of Castellum Guinnion stands alone as to any record of details. The list, translated from Mommsen's text, reads as follows :—

The first battle was at the mouth of the river which is called Glein.

The second, third, fourth, and fifth, on another river which is called Dubglas, and is in the region of Linnuis.

The sixth battle on the river which is called Bassas.

The seventh was the battle in the wood of Celidon, that is Cat Coit Celidon.

The eighth was the battle at Castellum Guinnion, in which Arthur carried the image of Saint Mary, perpetual virgin, on his shoulders, and the Pagans were put to flight on that day, and a great slaughter was inflicted on them through the power of our Lord Jesus Christ and through the power of Saint Mary the Virgin, his mother.

The ninth battle was fought in the city of Legion.

The tenth battle occurred on the shore of the river which is called Tribruit.

The eleventh battle took place on the mountain which is called Agned.

The twelfth battle was at Mons Badonis, wherein 960 men fell in one day through one onset of Arthur; and no one overthrew them except himself alone.

The contrast between the treatment of the battle of Castellum Guinnion and that of the rest appears to give this victory an importance which pertains to none of the others, not even to Mons Badonis.

Moreover, whereas all the texts used by Mommsen are in general agreement as to the first ten battles, the reverse is the case as to the last two. The confusion is so great that all the Irish MSS. not only omit the names of the final victories including Badon, but omit the eleventh altogether, leaping from the tenth to the twelfth. Agned is left out by M and N, which give the eleventh as "Breguoin (or Breuoin) which we call Cat Bregion". This last is omitted by H and K, whilst no less than six MSS., viz., C, D, G, L, P, and Q, jumble the two names together thus, "which is called agned cath regomion (*or* agned cat bregomion *or* agnet tha bregomion)." MS. P like the Irish MSS., omits the name of Mons Badonis but gives the rest of the statement as to the twelfth battle. We have thus five MSS. giving thirteen names for Arthur's twelve victories; and as the confusion is confined to the last two victories, the disturbing cause must be sought for in that quarter.

There are clearly three claimants for the two final victories, namely, Agned, Breguoin, and Mons Badonis; and of these three it may be said at once that the chances for retention in the list were all in favour of Mons Badonis. The mention of the "obsessio Badonici montis"

in the *Excidium Brittaniae*, and the acceptation of that document by Bede, who not only incorporated it largely into the text of his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, but at least hinted (Book i, ch. 22) that it was a work of Gildas, were favourable to the cause of Badon's renown. Therefore of the three names, if one had to be ejected, it was not likely to be Badon. And so some omitted Agned and others Breguoin, but most jumbled the two together, the object being to find room for Badon at all costs.

It is thus practically certain that the Mons Badonis victory was not originally in the list of Arthur's triumphs, but was introduced under the influence of the *Excidium Brittaniae* and of Bede. Once introduced it began to cause the confusion which we now see in every text of the the Arthurian tractate which has come down to us.

The victory of Badonicus Mons is clearly stated in the *Excidium Brittaniae* to have been due to unexpected assistance. This is contradicted in the *Historia Brittonum* where Arthur wins unaided.

"Y cyvryw yw hanes Arthur vel y ceir ev yng ngwaith Nennius; ac oddieithr y rhivedi anghyffredin a haerir iddo ladd ai law ei hun, nid oes dim yn yr hanes i gyffroi amheuaeth perthynol iw hanvodiad. A gall vod peth anghywirdeb yn yr ail ysgriviad o'r rhivedi yma; canys y mae'r Brut wrth grybwyll am yr un vrwydr, sev Mynydd Badon, yn dywedyd mai 470 oedd y rhivedi a laddodd. Ond bydded hyn vel y bo, nid rhyw un haeriad o'r vath hwn sy ddigon i ddymchwelyd hanesiad cyvan; onide, nid aml y gwelem hanes awdurdodol yn perthyn i un genedl ba bynnag. A meddyliav am yr ysgrivenyddion a amheua hanvodiad Arthur na ddarvu iddynt erioed ystyried ei wir hanes, ond yn unig edrych ar y ffugdraethodeu a geir yn y Brut a'r hen gyvansoddiadeu ereill o'r canoloesoedd."

Carnhuanawc, 1836-1842.

(c) *Evidence of the* Historia Regum Brittaniae.

In Book ix, 3, 4, Geoffrey unhesitatingly locates Mons Badonis at Bath, and, in his description of the battle,

states of Arthur that he bore "on his shoulders the shield called Priwen, in which was painted an image of Saint Mary, mother of God, which frequently recalled her to his memory". This, together with the number 470 lower down (with which we have already dealt), shews that Geoffrey had before him a less corrupt tradition than has otherwise reached us, for the reference to the shield indicates that the account of the portage on Arthur's shoulders is due to a misreading of *iscuid*, shoulder, for *iscuit*, shield. Geoffrey, of course, in his account combines the purer and corrupter elements, but leaves enough to shew that he knew and was using a purer tradition.

Y mae'r geirieu Cymraeg, ysgwyd, *tarian, ac* ysgwydd, *aelod o'r corff, mor gyffelyb yn enwedig mewn hen ysgriveu vel y byddai'n hawdd eu camsyniad; ac yn lle cyvieithu* ar ei darian *rhoddi* ar ei ysgwyddeu. *Ac y mae [Sieffre o Vynwy] yn rhoddi'r ymadrodd yn vwy eglur yn y modd canlynol,* Humeris quoque suis clypeum vocabulo Priwen in quo imago sanctae Mariae, *etc., ac ar ei ysgwyddeu darian a elwid Priwen a llun Mair santaidd arni.* Carnhuanawc, 1836-1842.

(*d*) *Evidence of the* Excidium Brittaniae.

According to the *Excidium Brittaniae* the Saxons first settled in Britain no small interval after A.D. 446. They came as auxiliaries, but soon found a pretext to rebel, and drove the Britons completely from the eastern portion of southern Britain to "the western ocean", "from sea to sea"; all that was left to the Britons were the mountains, forests, and sea-islands of the west.

After the Britons had thus been completely driven into the western uplands of southern Britain, they gathered together under Ambrosius Aurelianus, lest they should be utterly destroyed, and won their first victory. Not a word is said of the Britons recovering any lost ground, only that they managed owing to this victory to save themselves from total extermination.

In chapter 26 we read that from the time of this victory warfare continued between the Britons and Saxons, now favourable to the one and now to the other, "until the year of the siege of Badonicus Mons and of almost the last slaughter, though not the least, inflicted on the gallows rogues; *which year begins, as I have discovered, as the forty-fourth year with one month already gone; which also is the year of my birth.*" Those who witnessed "the hopeless ruin of the island" caused by the invaders, and the "unexpected assistance" which resulted in the victory of Badonicus Mons, remembered the lesson to their advantage. But when these witnesses died away and a new generation arose "ignorant of that storm and having experience only of the present quiet", the lesson was forgotten, except by a very few.

Whatever may be thought of this passage as it now stands, this much at least seems clear that, following on a tumultuous period, a notable victory had been won over the Saxons, which in the Latinity of the text bears the name of Badonicus Mons, "the Badonic hill"; that this victory was regarded by the author of the *Excidium Brittaniae* as due to unexpected assistance; and that it was succeeded by a period of external peace, which had lasted more than a generation when the author of the passage in question was writing.

As the passage now stands, Badonicus Mons is undoubtedly intended to represent a victory of Arthur in October 470, this date being added in terms of the 428 computation of the first Advent of the Saxons. But as the *Excidium Brittaniae* places the first advent of the Saxons no small interval after the letter to Aetius in 446, it is clear that its original author was not using the 428 computation but one which dated the first coming of the Saxons sometime after 446. The statement there-

fore as to "*the forty-fourth year with one month already gone, being also the year of my birth*", must be treated as a gloss incorporated into the text and contradicting it.

According to a prophecy mentioned in chapter 23 there was to be no considerable interval of peace between the Britons and the Saxons for one hundred and fifty years from the arrival of the latter. For the first one hundred and fifty years the Saxons were to be engaged in frequent devastations. As then these devastations did not cease until the siege of Badonicus Mons, when a period of peace began, which had already lasted more than a generation when the author of the *Excidium Brittaniae* was writing, it would follow that *Badonicus Mons was fought a century and a half after the Saxon Advent;* and as the author fixes the Saxon Advent no small interval after A.D. 446, it follows that the battle took place in the seventh century. This plain purport of the narrative that Badonicus Mons terminated the one hundred and fifty years' frequent devastations of the Saxons has been obscured by the above gloss.

As we have seen, it is practically certain that Badonicus Mons did not figure in the original list of Arthur's victories, but was forced into the list on the strength of this very passage in the *Excidium Brittaniae.*

Badonicus Mons is treated as having brought to an end that stormy period, which witnessed "the hopeless ruin of the island". Now it is the basic fallacy of the *Excidium Brittaniae* that it regards the term 'Brittania' as equivalent to the whole island of Britain, from John o' Groat's to Land's End, which is assumed to have been held by Britons from one extremity to the other under Roman rule, until the north of the island, beyond the Stone Wall, was filched from them before A.D. 446 by the Picts and Scots; and the south of the island from

its eastern part to the western ocean was seized by Saxons, who landed for the first time no small interval after A.D. 446. And all this is made to have taken place after the insurrection of Maximus in A.D. 383-388! By the above passage, therefore, we are actually asked to believe that within less than ninety years, from 383 to 470, the Britons had been deprived of the whole island of Britain from John o' Groat's to Land's End, except the mountains, forests, and sea-islands of the south west! Nay, that prior to 470 the Britons had been completely expelled from "England", "from sea to sea", by Saxon invaders, who did not arrive until a considerable interval had elapsed after A.D. 446[1]!

It is not to be thought of that a British writer, born in 470, could have so misconceived the process of our island history from the usurpation of Maximus less than a century before; that he could have supposed that the walls of Antonine and Hadrian and the forts of the Saxon Shore were built within that period; much less that that writer could be Gildas ab Caw of Pictland, who, born near the Walls, was actually one of those very "Picti" whom the author of the *Excidium Brittaniae* rails at.

If it be assumed that the original writer of the *Excidium Brittaniae* knew what battle was referred to, when its native name was translated into such bombastic Latin as Badonicus Mons, "the Badonic hill", it must be allowed that in such unfamiliar guise it was liable to misunderstanding. It was certainly so misunderstood by the person who made sure that it was the Arthurian victory of 470, who dated it in the era of 428, and synchronized the year of its occurrence with the birth of Gildas.

[1] See my forthcoming paper "*The* Saxones *in the* Excidium Brittaniae" in the *Arch. Cambrensis;* also pp. 449-456 in the number of that journal for October, 1910.

It remains, therefore, for us to identify the contest, and to seek for it in the seventh century, when the English were in full occupation of south eastern Britain, "from sea to sea", with the Britons in Wales and the West. Nor have we far to seek, for opposite Annus CCXXI in the oldest copy of the *Annales Cambriae* we find marked a "Battle of Badon for the second time". Seeing now that the first Badon is a misnomer, it is allowed us to strike out the last words, and to regard this as the one genuine Badon, which, in the era of the *Annales Cambriae*, fell in (445+220)=665.

The real Battle of Badon, therefore, was fought in the seventh century, in a year bearing an annuary number 665.

NOTE.

Caw of Pictland, father of St. Gildas.

The earliest *Vita Gildae* as far as chapter 31 was written in Brittany about the end of the 10th century by a monk of Ruys. According to this *Vita*, Gildas, who was the son of Caw o Brydyn, that is, Caw of Pictland, was born in the *regio* of Arecluta, where his father reigned as king. Arecluta, later Arglud, means on or opposite the Clyde, just as Arvon means on or opposite Môn (Anglesey). The *Vita* describes the *regio* of Arecluta as a part of Britain, which took its name from the river Clut (Clyde) "by which that *regio* is for the most part watered." The family of Gildas, therefore, originated near the western half of the Wall of Antonine.

Caw is variously described in the *vitae Gildae* as *rex Scotiae*, a king of Scotia, *rex Albaniae*, a king of Albania, and *rex Pictorum*, a king of the Picts. The latter is the nearest equivalent of the oldest name by which he is known in Welsh, namely, Cau Pritdin. This last is found in the *Vita S. Cadoci*, by far the most valuable of our Welsh *vitae sanctorum*, where *Cau cognomine Pritdin* is said to have reigned for many years *ultra montem Bannauc*. Mr. Skene and Mr. Phillimore see the name *Bannauc* in the place-name Carmunnock, near Glasgow, and on this account would identify *Mons Bannauc* with the Cathkin

Hills. In this case the *regio* of Arecluta would be in modern Renfrewshire.

Caw o Brydyn is also known in Welsh manuscript literature as Caw o Dwrcelyn, Caw of Twrcelyn, a *regio* in the north of Anglesey, and at one time one of the six cymwds of the island (see pp. 93-5 *supra*). He is repeatedly so called in Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans's *Report on MSS. in Welsh.* "It is not clear (says Mr. Phillimore) how Caw got the name of 'Caw of Twrcelyn' (in Anglesey), which is found in *Hanesyn Hen*, pp. 12-3, 46-7, where are also given the names of his seventeen or twenty-one children, some of them daughters, and many of them commemorated as saints in Anglesey" (*Y Cymmrodor*, xi, 75, note 7).

The association of the family of Caw, in literature, with Twrcelyn in Anglesey is as early as the Breton *Vita Gildae* itself, for it states how that two of his sons, Egreas and Alleccus, together with a daughter Peteova, withdrew to a remote part where each of them founded an oratory. These three oratories were near one another, that of the virgin sister being in the centre. Thus the two brothers were able to sing mass for their sister every day alternately. As they died they were buried in their respective oratories, which, in the time that the monk of Ruys was writing, were famous and illustrious for their constant miracles. The sites of the oratories of Egreas and Alleccus are represented to day by the churches of Llaneugrad and Llanallgo, both situated within the ancient cymwd of Twrcelyn in Anglesey, and about half-a-mile apart. The oratory of Peteova must have lain between them.

When St. Cadog met Cau Pritdin, the latter was no longer reigning in the *regio* of Arecluta. He had come away from beyond Mons Bannauc *ad has oras*, to these borders or coasts, where St. Cadog had settled for a time to build a monastery and to convert pagans. The legend of St. Cadog's raising Caw from death and hell would seem as though Caw himself were a pagan, but, however that may be, Caw is made to become a disciple of St. Cadog, and to remain in that place till his death (*ad ipsius obitum illic*). Consequently Caw never returned to settle in his old *regio* and *regnum* of Arecluta. The passage ends with the significant statement that Caw received a grant of twenty-four vills from the *Albanorum reguli*; in other words, Caw who had formerly been a king beyond Mons

Bannauc, in the little *regio* of Arecluta, received a new little *regnum* of twenty-four vills. And as Caw lived the last years of his life near Cadog's monastery, it is practically certain that that monastery was surrounded by this little *regnum*.

It is clear that to the writer of the *Vita S. Cadoci* (§22) all this took place in Scotland, where he has made Cadog go on pilgrimage to St. Andrew's in imitation of his former pilgrimages to Jerusalem and Rome. But as St. Andrew's was founded centuries after Cadog's time, this can only be a gloss on the original account. All that we can be certain of is that Cadog went amongst the Albani or Picts; that he met Caw of Pictland, who became his disciple, and died near the monastery which Cadog had founded; and that Caw had a little kingdom of twenty-four vills in that place, which was not Arecluta. The writer and compiler of the *Vita S. Cadoci*, seeing that Cadog had gone amongst the Picts, thought that this must be Scotland, and added his explanation of a pilgrimage to St. Andrews. But in St. Cadog's time there were "Picts" in southern Britain, to wit, between the R. Dee and the R. Teivi, where Cunedda and his sons, *gwyr y gogledd*, had settled from southern Scotland. If, therefore, we look for Cadog's monastery, which he founded among the Picts, in North Wales and Cardiganshire, we find that in the whole of this district there is only one, *and that one is in the cymwd of Twrcelyn in Anglesey*. It is still called Llangadog, *i.e.*, the *llan* or *monasterium* of Cadog, being situated about the middle of Twrcelyn, and not three miles distant from the once illustrious oratories of Egreas, Alleccus and the virgin Peteova, the children of Caw of Pictland.

There can then be little or no doubt that Cau Pritdin, the father of St. Gildas, was a Pictish raider, who in the fifth century came from the banks of the Clyde *ad has oras*, to these coasts of Anglesey, *causa diripiendi easdem atque vastandi*, for the purpose of plundering and ravaging the same, as Caw himself is made to confess in the *Vita S. Cadoci*; and that he established himself in the district of Twrcelyn, with which his name was afterwards associated, where he became a disciple of St. Cadog at the new monastery of Llangadog in Twrcelyn, and where he ruled as king over a little *regnum* of twenty-four vills till his death.

It remains to be said that the pedigree of Cau Pritdin

appears to be unknown. No ancient or reliable document seems to give it. Only in late post-reformation and very much doctored writings, contained in the *Iolo MSS.*, do we find a table of ancestry provided for him, which, however, is not that of a Pictish raider, but of a quite respectable Devonian royal house, namely, the line of Geraint ab Erbin. Geraint had a son called Cadwy, with whose name that of Caw of Pictland has been confounded. It is in these same writings, in the *Iolo MSS.*, that we find the ridiculous identification of Gildas with "Aneurin", on the strength, no doubt, of the supposed connection between *Gild*-as and An-*eur*-in. "Aneurin" would be for Aneirin, said to come from the Latin *Honorinus*. In the *Historia Brittonum* (ch. 62), the name is written Neirin. I can find no evidence for Prof. Anwyl's statement in the *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, ii, 1, that Aneirin was the son of Caw.

Huail, son of Caw.

According to the Breton *Vita Gildae* Caw was succeeded as king by his warlike son Cuillus. In the *Vita Gildae* of Caradog of Llangarvan, who was a contemporary of Geoffrey of Monmouth, Caw is given twenty-four sons, victorious warriors, one of whom was Gildas. That Gildas, however, is not to be counted for a victorious warrior appears lower down where his twenty-three brothers are described as constantly resisting Arthur, "the king of the whole of Great Britain". The eldest of them is called Hueil who would submit to no king, not even to Arthur, a statement which is echoed in the story of *Kulhwch and Olwen* where, in the list of Caw's children, it is remarked of Hueil that he never made a request at the hand of a lord. Hueil, says Caradog, used to sally forth from "Scotia" to ravage and plunder, and this so successfully and so frequently that Arthur had to run him to earth, which he did in the island of "Minau" or "Mynau". [This is usually supposed to be the Isle of Man, and Caradog may have intended it as such. The death of Hueil at the hands of Arthur *in insula Minau* undoubtedly represents a fact of history, which I would read as happening in Anglesey rather than in the Isle of Man]. The animosity between Arthur and Hueil is also echoed in the story of *Kulhwch and Olwen*, where it is ascribed to the fact that Hueil had stabbed Gwydre, his own sister's son. [It may

be stated that according to this story Arthur himself had a son called Gwydre, whose death is ascribed to the boar Twrch Trwyth at the same spot where Gwarthegyd the son of Caw was also killed by the boar.]

The Cuillus of the Breton *Vita* is generally identified with the Hueil of the Welsh *Vita;* and if Egreas and Alleccus may stand for Eugrad and Allgo, so no doubt may Cuillus for Hueil. Hueil, however, according to Caradog, never became king, whereas Cuillus succeeded his father in the kingdom. It should be stated that among Caw's children, as recorded in *Kulhwch and Olwen*, there appears one called Celin, who may possibly be the Cuillus of the Breton *Vita Gildae*, especially if it could be shewn that he gave his name to Twrcelyn.[1]

NOTE ON ST. DAVID'S CHRONOLOGY.

St. David's Birth-year and Death-year.—Rhygyvarch, son of a bishop of St. David's in the latter half of the eleventh century, informs us that St. David was 147 years old when he died. In MS. A of the *Annales Cambriae*, St. David is provided with this bare and solitary notice opposite Annus CLVII, Dauid epis*copus* moni iu-deoru*m*, without any indication as to whether it refers to his birth, death, or what not. It is here synchronized with the death of Gregory the Great, between which and the notice of St. David, which follows, Mr. Phillimore thinks that the conjunction *et* has dropped out, so that the passage would have originally run as follows: Gregori*us* obiit in *christo* [et] Dauid epis*copus* moni iu-deoru*m*. I am inclined to differ from this and to regard each item as quite distinct from the other, the verb of the second either having dropped out or being involved in the obscure iu-deoru*m*. I would suggest that *moni* terminated with *iu* and was followed by some such phrase as *in deo dormit*. In any case the notice has certainly been regarded from of old as referring to the death of St. David, and, as we shall see, the age of David as recorded by Rhygyvarch is partly based on it. In another copy of the *Annales Cambriae* there is also a notice of St. David's birth, which is made to concur with the year 458 and Annus XIV. Now if Annus CLVII of MS. A is calculated from 449, the false Bedan date of the Saxon Advent, as it certainly should be in the case of the obit of Gregory according to Bede, the death of St. David falls in the year (449 *plus* 156) or 605. Rhygyvarch or one of

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[1] The two lives of St. Gildas are printed with translations, notes, etc., in the Rev. Dr. Hugh Williams' *Gildas* (317-413), which work constitutes No. 3 of the *Cymmrodorion Record Series*.

his sources, perceiving this synchronization of David's death with that of Gregory the Great, and accepting A.D. 605 from Bede as the date of the latter event, treated St. David's obit as having also occurred in A.D. 605, from which was subtracted the above quoted year of St. David's birth, viz, 458, with the result that St. David's age at the time of his death was found to be (605 *minus* 458) or 147 years, as Rhygyvarch says.

Whether Annus CLVII be equated with 601 or 605, the obit of St. David on Tuesday, March 1st, could not have occurred in either of those years, as their March 1st was not a Tuesday, which is a condition postulated by Rhygyvarch's evidence.[1] And that such dates are far too late is shown by the fact that there is a tradition so embedded in the various *vitae* of the saint that he was born thirty years from Patrick's appearance in Ireland as bishop, that it cannot possibly be ignored. Patrick's mission to Ireland as bishop took place in 433, and so the birth of St. David falls in (433 *plus* 29) or 462; and this is borne out by MS. B of the *Annales Cambriae*, where the birth is equated with Annus XIV. If Annus XIV be computed from the false Bedan date of the Saxon Advent, we arrive at the same year, viz., 449 *plus* 13=462. On the evidence then before us the year 462 as that of St. David's birth is practically certain; and by 462 is meant *our* September 1st, 461, to August 31st, 462.

Most of the students, who reject 601 as the year of St. David's obit, are found fluttering for it around those two highly deceptive dates 542 and 547, the reason being as follows. Geoffrey of Monmouth places Arthur's death in 542; in the following chapter (Book xi, ch. 3) he makes Constantine to be crowned as Arthur's successor, and says that *tunc*, at that time, St. David died at St. David's, and was there buried by command of Maelgwn Gwynedd. Now according to the *Annales Cambriae* Maelgwn Gwynedd died in a pestilence, which is placed opposite Annus CIII; and this in the era of that chronicle makes 547. The death of David, therefore, it is argued, must have fallen between 542 and 547; and as the only one of these years, in which March 1st fell on a Tuesday, is 544, this must have been the year in which the saint died.

But alas! for such advocates, the year 542 as that of the Action of Camlan is one of the most illusory of the many in early Welsh history. Based on a miscalculation, it was the result of further miscalculation on the part of Geoffrey, so that it contradicts even the *Annales Cambriae* itself, from which it was taken; and diverges from Geoffrey's own evidence to the extent of half a century!

According to the *Annales Cambriae* the Action of Camlan fell in Annus XCIII, and the pestilence, in which Maelgwn died, in Annus CIII, thus allowing an interval of ten years between these two events. This interval of ten years is supported by the early 13th century tract, entitled *O oes Gwrtheyrn*, which calculates the intervals between leading military events in Welsh history, as distinct from ecclesiastical, from the time of Vortigern to that of King John. [It need hardly be said that the death of Maelgwn was a military event

[1] *tertia feria in kalendis Martii* (Cambro-British Saints, 141); *dyw mawrth ydyd kynntaf o galan mawrth* (Elucidarium, 118; *cf.* Cambro-British Saints, 116).

of the first importance, as he was the head of the House of Cunedda, and, after Arthur, the greatest soldier of his time.] If this interval of ten years is correct, in other words, if Annus XCIII and Annus CIII are to be reckoned from the same initial year, then, as Camlan was fought in 492, the pestilence, in which Maelgwn died, was raging in 502.

In the *Historia Regum Brittaniæ* (Book xi, 3-8) Arthur is made by Geoffrey to be succeeded by Constantine, who is killed in the third year. If we substitute 492, the true date of the Battle of Camlan, for Geoffrey's impossible 542, this would make Constantine's death occur in (492 *plus* 2) or 494. Constantine is succeeded by Aurelius Conanus, who dies in the second year of his reign, that is, in (494 *plus* 1) or 495. Then comes Vortiporius, who reigns till his fourth year, that is (495 *plus* 3) or 498; and then Maelgwn Gwynedd begins to rule as "monarch of the whole island." Unfortunately Geoffrey does not furnish us with the length of Maelgwn's reign, nor does he refer to the pestilence which carried him off.

It has long been noticed, and is indeed well known, that the Constantine, Aurelius Conanus, Vortiporius, and Maelgwn Gwynedd, whom Geoffrey places in this order as monarchs of the whole island of Brittania after the Battle of Camlan, were four *contemporary* kings ruling in south-west Britain in the days of Gildas, who, in his *Epistola*, rebukes them by name for their shortcomings. Historically, Constantine was king in the Devonian peninsula, Vortiporius in south-west Wales, and Maelgwn in north-west Wales. Geoffrey simply culled four of the five mentioned by Gildas and treated them as successive monarchs of the island of Brittania, instead of as contemporary kings in Brittania, that is, in that Brittania of south-west Britain, which, in Gildas' time, was roughly equivalent to Wales *plus* the Devonian peninsula. Geoffrey, perceiving the interval between the notices of Camlan and Maelgwn, and converting the geographical order of Gildas' kings into an order of time and succession (Maelgwn being last) crowds three kings into the interval, making them kings of the whole island.

I know no reason to doubt the accuracy of the ten years' interval between the Battle of Camlan and the appearance of the plague, in which Maelgwn Gwynedd died. The kings, therefore, rebuked by St. Gildas, were contemporaries of the leaders who fought at Camlan in the last decade of the 5th century. The pestilence, which carried off Maelgwn (before which event the *Epistola Gildae* was written) raged in 502.

If now we accept Geoffrey's statement (Book xi, 3) that St. David died soon after the Battle of Camlan and was buried by Maelgwn's orders at St. David's whilst Maelgwn was still only king of Gwynedd, we should be bound to search for a year, between 492 and 498, when March 1st fell on a Tuesday; and as the only instance of this concurrence in these years is 494, we should be compelled to take 494 as the true year of St. David's obit, although St. David was only thirty-two years of age at the time.

According to Geoffrey (Book xi, 8) Maelgwn Gwynedd, who, as we have seen above, died in the pestilence of 502, was succeeded by Careticus. The number of years that this mysterious Careticus ruled is not given. All that Geoffrey tells us is that he succeeded Maelgwn, so that his reign must have commenced about 502. As

his immediate predecessors according to Geoffrey, namely, Constantine, Aurelius Conanus, Vortiporius, and Maelgwn Gwynedd, were historically contemporary princes ruling in different parts in the last decade of the fifth century, it may be inferred that Careticus also was contemporary with them and ruling in a part of his own. However that may be, Careticus is made to succeed Maelgwn, so that he must have been a younger contemporary. Careticus, therefore, was ruling in the first quarter of the sixth century.

Geoffrey, however, supplies us with this important information relative to Careticus, namely, that with him the Britons lost the *diadema regni*, the crown of the kingdom, and the *insulae monarchia*, the monarchy of the island, but not for ever. They lost it only *multis temporibus*, for a long time, the next holder of the *diadema regni*, according to Geoffrey, being Cadvan, king of Gwynedd, who obtained it immediately after the battle of Chester, which was fought in 616-7. Cadvan is the well-known father of Cadwallon, Penda's ally, who was slain by Oswald in 635. The long time, therefore, *multa tempora*, that the Britons lost the crown, was between the first quarter of the sixth century and the first quarter of the seventh century.

Multa tempora must mean that Careticus died a long time before the battle of Chester; and as Maelgwn, according to Geoffrey, was ruling even before Careticus, the evidence of Geoffrey is here again clearly in favour of an early date in the sixth century for Maelgwn's death. That Geoffrey in this particular is true to history is proved by the fact that Cadvan, whom he makes to fight in the battle of Chester in 616-7, was great-great-grandson to Maelgwn.

As long as Geoffrey's mysterious Careticus was regarded as flourishing after 547 or so, he remained mysterious indeed, for there is no one in Welsh or English tradition with whom he could be identified. But now that we know that he was ruling in the first quarter of the sixth century, it becomes clear that Careticus is none other than Cerdic of Wessex. Geoffrey certainly meant us to understand that Careticus was a Briton, which seems to be confirmed by his name not only in its British but also in its Saxon form; and today there are even English writers who allow "a strain of Welsh blood in the West Saxon royal family" simply and solely on account of this name Cerdic, and others like it, such as Ceadwalla, Mul, and Cada. If Geoffrey then made a mistake in putting forward Cerdic of Wessex as a Briton, it must be classed by the historians of England with his most excusable errors.

Geoffrey describes Careticus as *amator civilium bellorum*, a lover of civil wars; also *invisus Deo et Brittonibus*, hateful to God and the Britons. Both phrases are significant, especially the last, which is even more significant in the light of the fact that it is the one used of *Saxons* by the author of the *Excidium Brittaniae* (ch. 24), who says that they were *Deo hominibusque invisi*, hateful to God and men; and that this is not a mere coincidence is shewn by the fact that Geoffrey's account of the devastation of Brittania in Careticus's time is taken from the very next chapter of the *Excidium Brittaniae* (ch. 25).

Geoffrey also associates Careticus with Cirencester and the neighbourhood of the Severn in a passage where he has clearly dragged in incidents concerned with the Scandinavian invasions of Ireland and Britain centuries later. His Gormundus, king of the Africans, who besieged Careticus in the city of Cirencester, is a confused remem-

brance of Guthrum, a leader of *gentiles nigri*, black pagans or Danes, who did occupy Cirencester in 879. Even Giraldus Cambrensis noticed that Geoffrey's Africans were Scandinavians (*Top. of Ireland*, iii, 39).

Now, according to the *Preface* of the *Saxon Chronicle*, Cerdic makes his appearance when 494 years of Christ are over, which is another way of saying 495, and this tallies with the *Chronicle*. About six years after (continues the *Preface*), he began to rule, that is, about 500, and ruled sixteen years, which would bring us to about 516. But the *Chronicle* does not place the commencement of Cerdic's reign till 519, which is made to end in 534. This serious discrepancy, which is really due to computations according to different systems of chronology, so baffled the compiler of the *Chronicle* that in order to fit in the death of Cerdic with what he supposed was the year 534 in the Dionysian era, he actually suppressed the name and reign of Creoda between Cerdic and Cynric, and made the latter to be Cerdic's son instead of his grandson. The annuary numbers, therefore, implied in the *Preface* to the *Saxon Chronicle* for Cerdic's accession and death, are nearer those of the Dionysian system than are the annuary numbers of the *Chronicle*. Mr. W. H. Stevenson has arrived at a similar conclusion relative to the discrepancy between the *Preface* and the *Chronicle*. "This discrepancy (says Mr. Stevenson) may be reconciled by assuming that Cerdic reigned from 500 to 516, Creoda from 516 to 534, and Cynric from the latter date until 560" (Asser's *Alfred*, ed. 1904, p. 159). As Cerdic then succeeded Maelgwn Gwynedd, according to Geoffrey, Maelgwn's death must be thrown back to close about 500; and even if it be insisted that Cerdic began to reign in 519, Maelgwn's obit will still have to be thrown back before the third decade of the sixth century.

What is invariably regarded as the notice of St. David's death is placed in the *Annales Cambriae*, opposite Annus CLVII, which in the era of that chronicle makes (445 *plus* 156) or 601. As we know the saint to have been born in 462, and to have been contemporary with Maelgwn Gwynedd, who certainly died before the third decade of the sixth century, and is reputed to have arranged the place of the saint's burial, it will be seen that the obit of St. David is post-dated in the *Annales Cambriae* by about a hundred years. Nay, as we have seen strong reason to believe that Maelgwn died in 502, it will be observed that St. David's obit in the *Annales Cambriae* appears to be post-dated by a complete century. Such variations of a complete century are known to have been sometimes made through the misreading of annuary numbers, beginning with D^c^ or DC., that is, five hundred, as though they represented the normal DC or six hundred. Such a misunderstanding is responsible for this post-dating of St. David's obit by a century in the *Annales Cambriae*, as also for that of St. Dubricius opposite Annus CLXVIII in the same chronicle, with the ridiculous result that the consecrator of St. Samson, Bishop of Dol, is made to die in 612.

If then 601, the equation of Annus CLVII, is a misreading of D^c^ I or DC. I, that is, 501, the latter must be the year of St. David's obit; but in that year March 1st did not fall on a Tuesday. We have already seen, however, that this notice of St. David is synchronized with the death of Pope Gregory the Great, who, according to Bede, died in 605. Annus CLVII, therefore, is computable not from 445, but

from the false Bedan date of the Saxon Advent, namely, 449, for 449 *plus* 156 is 605; and this in the case of St. David is a misunderstanding of D^c^V or DC.V, that is, 505. Now in 505 March 1st falls on a Tuesday.

But we have seen that according to Geoffrey, St. David was buried after the Battle of Camlan by Maelgwn's orders; and as Maelgwn died in the pestilence of 502, St. David must, according to this evidence, have died between 492 and 502; and as 494 is the only year in this interval and even until 505, when March 1st falls on a Tuesday, 494 must, according to Geoffrey, be the true date. This year, however, can in no way be made to tally with Annus CLVII of the *Annales Cambriae*, or with the emendation of the same as Annus LVII.

The fact that Geoffrey avoided giving the number of years in the reigns of Maelgwn and Careticus shows that he failed to reconcile the death year of Maelgwn with the accession year of Careticus. He was face to face with the same difficulty of the year of Cerdic's accession as accosts modern writers. If Cerdic began to rule about six years after 495, as says the *Preface* to the *Saxon Chronicle*, then he was "monarch of the island" at the very time that Maelgwn was supposed to be occupying that august position. If he began to rule in the twenty-fifth year from 495, as says the *Saxon Chronicle* itself, then Maelgwn's supposed sway over the island of Britain must have long passed the death year of St. David, even if this was 505.

Geoffrey's evidence is as follows; in Book ix, ch. 15, he informs us that David, Arthur's *avunculus*, was consecrated Archbishop in succession to St. Dubricius. In Book xi, ch. 3, he tells us that whilst Constantine was reigning "David, the most holy archbishop of Caerlleon, died in the city of Menevia, within his own abbey, which he had loved above the other monasteries of his diocese, because the blessed Patrick, who had foretold his birth, was the founder of it. For while he sojourned there among his brethren, he was taken with a sudden illness and died, and at the command of Maelgwn, king of the Venedotians, was buried in the same church." Now, historically, St. David was never archbishop of Caerlleon, but simply the head of his monastery at St. David's, where he lived, died, and was buried in the natural course. Again, Maelgwn was king of Gwynedd and could have had no jurisdiction in Dyved, where Vortiporius was reigning, much less in the monastery of Mynyw. Geoffrey's statement, therefore, as to Maelgwn Gwynedd's part in St. David's burial may be disregarded. In preference then to 494 we must accept the date, to which the *Annales Cambriae* points, namely, 505. St. David, therefore, on the evidence here quoted, died on Tuesday, March 1st, 505, in the 44th year of his age.

Gormund and Isembard.

A POSTSCRIPT TO "THE VANDALS IN WESSEX".

By E. WILLIAMS B. NICHOLSON, M.A.,
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In my paper "The Vandals in Wessex and the battle of Deorham" (*Y Cymmrodor*, xix, 5), I urged that a wealth of lost history was buried in Book xi, ch. 8 of the despised Geoffrey of Monmouth. It seemed clear to me that the Vandals, who absolutely disappear after the Byzantine order for their exile, had gone to Hiberia (so *corr.* for Hibernia), the country they had come from; that they had helped the Visigoths to complete its conquest; that an army of them had been engaged by the West Saxons for their campaign against the South Midlands; and that this army had left its name on various places within the known or probable dominion of the West Saxons—Wandsworth in Surrey (Wendleswurthe), Windsor in Berks (Wendlesore), Wændlescumb in Berks, Wendlebury in Oxfordshire (Wendelebur'), Wendlesclif in Worcestershire, Wendlesbiri in Herts, and Wendlesmére in the Fens. Their king, Gormund, we are told, was besieging Cirencester when "Isembard" (Isenbard), grandson of Lodovic, king of the Franks, came to him and engaged his help to conquer Gaul, from which an uncle had expelled him.

I scouted any idea that this story could be the mere irrelevant invention of a South Welshman. I said it must

come from the Breton book[1] which Geoffrey declared he had translated, and I suggested that with the besieged Britons at Cirencester was a Breton contingent, in which the Frankish refugee Isenbard had come. I am now able to *prove* that part, at least, of the story is anterior to Geoffrey, and of Gallic origin—almost certainly, however, not Breton but Norman.

Hariulf of St. Riquier wrote a chronicle of that abbey which he carried down to 1104. He left St. Riquier in 1105, to become abbat of Oudenbourg, where he died in 1143. Now, when his chronicle has anything in common with Geoffrey, that cannot be *borrowed*, but must be prior to Geoffrey's book, because Hariulf left his chronicle behind him[2] at St. Riquier—some quarter of a century before we have any reason to suppose that Geoffrey began to write. And in ch. 20 of his third book, he has a version of the story of Isembard and Gormond, which is not likely to have been written after 1088, when he finished his *fourth* book.

According to Hariulf, a noble "Francigena", named Esimbardus, had offended Louis III ("Hludogvicus"), and, becoming a traitor, invited "gentium barbariem" to visit the country. Their king, Guaramundus, said to have brought many kingdoms under his rule, wished also to dominate France. The story of the invasion was told not only in histories, but was the subject of daily reminiscence and song among the people ("patriensium memoria quotidie recolitur et cantatur"). On the approach of the "barbari" the treasurer of St. Riquier took a box of valuables and fled to Sens. The enemy, after landing, marched through the provinces of Vimeu and Ponthieu,

[1] In my list of incidents exhibiting the Breton element I ought to have included the procuring of an overking from Brittany (vi, 4).

[2] See Lot's ed., p. LVII.

overthrew churches, killed Christians, and filled everything with death and blood, finally plundering and burning the church of St. Riquier.

Louis III encountered them in the Vimeu district, and obtained a triumph, the king of the infidels, Guaramund, being killed. Thousands of his people were slain and the rest put to flight. Louis, however, died, it was said from an internal rupture caused by the over-violence of his blows.

Now it is clear that if Hariulf's data are correct Geoffrey's cannot be; but, on examining Hariulf, his account turns out to be a composite one, partly derived from the *Francorum regum historia* (which he quotes *verbatim*), partly from the tradition of the monastery as to the flight of its treasurer and the plunder and destruction of its buildings, and as to other particulars from an unnamed source.

Well, the purely monastic part of the account does not mention Esimbard, Louis, or Guaramund. And the *Francorum regum historia* does not mention Esimbard or Guaramund, nor does it allude to the death of Louis as in any way connected with the battle. Yet the account in that work was written in 886-7, only some five or six years after Louis defeated the invaders. Let me add that Louis did not die till the year after the battle, and that the cause of his death was quite different. It is noticeable too that the *F.r.h.* says the invaders were Normans, and that Hariulf does not.

There is in the Royal Library at Brussels a fragment of a French verse-romance on the subject (MS. II, 181). The MS. is of the 13th century. It was reproduced in 1906 in facsimile, with a transcription by Dr. Alphonse Bayot, and a bibliography. This romance (through which I came to learn the existence of the legend of Hariulf)

calls Gormund or Gormunt an Arabian and an Oriental, but there is no evidence that it was not composed after, and partly based on, Geoffrey's account.

Of the books and articles mentioned in the bibliography, the most important is an article by M. Ferdinand Lot in *Romania*, xxvii, pp. 1-54 (1898); but he attributes the composition of the verse-romance to 1060-70, which would make it impossible for it to have borrowed from Geoffrey, in spite of its mention of "Cirencestre". On the other hand, M. Gaston Paris in *Romania*, xxxi, pp. 445-8 (1902), reviewing a Swedish authoress who places the poem in the late 12th or 13th century, shows that, on account of an allusion to the king as feudatory of St. Denis, it cannot have been written *before* 1082[1]; and, while denying that it is so late as the end of the 12th century, says one can continue to place it towards the end of the first third of that century. Now Geoffrey's book was at Bec in Normandy in January 1139, and how much earlier we cannot tell: M. Paris gives no reason why the poem should not be at least as late as that.

In my paper I preferred the reading "Godmund" to "Gormund", and connected with the invader Godmundcestre and Godmundesleah. That must be given up, in face of Hariulf's Guaramundus.

The reader will probably have begun to wonder whether there is *any* truth in Geoffrey's story so far as it relates to the 6th century, and, if so, whether there were any Vandals concerned at all. That question I am not going to shirk, but we shall be in a better position to discuss it

[1] He thinks Louis VI was the first to recognise formally this feudal bond: in 1124 that king made open declaration of it, and "raised" the banner of St. Denis for the first time.

when we have cleared out of the way those elements which are certainly later.

Geoffrey has mixed up two foreign encampments at Cirencester. The first was that of the West Saxons in 577. The second was that of the Dane Guthrum or Guthorm, who, after making peace with Ælfred, lay with his host at Cirencester in 879, retiring in 880 to his kingdom of East Anglia, and dying in 890.

In 879 another Danish host came to England, but in 880 left for Ghent, where it lay for a year, and in 881 had a battle with the Franks. That may be the victory gained at Saucourt by Louis III, or it may be the one in the Vimeu district. There is no record that Guthorm came from East Anglia to join the invaders, but there is no proof that he did not. And it is maintained that his name might be shortened to Gorm and Latinized to Gormo, which would become in French Gormon. I cannot see that any evidence has been produced of Gorm as an abbreviation of Guthorm. I will, however, add on my own account that the *th* would eventually disappear in French, so that we might have Guorm-on, and *apparently* that might happen as early as the time when Hariulf wrote.

But there is another name out of which it is quite truly said that Gurmond may have arisen. The Annales Bertiniani show that in 882 there was among the Normans on the continent a prince named Vurm-o (dat. Vurmoni). The Annales Fuldenses call him Vurm, and of course his name was the Scandinavian Wurm (also Worm?) *i.e.* Snake (our "worm"). Now in those parts of France where Kymric was the original vernacular Teutonic *W-* became *Gu-*[1] and *G-* —so that Wurm-o-n would produce

[1] Under the influence of the same sound-change in Kymric, which took place not before the 8th century, perhaps even in the early

Gurmon. And it is suggested that the Gurmond of the French romance is a compound of this Wurm and of Guthorm.

M. Lot says that Geoffrey must have been in Normandy in and before 1128[1] as chaplain to Guillaume Cliton, *i.e.* William, son of duke Robert of Normandy. If so, he would naturally visit St. Riquier and hear the Guaramund story there. When he got back to England and came to write his "History", he obviously confused the capture of Cirencester by the West Saxons in 577 and the encampment of the Danes in 879.

And here the question arises, "How comes Geoffrey to be so interested in Cirencester, or to know anything about the siege of 577"? He shows no sign of having consulted an Anglo-Saxon chronicle: if he had, he would have known that Bath and Gloucester were captured in the same year, and would hardly have omitted to name them. Moreover, in his poem on Merlin he makes the latter prophesy:—

> Hunc lupus aequoreus debellans vincet et ultra
> Sabrinam victum per barbara regna fugabit.
> Idem Kaer Keri[2] circumdabit obsidione
> Passeribusque domos et moenia trudet ad imum.
> Classe petet Gallos, sed telo regis obibit.

Here we have three new facts (1) that the invader captured the town by means of sparrows (which, later

9th. In those French dialects in which W- remains, the Keltic vernacular was doubtless Goidelic—see the map in my *Keltic Researches*, at p. 113. Hariulf himself used G- forms, as in Gualaricus for Valery, and even in the middle of a word, as Hludogvicus (*-gui-*).

[1] The *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* is silent about this chaplaincy, and M. Lot gives no authority.

[2] *i.e.* Cirencester. Either we should read Ceri=Cerin (Corinium), or at any rate that must have been an earlier form. Note that *here* he seems to make the invader capture the city *after* driving the British king across the Severn.

writers explain, was by making them carry fire), (2) that he did accept Isembard's invitation, (3) that he was killed by the French king. The last two he would naturally get from France, but whence his sparrows except from local tradition?

When his lord, William of Normandy, nephew of Henry I, died in 1128, he came to England, and in or about 1129 signs the foundation-charter of Oseney Abbey, just outside Oxford. Whether he was one of the canons who served it is unknown, but some residence in the neighbourhood seems to have originated his statement that Oxford was a prae-Saxon town bearing the name Ridichen, *i.e.* Ford of Oxen. Just then, the Abbey of Cirencester was founded by Henry I and served by canons, and I suggest that Geoffrey was one of them. There was a special reason why he should desire to go West: it would bring him nearer to his dead patron's father, duke Robert, who was in the custody of Robert of Gloucester, and nearer to Robert himself, who was the king's son and a man of great political importance, and who had the "History" dedicated to him later on.

And now why should not what I call the Vandal part of the story be simply an element in the confusion? Why should Geoffrey's "Africans" and "Hibernia" conceal any reference to the Vandals and Hiberia? Why should they not be borrowed from the French romance, which calls the invader an Arab, and speaks of his having troops from Ireland? Surely this is the simple and only natural explanation?

Well, the French romance speaks of "Cirencestre" as being in the invader's countries, and the probability is enormous that *it* was borrowing from Geoffrey, and not *vice versa*. There is not a trace of Cirencester, Africans, or Ireland in Hariulf, and nothing would induce me to

admit that these features in the romance are *not* borrowed from Geoffrey except the proof (which has not been, and I believe cannot be, given) that the romance was anterior to him.

Putting that theory aside, I should still be willing to admit that the Africans and "Hibernia" *might* be blunders or even inventions of Geoffrey's, but there is Careticus: where does *he* come from? Well, I am prepared, if need be, to jettison him too! But the story that the Saxons in their attack on Cirencester were aided by foreign mercenaries, and the idea that those mercenaries were Vandals, is too complete an explanation of hitherto unexplained facts for me in the present state of my knowledge to abandon *that. Why are there these 7 Wendel names on the map of England? Why are they apparently confined within the limits of ancient Wessex? Why are there no such names in parts of Wessex known to have been conquered before 568, or in the later Wessex conquests of Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall? Why, in fact, are they limited to regions conquered in the last third of the 6th century?*

The prefix Wendel- is given to a cliff, a combe, a "mére", an *or* (boundary), a-*worth* (dwelling), and two *bury's* (forts). There is no Anglo-Saxon common substantive, adjective, or verb to explain it. Also in six of the seven instances it is in the genitive singular—a virtual proof that it is a proper name. Yet there is no Anglo-Saxon person-name Wendel—except in the compounds Uendilbercht, Wendelbeorht, Wendelgær (Vendelgerh), and Wendelburh, each of them found once only.

So that there seems to me a quite distinct balance of probability that the West Saxons did import Vandals. Whether they came from Hiberia ["Hibernia"] we do *not* know. Nor their leader's name. And the legend that Gormund, after taking Cirencester, conquered other parts

of the isle probably refers to Guthorm and not to the Vandal leader with whom Geoffrey confounded him: for Guthorm went from Cirencester to East Anglia, and regularly occupied that.

"Careticus", who fled into Wales, remains in doubt. Was that really the name of the chief British king, or is it as absolute an invention as the names of most of Geoffrey's prae-Roman kings? The Harleian Genealogies do not mention him; but, unless any family descended from him survived until the 10th century, or near it, they would not be likely to do so. They mention neither the great Arthur (who of course left no sons) nor Ambrosius Aurelianus (who certainly had *some* descendants living in 548). There is in another Welsh genealogy[1] a "Ceredic", belonging to one of the chief royal lines of Wales, who would suit perfectly as to date. He was son of Ceneu (weakened from Lat. Caniō), son of Corun (=Lat. Corōnius), son of Ceretic, or Karedig, earliest of the kings of Cardigan, and son of Cunedag. Ceretic and Careticus are weakened *umlaut* forms of an earlier Caratic(us), derived from the *carato* stem, but not to be confounded with Caratācus, Carataue, with which their phonetics are quite irreconcilable.

"Careticus" came to his overkingship, according to Geoffrey, on the death of Maelgwn. Maelgwn died in or about 548, and, as Ceredic was a generation further off from their common ancestor Cunedag, that exactly squares with probability. He may conceivably be the Ceretic whose death is recorded at [616] by the *Annales Cambriae*, and who is just too early to be "Certic" of Elmet. In

[1] See *Y Cymmrodor*, viii, 90 (no. xlix). corrected by vii, 133. I get this through Mr. A. Anscombe's index in *Archiv. f. kelt. Lexic.*, iii, 71-2.

that case he must have died at a very great age, and must have been unusually young when chosen overking: I merely throw out the suggestion as a bare possiblity. It seems equally likely that the man whose death is recorded in [616] was not this Ceredic but his great-grandson "Caredic".

George Borrow's Second Tour in Wales.

By T. C. CANTRILL, B.Sc., F.G.S.,
AND
J. PRINGLE.

The reader of Dr. Knapp's Life of Borrow will remember that, three years after the 1854 expedition to North Wales, George Borrow made a rapid traverse through the south-western portion of the Principality. The incidents of the former excursion formed the basis of *Wild Wales*, but the only published record of the latter tour is the brief itinerary given in the *Life*.[1]

It so happens that for several years past our professional duties have taken us into the western regions of South Wales, and into parts of the counties of Carmarthen and Pembroke traversed by Borrow in 1857. Not satisfied with the bald outline of the journal published by Dr. Knapp, one of us wrote to him in Paris with the request that he would be kind enough to furnish us with a few details as to the villages passed through, and the inns where Borrow lodged. To our gratification Dr. Knapp did far more than we had asked; he sent us a verbatim transcription from the original note book, accompanied by the following letter[2] :—

[1] "Life, Writings, and Correspondence of George Borrow", by W. I. Knapp, 1899, vol. ii, pp. 184-5.

[2] Shortly before his death, Dr. Knapp, in a letter (27 Aug. 1908) to the Secretary of the Gypsy Lore Society, thus alluded to this correspondence :—"I have just sent off a bulky parcel that cost me *three weeks* to write, containing the transcription of one of Borrow's Note Books of 1857." See *Journal, Gypsy Lore Soc.*, New Series, vol. ii, (Jan. 1909), p. 196.

191 r. de l' Université, Paris.
26 Aug. 1908.

DEAR SIR,—Your very interesting communication of the 1st of Aug. reached me on the 6th. My chests containing Borrow's MSS., Letters and Note Books, are stored and sealed up, so that they are no longer readily accessible even to me, in the present state of my health and impaired strength. Besides, the Note Books are in pencil, written as he strode along the roads of England and Wales, very badly, and subsequently much thumbed as he pored over them in later years. Hence they are very trying to the eyes, and as mine are giving me much trouble, growing weaker and weaker, I dreaded to subject them to any fresh tension even with the powerful lenses I am forced to employ. However, after much reflection I decided to unscrew the boxes till I came to the Note Books, from among which I drew forth the little one for 1857. And although it has cost me two weeks to decipher and write down only ten pages, I feel that the labour is wisely bestowed if it in any way accomplishes your desire. From Lampeter into Brecknock hills to Builth I could no longer follow Borrow. He is full of badly written Welsh, is constantly losing his way, and the Welsh names of villages, hamlets and parishes cited are not in Lewis or Lett's County Atlas as he gives them. Still, if you want the Itinerary or anything further, please let me know.

I should very much like to meet you, but I travel little. Last year we were in Norwich three months—July 1 to Oct. 1—for my wife's health, but we went nowhere, only passing thro' London going and coming. I was glad to learn the *date* of Henrietta's death. Mr. Murray wrote me of the fact without mentioning the date. By the way I should like a picture of Borrow's birthplace at Dumpling Green; I have the one given in "The Sphere" but cannot lay my hands on it. Could I trouble you further for the title of the best modern Welsh-English Dictionary—not Pughe's—and a Grammar with Exercises, and of whom it could be ordered. Your letter is very valuable to me and I prize it greatly.

Yours very truly,
W. I. KNAPP.

T. C. Cantrill, Esq.

As neither of us saw any prospect of following Borrow's route beyond St. David's, we had refrained from troubling Dr. Knapp for details of that part of the journey.

With Dr. Knapp's transcript in our hands we have traversed on foot much of Borrow's route, and made personal enquiries of some of the older inhabitants, and, in some cases, of descendants of Borrow's informants, in an attempt to rescue from oblivion some particulars of the places visited and the characters encountered by Borrow in 1857; and now, since the Note Book appears to have left Europe for a transatlantic home, it seems desirable to publish so much of the transcript as is available, together with our comments.

Apart from the usual Borrovian disregard for accuracy as to distances, directions, and orthography of place-names, the journal is remarkably straightforward, and the task of identifying the un-named localities a light one. In his passage of Milford Haven, however, it is difficult to follow Borrow, as we have pointed out. Nor perhaps shall we ever know now how he got to Laugharne, where the notes commence abruptly at an un-named inn. Presumably he availed himself of the railway, which was open at that date and would bring him to St. Clears, five miles from his starting-point.

One wonders how much the world has lost by Borrow's neglect to incorporate the experiences of 1857 in a volume similar to *Wild Wales*, but there is no doubt that the impressions he gathered were brought to bear on that work, which was not published till 1862.

Once again, ten years later, Borrow made an expedition into Wales, though of this journey the sole evidence appears to be a note book, among the Borrow MS. scheduled by Dr. Knapp,[1] of a tour in Western Wales in April, 1867.

[1] *Life*; vol. ii, p. 381.

The following is the transcript of the 1857 note book as received from Dr. Knapp (except that several of his comments, chiefly orthographical and now superfluous, are dropped); of the insertions in square brackets, some are Dr. Knapp's, some are our own; for the notes, we alone are responsible :—

[August 23rd, Laugharne].—Sunday morning. Brilliant day. Paid moderate bill for good accommodation. The landlady said she hoped she sh'ld see me there again.[1] The bridge. Wooded dell.[2] Took the hill route to Tenby, turning to the left. Beautiful scenery between the two high wooded banks, road rapidly descending.

The little place, Plasholt.[3] The child of the Church of England whose mother was at church. Soon found myself on level land and a good road; denes[4] and moory lands between me and the sea, bounded by high banks of sand. Wooded hills on my right with here and there a farm house upon them or at their foot. Dreadful heat—sought refuge in a meadow with a high hedge to the road. Pursued my way along the road for several miles—beautiful gentleman's seat[5] under the hill at a little way from the road. Came to a little farm house close by the road. The woman and cows—asked for water. The woman not civil till I had given her a penny. The Burrows—rabbits—view.

Pendeane [Pendine], "Head of the Denes". The man, son of Cornish boatswain. The public house on the shore[6]

[1] It is difficult to locate the Inn at Laugharne, but from the numerous enquiries we made, it is possible it was the house kept by a Mrs. Brown, and still known as Brown's Hotel.

[2] The bridge and wooded dell. The latter divides the town into two halves.

[3] Plashett.

[4] Dene or Dean.—Borrow was doubtless well aquainted with this word in the place-names North Denes and South Denes, at Yarmouth, where the term is applied to the sandy waste flats north and south of the town.

[5] Llanmiloe, the residence of Mr. Morgan Jones.

[6] The Spring Well Inn, kept in 1857 by a man named Saer.

—company. The kind of flush farmer[7] who had been to Australia and who said the Chinese got all the pretty girls—the lone village on the top of the hill—the church. The old woman of the Church of England reading her English Bible by the wayside. Over burning hills.

Marrows [Marros]. The English village. "Mr. Morgan holds another parish where he preaches in Welsh."[8] Presently very near view of the sea on my left, seemingly a bay. Coast stretching to the South—headlands to the East.[10]

The English musicians, one of which [*sic*] was a harper, by the road side. Noble prospect of bay[11] whilst descending the hill—the scene very much like Douglas Bay.

After descending hill, crossed a little foot bridge[12] over a kind of pebble way,[13] then on the sea shore and in Pembrokeshire. Discourse with men who sat on beach. Puzzled them by telling them that the name of the bridge, which it seems had no name, should be Pont y Terfyn.[14] I observed that one of them, a young man, instantly jotted the words down in a book. They both spoke Welsh and were out of Carmarthenshire. Presently left shore and, after ascending and descending a hill or two by a circuitous route, soaked with perspiration and almost exhausted I reached Saundersfoot[15]—Picton Arms.[16] Kind good humoured honest woman who apologized for the

[7] Possibly a man named Phillips, a native of Saundersfoot.

[8] The original Pendine, grouped about the church. The houses near the shore are probably later additions, in part due to the attractions of Pendine as a summer-resort.

[9] Mr. Morgan's other parish was Cyffic, near Whitland.

[10] Borrow undoubtedly included the Island of Caldy as one of the headlands.

[11] Saundersfoot Bay.—Borrow makes several allusions to Douglas. He stayed there in 1855. The scene in descending the hill from Marros to the shore at Amroth is indeed a noble one, and for picturesque beauty and charm of colour the view can have few equals.

[12] Now superseded by a cart-bridge.

[13] A storm-beach.

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[15] Borrow does not mention Amroth. Possibly the omission w... due to the state of the tide which, if ... high-water, would ...

indifferent accommodation of the house, by saying that S. was a country place and that they were Welsh.

[August] 24th, [Monday].—Breakfast. Burning morning. Bathed in the sea beyond the little pier, on sandy beach with rocks here and there—water shallow, tide going out—waded some way—then swam—dived at last in water between seven and eight foot—rock and sand at bottom, deep—strolled up hill after dressing—the shaft of deserted mine.

Saundersfoot is a small straggling place on the bottom and declivity of a hill—there is a pier, coal works, and tramway. There is a great rise and fall of tide here, sometimes thirty feet. At the end of the headland to the South-East is a strange rock, which can be reached at low water, called the Monk's Rock.[17] Written on the pier at Saundersfoot. The coast strikingly resembles the scenery about Douglas; but Saundersfoot cannot be compared with Douglas, pier exceedingly rude, very narrow, entrance at N. into bason quite dry at low tide. High and strong wall to the East and cliff to the S.

I was very much fatigued from the journey of the previous day. Laugharne is only 12 miles from S.F. but I shall never forget the heat of the weather—it was truly horrible. The Australian Welshman said that the heat of Australia was nothing to it.

[August] 25th, [Tuesday].—After breakfast started from Saundersfoot after paying bill which was very moderate, the dear good landlady apologizing for my indifferent accommodation though it had been excellent. Written at the top of St. Margaret's Rock, Tenby.[18] In Tenby Castle.

him close up to the storm-beach, and so curtail his view. This is corroborated by the fact that he proceeded to Saundersfoot by road. Had he been able to walk along the shore, he would have materially shortened his journey.

[16] Picton Castle Hotel, kept in 1857 by a Mrs. Rees. The Inn is now named Hean Castle Hotel.

[17] Monkstone.

[18] St. Catherine's Rock. Borrow evidently confused this with 't. Margaret's Island, off Caldy Island. The fort which now occupies e top of St. Catherine's Rock was not built till 1868.

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About 5 miles from Tenby, St. Florence. Beautiful girl with donkey. No Welsh spoken in the parish.

Halfway House. Manbedring parish[19]—bason of water.

Llanfar[20]—singular village 2 m. from Pembroke. Handsome girls in singular dress, milking cows in the street—some good-looking houses—church with tall thin spire.

Pembroke—mean entrance—dull, lifeless, town—fine castle towards the end. Lion Inn.[21]

Pembroke Castle—written in the birth-room of Henry VIIth.

Patters Barracks,[22] firing. Difficulties of crossing water. Walk to Milford—Llan Stadwell—returned.[23] Drunkard by the road's side. "This is my residence, Sir," but never asked me in. Soldiers with deserters.

[August] 26th, [Wednesday].—Milford Haven—glorious bay, but the sun so hot and dazzling as nearly to deprive me of my senses.

Stanton[24]—the same peculiarly thin kind of spire which I had seen at Llanfar.

[19] Presumably Manorbier parish. We have not identified the "half-way house".

[20] Lamphey.—Borrow probably thought the name to be a corruption of Llanfair (St. Mary's). The name is a corruption of Llanffydd (St. Faith's).

[21] The proprietor of the Lion Inn in 1857 was a Mr. Jones. There is no record of Borrow's visit, nor is there at the lodge of Pembroke Castle.

[22] Pater battery (pronounced "Patter"), near Pembroke Dock. Borrow appears to have crossed Milford Haven by boat (probably from Hobb's Point) to Neyland, and to have set out on foot *via* Llanstadwell for Milford; but whether he got as far as Milford that day is doubtful.

[23] This is ambiguous. Dr. Knapp, in his transcript, suggests in an insertion that Borrow returned to Milford. But there is no evidence that he reached Milford on the 25th, and on studying the notes we conclude that he retraced his steps to Pembroke, and stayed that night (Aug. 25th) at The Lion. Unfortunately there is no record of his visit left at Pembroke. Next day (the 26th) he probably crossed from Hobb's Point direct to Milford, though he does not say so.

[24] Steynton, on the road between Milford and Haverfordwest.

Johnston—village—no Welsh.

Haverfordwest—little river—bridge;[25] steep ascent[26]—sounds of music—young fellows playing—steep descent—strange town—Castle Inn. H.W. in Welsh Hool-fordd.

[August] 27th, Thursday.—Burning day as usual. Breakfasted on tea, eggs, and soup. Went up to the Castle. St. Mary's Church—river—bridge—toll—The two bridge keepers—River Dun Cledi[27]—runs into Milford haven—exceedingly deep in some parts—would swallow up the largest ship ever built[28]—people in general dislike and despise the Welsh.

Started for St. David's. Course S.W.[29] After walking about 2 m. crossed Pelkham Bridge[30]—it separates St. Martin's from Camrwyn[31] parish, as a woman told me who was carrying a pipkin in which were some potatoes in water but not boiled. In her other hand she had a dried herring. She said she had lived in the parish all her life and could speak no Welsh, but that there were some people within it who could speak it. Rested against a shady bank,[32] very thirsty and my hurt foot very sore. She told me that the mountains to the N. were called by various names. One the [Clo——?] mountain.[33]

The old inn[34]—the blind woman.[35] Arrival of the odd-looking man and the two women I had passed on the road.

[25] Merlin's Bridge, on the outskirts of Haverfordwest.

[26] Merlin's Hill.

[27] River Daucleddau. The river at Haverfordwest is the Western Cleddau; it joins the Eastern Cleddau about six miles below the town. Both rivers then become known as Daucleddau or the two Cleddaus.

[28] Borrow means Milford Haven; the swallowing capacities of the Western Cleddau are small.

[29] North-west.

[30] Pelcomb Bridge.

[31] Camrose parish.

[32] Appropriately known as Tinker's Back.

[33] Dr. Knapp was unable to decipher this word. He remarks in a note that the pencillings are much rubbed and almost illegible. We think, however, that the word should be Plumstone, a lofty hill which Borrow would see just before he crossed Pelcomb Bridge.

[34] This was a low thatched cottage on the St. David's road, half-way up Keeston Hill. A few years ago it was demolished, and a

The collier [on][36] the ass gives me the real history of Bosvile. Written in Roche Castle, a kind of oblong tower built on the rock—there is a rock within it, a huge crag standing towards the East in what was perhaps once a door. It turned out to be a chapel.[37]

The castle is call'd in Welsh Castel y Garn, a translation of Roche. The girl and water—B—? (Nanny) Dallas.[38] Dialogue with the Baptist[39] who was mending the roads.

Splendid view of sea—isolated rocks to the South. Sir las[40] headlands stretching S. Descent to the shore. New Gall Bridge[41]. The collier's wife. Jemmy Remaunt[42] was the name of man on the ass. Her own husband goes to work by the shore. The ascent round the hill. Distant view of Roche Castle. The Welshers, the little village[43]—all looking down on the valley appropriately called Y Cwm. Dialogue with tall man Merddyn ?[44]—The Dim o Clywed.

Solva, &c.[45]

new and more commodious building known as the Hill Arms erected on its site.

[35] The old inn was kept by the blind woman, whose name was Mrs. Lloyd. Many stories are related of her wonderful cleverness in managing her business, and it is said that no customer was ever able to cheat her with a bad coin. Her blindness was the result of an attack of small-pox when twelve years of age.

[36] Dr. Knapp's insertion.

[37] It is doubtful if there was a chapel; no one remembers it.

[38] Nanny Dallas is a mistake. No such name is remembered by the oldest inhabitants, and it seems certain that the woman Borrow met was Nanny Lawless, who lived at Simpson a short distance away.

[39] Evan Rees, of Summerhill (a mile south-east of Roch).

[40] Sger-lâs and Sger-ddu, two isolated rocky islets off Solva Harbour. The headlands are the numerous prominences which jut out along the north shore of St. Bride's Bay.

[41] Newgale Bridge.

[42] Jemmy Raymond. "Remaunt" is the local pronunciation. Jemmy and his ass appear to have been two well-known figures in Roch 30 or 40 years ago; the former died about the year 1886.

[43] Pen-y-cwm.

[44] Davies the carpenter was undoubtedly the man; he was noted for his stature. Dim-yn-clywed—deaf.

St. David's. Commercial Inn.[46]

[August] 28th, Friday. St. David's.

[August] 29th, Saturday. Started for Fishguard or Aber Gwayn.[47] Abereiddy—Matrice[48]—came at last to Fishguard upon the coast. Commercial Inn.

[August] 30th, Sunday. Fishguard to Newport—the public house—the old good humoured talkative landlady. Gin and water—Bayvil parish—Aber Tafi[49] on the left—broad and beautiful bridge. Cardigan Inn—the 3 com. trav.—Rec^{d} letters from wife.

[August] 31st. Burning day. Stopped within, the greater part of it—felt unwell—cholera pains.

Sept. 1st. To Llechrhyd, thence to Kilgerran Castle and back to Ll.—Pont Kennarth. New Castle Emlyn. Salutation Inn. Rain during the night.

Sept. 2nd. To Lampeter Inn.

Sept. 3rd. Lampeter to Llandewy Brevi[50]. [Dr. Knapp here adds "the rest impossible; all mts. and obscure places not on maps"].

Sept. 5th. To Builth.

Sept. 6th. Start from Builth for Presteyne (Sunday). Radnorshire Arms. Asked waiting maid if Presteign was in Wales—"No," she replied. "Is it in Hereford, then?" "No, Sir, in Radnorshire".

[Paris, 26 Aug. 1908. Deciphered from rubbed notes in *pencil* made 51 yrs. ago—a full 8 days' hard work. K. aet. 73.]

[45] Dr. Knapp here says "descriptions omitted." Up to this point they are complete, but from here onward only a selection has been transcribed by him.

[46] The inn is now a private residence.

[47] Aber-Gwaen.

[48] Mathry.

[49] Aber-Teifi, *i.e.*, Cardigan.

[50] Borrow alludes to his traverse of this region in a passage in *Wild Wales* (chap. 93), where he says that "long subsequently" (to 1854) he found that these parts of Breconshire and Carmarthenshire contain some of the wildest solitudes and most romantic scenery in Wales. The "long subsequently," however, was really not quite three years!

The transcript enables us to make a correction in the Itinerary as given in the *Life*. Borrow is there said to have walked on Sept. 3rd, from Lampeter to Builth. This should read "Lampeter to Llanddewi Brefi." Where he slept on the night of Sept. 4th we are unfortunately left to conjecture, for it is just here that Dr. Knapp was overcome by the difficulties of transcription and by want of access to large-scale maps, as he admits in his letter. We may, however, hazard a guess that, unless Borrow got hopelessly out of his way, he slept on the 4th at Abergwessin, about half-way between Llanddewi Brefi and Builth. On the 5th he reached Builth, and on the 6th he accomplished a matter of twenty-eight miles from Builth to Mortimer's Cross (alluded to in chap. 36 of *Wild Wales*,—not a bad day for a man of fifty-four! Beyond this point, however, all we know is that on the 17th he was at Shrewsbury, and on Oct. 5th at Leighton, Uppington and Donnington (all in the neighbourhood of the county town) looking up traces of Goronwy Owen.

And so we leave him. Some day, perhaps, some enthusiast will publish a transcript of the remainder of Borrow's Note Book of 1857, and also, perhaps, that of 1867, when we may have a further opportunity of following still more closely the tracks of Lavengro across the heart of wildest Wales.

ON THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY BALLAD

ENTITLED

"A Warning for all Murderers."

BY

WILLIAM E. A. AXON, LL.D.

(*Manceinion.*)

Local ballads are not very common, and even when the subject-matter is mythical or spurious they are still worthy of attention. Welsh bibliographers have not so far noted a remarkable and incredible story of an alleged murder at Ruthin which is to be found in the Roxburghe Collection (I. 484) of ballads in the British Museum. It is a folio broadside and has a frontispiece in three divisions. In the first is seen a soldier with a blackened face; the second represents a servant entering a room, and the third shows a woman on a bed and the hands, and one arm, and one leg of a child are visible.

The ballad is in two parts. In the first part the verses are arranged in three columns; in the second they are in two columns only. There is no date, but it can be reasonably conjectured from what is known of the printer.

The strange story told in the ballad is of the murder of David Williams, a gentleman of Ruthin, who has an estate, worth £100 yearly, which excites the cupidity of his cousins. In order to obtain it they resolve to kill him and his wife and her unborn child. When Williams, who has a foreboding of impending doom, is having an evening walk with his wife, he [illegible] slain by his cousins who have bribed them[illegible] [illegible]n soldiers. The wife is also

The transcript enables us to make a correction in the Itinerary as given in the *Life*. Borrow is there said to have walked, on Sept. 3rd, from Lampeter to Builth. This should read "Lampeter to Llanddewi Brefi." Where he slept on the night of Sept. 4th we are unfortunately left to conjecture, for it is just here that Dr. Knapp was overcome by the difficulties of transcription and by want of access to large-scale maps, as he admits in his letter. We may, however, hazard a guess that, unless Borrow got hopelessly out of his way, he slept on the 4th at Abergwessin, about half-way between Llanddewi Brefi and Builth. On the 5th he reached Builth, and on the 6th he accomplished a matter of twenty-eight miles from Builth to Mortimer's Cross (alluded to in chap. 36 of *Wild Wales*)—not a bad day for a man of fifty-four! Beyond this point, however, all we know is that on the 17th he was at Shrewsbury, and on Oct. 5th at Leighton, Uppington and Donnington (all in the neighbourhood of the county town) looking up traces of Goronwy Owen.

And so we leave him. Some day, perhaps, some enthusiast will publish a transcript of the remainder of Borrow's Note Book of 1857, and also, perhaps, that of 1867, when we may have a further opportunity of following still more closely the tracks of Lavengro across the heart of wildest Wales.

ON THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY BALLAD
ENTITLED
"A Warning for all Murderers."

BY

WILLIAM E. A. AXON, LL.D.
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The strange story told in the ballad is of the murder of David Williams, a gentleman of Ruthin, who has an estate, worth £100 yearly, which excites the cupidity of his cousins. In order to obtain it they resolve to kill him and his wife and her unborn child. When Williams, who has a foreboding of impending doom, is having an evening walk with his wife, he is slain by his cousins who have disguised themselves as broken soldiers. The wife is also

stabbed, but her wounds are not fatal and the birth of the posthumous heir prevents the murderers from benefiting by their crime. The boy happens to be with his nurse at a house where one of the murderers was playing at "tables". The child who has crept under the table bites the ankle of the cousin, and the wound ends in a mortification which proves fatal.

Twelve months later the second murderer is drinking merrily when the fatal child takes a great pin from his coat and thrusts it into the man's thigh. Another death is the result, and the child, although beaten, will not ask for forgiveness.

The third murderer remains, and, taught prudence by the fate of his colleagues in crime, he avoids the child, but one day falls asleep in the harvest field. The boy thrusts a bramble-stick down the man's open throat, and in endeavouring to extract it damages his windpipe so that death ensues. He, however, before shuffling off this mortal coil, confesses the murder in which he had a third share. Such is the argument of this quaint old "ballad in print". The poet may perhaps have had some slender traditional groundwork, but the story seems rather to belong to folk-lore than history. It may indeed be purely a work of fancy, but even in that case it illustrates in a naive fashion the deep conviction of the popular mind that the shedder of innocent blood cannot in the long run escape vengeance.

It is possible that our sorry poet may have found the story in some of those collections of anecdotes in which our ancestors delighted, but I cannot trace it in Beard's "Theatre of God's Judgment" or in Turner's "Remarkable Providences", or Reynold's "God's Revenge against Murder", but it may possibly exist in some other once-popular collection of probable and improbable anecdotes.

It is difficult to imagine this lugubrious narrative as a composition to be sung, but it is marked as intended to go to the tune of "Wigmore's Galliard", which is given in William Chappell's "Popular Music of the Olden Time" (p. 242). The tune is mentioned as early as 1584.

Henry Gosson, the publisher of "A Warning for all Murderers", was not an unknown man. He issued many trifles and also some things of greater moment. The *Editio princeps* of "Pericles" came from his shop. John Taylor, the Water Poet, was one of his patrons or protégés as the case may be. In 1607 he published Richard Johnson's "Pleasant Walks of Moore-Fields" and he was still in business in 1640. The "Warning" is conjectured by the British Museum authorities to belong to the year 1635.

The name of Williams is, of course, a common one in Wales, but it is worth notice that John Williams, archbishop of York, was educated at Ruthin School.

We may now give the text of the ballad from that in the Roxburghe collection in the British Museum (I. 484). It is catalogued under WILLIAMS (David).

A WARNING FOR ALL MURDERERS.

A most rare, strange, and wonderful accident, which by God's just judgment was brought to passe, not farre, from Rithin in Wales, and showne upon three most wicked persons, who had secretly and cunningly murdered a young gentleman named David Williams, that by no means it could be knowne, and how in the end it was revenged by a childe of five yeeres old, which was in his mother's wombe, and unborne when the deed was done.

To the tune of Wigmores Galliard.

[Picture.]

Give eare unto my story true,
you gracelesse men on earth:
Which any way in secret seeke
your neighbours timelesse death.
Not many pleasant Summers past
this wicked worke was done,
Which three accursed kinsmen wrought
against their Unckles sonne.

A kind and courteous gentleman,
his aged Father's joy,
The only heire unto his Lands
that should his place enjoy.
His envious Nephewes gaping still,
his day of death to see,
Thought every yeere that he did live
seven yeeres and more to bee.

Because this gentle Gentleman,
once being laid in grave,
Their aged Unckle being dead,
they should the living have:
The thought whereof did often make
their hearts with joy abound,
For that they knew the living worth
each yeere an hundred pound.

But when they saw this toward youth
live up to man's estate,
And to himselfe hath likewise chose
a faithfull loving mate,
Then were they out of hope and heart,
but most, when they did see
His beauteous wife in little space,
most big with child to bee.

Then did the Divell intice them straight
to murther, death, and blood,
Thereby to purchase to themselves
their long desired good.
A hundred waies they did devise
this Gentleman to kill:
But yet his wife being big with child,
stuck in their stomach still.

If we should slay the one, they said,
  and let the other live,
No comfort to our hearts desire
  that deed at all would give:
The brat new bred within her wombe,
  none can for heire deny:
Therefore 'tis meet and requisite
  that both of them should die.

And for to blind the eyes of men,
  strange garments had they got,
Which to performe that wicked deed
  they onely did allot.
And after this most bad pretence,
  the gentleman each day,
Still felt his heart to throb and faint
  And sad he was alway.

His sleepe was full of dreadfull dreames,
  in bed where he did lie,
His heart was heavie in the day
  yet knew no reason why,
And oft as he did sit at meate,
  his nose most suddenly,
Would spring and gush out crimson blood,
  and straight it would be dry.

It chanced so upon a time,
  As he his supper ate,
His eyes and heart so heavie were
  that he slept at his meate.
Now fie, then quoth his loving wife,
  and woke him presently,
Why is my Deare so drowsie now?
  quoth he, I know not, I.

Good wife, he said, let us goe walke,
  about our Land a while,
I shall be wakened thorouly
  When I have walkt a mile.
His wife agreed, and forth they went,
  Most kindly arme in arme:
But suddenly were they espied
  that thought on little harme.

At length three sturdy men they met
in Souldiers tattered ragges,
With swords fast girt unto their sides,
which tangled in their jagges;
Their faces smear'd with durt and soote,
in lothsome beastly wise,
With black thrumb'd hats upon their heads
as is the Germanes guise.

And when they saw no persons nie,
Those helplesse couple then,
They wounded sore in cruell sort,
like most accursed men,
And in the thickest of the corne,
which in that place was hie,
They drag'd the murdred bodies then,
and so away did hie.

And soone they shifted off their rags,
And hid them by the way,
And weaponlesse they homeward went,
clad in their owne array.
Long did the silly servants waite
their Master's comming home,
Which dead within the field did lie,
All bath'd in bloody fome.

FINIS.

Printed at London for Henry Gosson,
dwelling upon London Bridge,
neere the Gate.

A WARNING FOR ALL MURDERERS.

The second part of the murder of David Williams, and his Wife being great with childe, which was revenged by a childe of five yeeres old, which was in his mother's wombe, and unborne when the deed was done.

To the tune of Wigmores Galliard.

At length when dark and gloomy clouds
had shadowed all the skie,
The servants wandred up and downe
their Master to espie:
And as they past along the place
where these were lately slaine,
Within the corne they heard one grone,
as heart would breake in twaine.

And running straight to search and see,
who gave this ghastly sound:
Their Master dead their Mistris stab'd,
yet living there they found,
In bitter pangs in travell then
this woefull woman lay,
And was delivered of a Sonne,
before the breake of day.

Then died she incontinent,
No memory had she
For to descry the murtherers
nor found they could not be.
They both together buried were
the child to Nurse was set,
Which thriv'd and prosper'd passing well,
no sicknesse did him let.

But now behold God's judgement just :
the truth I shall you tell,
Ere this child was seven quarters old,
this strange event befell :
One of the murtherers being set
at Tables on a day,
The Nurse did chance to bring this child
within that place to play.

The child under the Table got,
unthought of any one,
And bit his Cousin by the legge,
hard at the ankle bone,
Which by no help nor Art of man
could ever healed be,
But sweld and rotted in such sort,
That thereof dyed he.

Not full a twelve months after this,
this child did chance to be,
Whereas the second murderer
was drinking merrily :
He tooke one of the biggest pinnes
that stuck about his brest,
And thrust it in his Kinsman's thigh,
where then the signe did rest.

Which done, he laughing ran his way,
the wound did bleed amaine :
By no means could they stanch the blood,
nor ease his extreme paine.
The griefe and anguish was so great,
which thereof did proceed,
That ere three days were fully past,
the man to death did bleed.

The child with rods was swing'd full sore,
for this unhappy act,
Yet never would forgivenesse aske
for his committed fact.
Thus past it on, untill the time
this child was five yeeres old :
The other murderer living still
with conscience bad, behold.

He never after saw the child
but he would shun the place,
The child did never looke on him
but with a frowning face :
And stones at him would he fling
where ere he did him meete :
Which made the neighbours wonder much
that often-times did see't.

In Harvest next this little child,
with other boyes beside,
Went to the Fields, and open mouth'd
this man asleepe they spide :
The child having a bramble sticke,
within his hand to play,
Did thrust it downe his Cousins throat,
a sleeping as he lay.

The man therewith being soone awak't,
did strive to pull it out :
And he thereby did rent and teare
his wind-pipe round about :
Which being found incurable,
as he lay on his bed,
His murderous deed he did confesse,
as you before have read.

FINIS.

Printed at London for Henry Gosson,
dwelling upon London Bridge,
neere the Gate.